

Robert E. Jones

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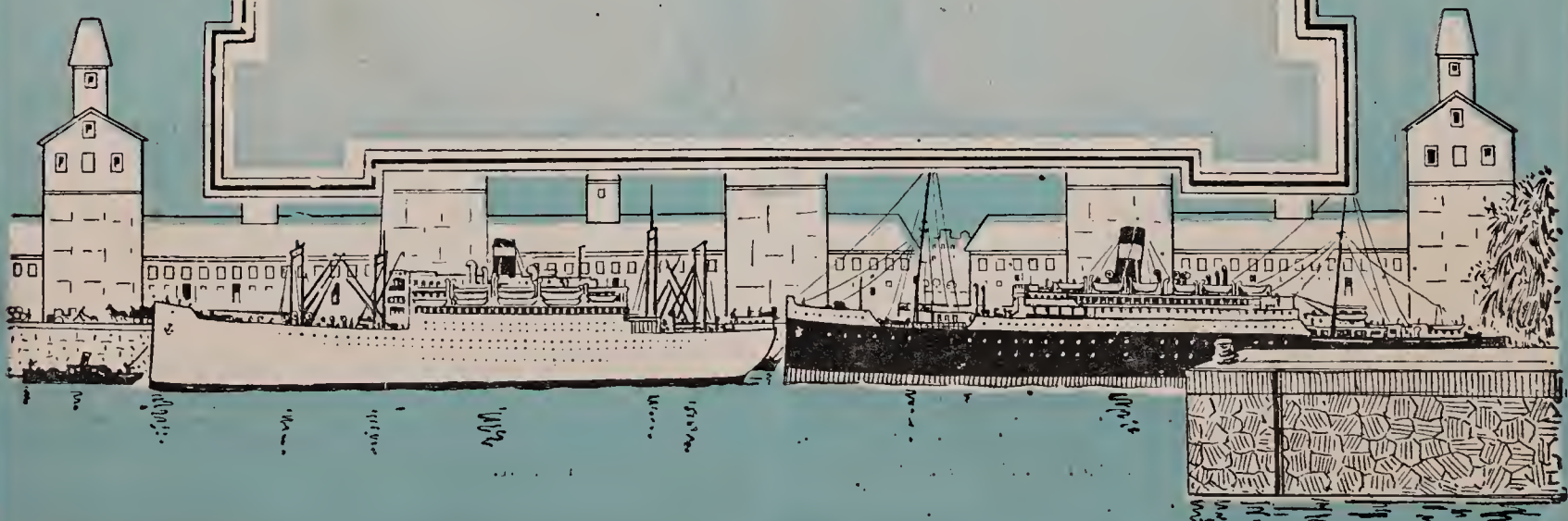
The Three Americas

By Dr. Julius Klein

Bugaboo of Yankee Imperialism Shattered

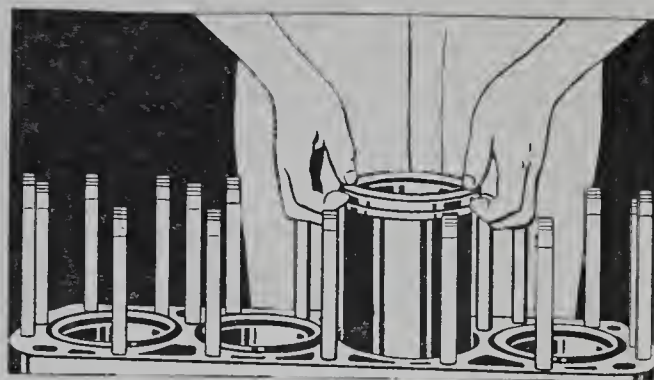
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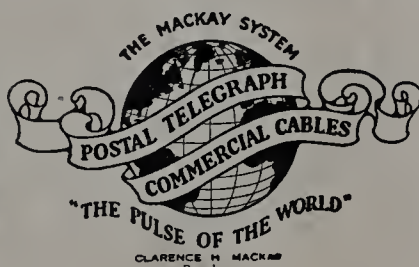
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April 4, 1925

HILLSIDE AND GARDEN

By Inés E. Miller

(Continued from last week)

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CHAP. III.

*"Leave all thy pedant lore apart;
God hid the whole world in thy heart."*

I was nineteen years old when we migrated to the Hills, but my curiosity about all things was in no way abated.

We arrived in June on a cold, overcast day when clouds hung low on the mountain-tops and the world was swathed in a slowly waving pall of mist. There were sufficient reasons to have feelings of depression, but I was young and the prospect of exploring the hill-sides consoled me for the loss of many other things.

Our home was situated at an altitude of about 4,000 feet above sea level, and the mountains behind the house rose to another 2,000 ft. The Hills of Córdoba, if they had been situated in Europe and not in a country bordered by the mighty Andes, would be dignified by the name of mountains. Snow fell in abundance on the day following our arrival, and lay on the ground for a number of days. This cleared the air and added to the enchantment of the high hills, after the monotonous flatness of the plains, where snow is scarcely ever seen.

The most notable event during those three days, was the presence of a pair of pumas in the neighbourhood. Just after the snowstorm, they entered the yard of the carpenter's house who lived at the bottom of our garden, and scaring away his dogs, helped themselves to the bones and meat which had just been placed on the ground for them. I searched the surrounding country for days but could not catch a glimpse of them, although a month later, my brother came on one suddenly when topping a hill on his motorcycle. This pair did a great deal of damage over quite an extended area within the follow-

ing months, destroying eight goats in a single night on one occasion, and attacking several foals on another.

The district is more thickly settled now, so that I fear the puma will no longer visit that particular valley.

The flowers in the garden were all frost-bitten during the snow-fall, and only a few sickly geraniums, a pale cosmos and a half-withered dahlia were beautifully tinted with autumn browns, reds and olive greens, relieved at intervals with the shiny leaves of the evergreen "molle". I climbed a hill called the Dromedary. Its head was swathed in filmy mist, but a well-marked path made the ascent easy, and from the top, during a break in the cloud, I saw for the first time the greater part of the broad valley of Punilla lying at my feet. This sight of the "Plains of Heaven" as my Mother christened the view, bordered by a range of hills on every side, ever afterwards filled me with the same mixture of sadness, the same voiceless longing for unutterable things, the same deep feeling of mystery and exaltation, that I experienced on this first glimpse. The mysticism that inspired Hudson with awe in the presence of some trees, filled my soul with the same yearning sadness, the same realization of the insignificance of individual life, the short span of life that is ours, the comparative eternity of hill and dale.

The valley lay bathed in the crimson rays of the setting sun which lay like a ball of fire on the edge of the distant hills, then flattened a little, sank a little more and finally disappeared. Before me, on the other side of the valley, lay a long range of hills — pearl-grey, lavender and pink — and a little nearer, another chain, scarcely more distinct, but being in deeper shadow, clothed in shades of violet and velvety black.

Just below me lay a group of white-

washed houses, glorified by the golden radiance of the fading sky, which was now a delicate opal, varying from crimson to rose-pink, and from turquoise to pale green, which touched the edges of tiny clouds in rifts, like the sands on the seashore when the tide runs out. On my right, a long, low hill jutted out like fabled monster crouched above the village, its thickly wooded sides a deep emerald green, the shadows as soft as velvet and its outline the more clearly distinguishable against the fading skyline. There is nothing as soft as these shadows, excepting the sepia kakemonos of a Japanese artist in real velvet, or the painted folds of a dress by one of the Dutch masters.

As I descended from my mountain, I noticed that the hill-side was dotted with the charred remains of trees that had been caught in one of the recent forest fires. Some months later, I was out walking with an acquaintance from Amritsar, and he remarked that the charred limbs reminded him of scenes in his native country when the village mothers would climb the hills and eat the charcoal as though it were a delicacy.

Some years later, we moved to another house with a large orchard and garden. The first winter was so remarkably mild that by the first week in August, all the apricots and pears were in bloom, closely followed by the peaches, cherries and quinces, so that our orchard was a mass of pink and white blossom, and every "rancho" transformed as if by magic, into a fairy bower. The weeping willows waved delicate streamers of tiny green leaves and catkins, and the mimosa, commonly called "aroma", flowered for over three weeks, scenting the air of the entire garden with its fluffy yellow balls. The daffodils, jonquils and hyacinths peeped out and the "hills cried aloud" in jubilant

colours. The "wild aroma" of the espinillo tree, (from which is made much so-called attar of roses), the peppermint (piperina) bush, pennyroyal and thyme, all helped to scent the bracing hill air, while scarlet and mauve verbenas struggled for mastery in the calcareous soil.

At this time, the sweet tones of the zorzal (thrush) awoke me every morning, for they sang in chorus as soon as the sun's rays touched our little valley. They were frequently accompanied by the merry whistling of the "blue tordo" or cow-bird which left the fields at sun-down to sleep in the topmost branches of an espinillo which grew at my bedroom door. Later on in the spring, the "jilgueritos" arrived. There were several varieties, but the most beautiful, called "Cabecita negra" by the Serranos and "misto" on the plains, was the little finch with a black head and a yellow-green body, flying in groups of fifty to a hundred birds with the sound of rushing waters, like a brightly coloured cloud, from one fruit-tree to another.

Later still, the speckled, yellow-breasted "rey del bosque" arrived to awaken the woods with his liquid notes. On a hot afternoon when silence reigns in sunlight and shadow, the pure tones of the "King of the Woods" will pour forth a stream of melody unsurpassed by any other bird.

In September the grape-vines in our garden shed their crystal tears, and from every scar of the pruning-knife a leaf-bud and flowers quickly appeared. They were then dosed with a fortnightly spraying of sulphate of copper in solution, and in a few months we gathered the most luscious grapes.

The daffodils were still in evidence, but the mimosa wore a shabby, genteel air; the primulas in the border were as pretty as ever, while wall-flowers and cowslips bordered the irrigation canals, or "acequias", in the orchard. The forget-me-nots bordering one acequia, suggested what a pretty picture they would make if planted in clumps amongst the grass.

The buds on the lilacs were full of promise and the planes and mulberry trees bursting into leaf.

The tea-roses were in their early spring dress of dark red leaves and the grafts on the other roses were doing well. I looked forward eagerly to greeting the sweet wild-rose blush of Irish Elegance, the delicate green-white of Josephine P. Hill; to smell the wonderful fragrance of La France and all the old favourites. I always preferred Simplicity to Frau Karl, and I loved the delicate pink of Lady Roberts and Betty, the lemon-

fragrance of Felicité Perpetuelle and the colour of the Marshal Niels. We had about 200 varieties of roses in the garden.

On a tramp over the hills, how refreshing it was to crush the tender green leaves of the piperina bush and to inhale the pungent scent! On how many a weary pilgrimage, the taste of peppermint has refreshed the tired and thirsty traveller!

The "pencas", resembling little thorny green plum puddings were flowering also. On the lower levels, there were myriads of these strongly-perfumed, white trumpets, each as high as the cactus itself, whilst at a greater altitude, they were slightly different with yellow flowers, and once or twice I came across a pink one. It seemed strange to meet them in Kew Gardens a few months after leaving the Hills.

There is a stranger, cryptogamous plant which resembles the cacti in that one long three-sided leaf springs from the top of the leaf beneath it, and the tiny dusty-yellow flowers, similar to those of the groundsel, but smaller, grow from the centre of the leaf. This plant does not attain more than a foot in height as a rule and grows on dry, sandy soil. The texture of the leaf is dry, unlike the juicy flesh of the common cacti.

The Hills of Córdoba are the original home of the carceolaria. Clumps of these plants grow in moist places, their beautiful flowers like little yellow satin slippers with brown spots on the lining.

The "molle" is a strange tree that has the effect of producing a feverish rash on some susceptible persons who may chance to sit in its shade. I was never afflicted in this way although I frequently sat for hours under a "molle" in the wild part of our garden, but I have met many sufferers who were driven almost frantic by the irritation of their arms and faces, and who were kept awake at night with a considerable temperature. Fortunately, the "molle rash" attacks only a very small proportion of visitors to the Hills.

The "coco" is also an evergreen tree, but its leaves are dull compared to the molle, whose foliage always has a varnished appearance. The wood of the coco is of a bright yellow colour and is much used for dyeing wool to make the native rugs. Thrushes and cow-birds haunt these trees in autumn when they feast on the juicy purple seeds.

The "espinillo" should rank third in a list of trees commonly found in the Hills. It has a short, twisted trunk with thorny, dry branches sparsely clothed with fine fern-like, dull-green leaves. It bears flowers

that are similar to those of the aroma tree, excepting that they are much larger and have a powerful scent. The espinillo has a parasite which grows in thick bunches of leaves which resemble those of the mistletoe, and bears long, scarlet tubular flowers which are a great attraction to countless humming-birds, and for this reason is frequently allowed to strangle the garden mimosa, which it will do in 4 to 5 years even if the tree be several years old and healthy.

In some ravines, one finds the beautiful quebracho, each trunk a deep sepia in colour and symmetrically straight and tall. This stately tree bears a crown of branches which in their turn support feathery green leaves which reflect a wonderful light on the wanderer beneath. Of all the trees seen in the Hills, the quebracho is by far the most perfect. Words cannot convey their rich colouring.

The algarroba (*prosopis horrida*) is found in some localities, its twisted trunk resembling the horrible contortions of the tortured as represented in Dante's *Inferno*! The bean-pods are a great temptation to the older generation to brew the deadly "chicha", a powerful intoxicant described in a former article called "Córdoba de la Nueva Andalucía".

CHAP. IV.

*Last night within my chamber's gloom some
vague light breath of Spring
Came wandering and whispering, and bade my
soul take wing,
A hundred moonlit miles away the Chiang crept
to the sea;
O keeper of my heart, I came by Chiang's ford
to thee.
It lingered but a moment's space, that dream of
Spring, and died;
Yet as my head the willows pressed, my soul had
found thy side.
I've flown away to Chiang Nan and touched a
dreaming face.*

(Ts'ên - Ts'an. *Cisca A.D.*, 750).

HYDROPHOBIA broke out one spring. An incredible number of dogs developed the malady and many of our neighbours were obliged to destroy their pets, while half a score of our acquaintances had to make the journey to Cordoba city for the Pasteur treatment.

A mad dog dashed into our kitchen one evening while the servants were at dinner, and the shrieks of terrified women brought us all to the door. They were huddled in one corner, keeping at bay, with brooms and fire irons, a black, wild-eyed mongrel with unkempt coat and dripping paws. The gardener appeared presently with a gun and shot the poor brute where he stood, shivering and slobbering. Four days later, one of the carriage horses commenced to behave in a strange manner, continually showing the whites of his eyes and kicking savagely at man and beast.

The following day, he bit four animals and chased the men out of the corral.

When isolated, the wretched animal destroyed a gate and several young trees, and by nightfall, was tearing lumps of flesh out of his own flanks and legs. A bullet gave him a merciful end. It caused us all deep pain and horror, and gave my father such a fearful impression, he having witnessed it from his chair on the verandah shortly before his death, that he did not cease to mention it and to ask if the other animals were safe, until he left us.

The peones insisted that the disease was not hydrophobia, but one peculiar to horses called locally "mal de monte."

Nature has her tragic side, as well as her comic.

One early spring day, I arranged a picnic for a small party of neighbours and friends. We departed on horseback for a three hour's climb, on a cold, clear morning, deciding to make Mt. Ambition our ultimate goal. On the way there, we visited a 70-ft. waterfall which was partially frozen over, forming wide rounded steps at the base like a polished marble staircase. It was a sheer drop and we had some difficulty in getting down, but this was nothing to the difficulty we had in climbing out! The waterfall seen from the foot is worth the trouble and time, but the air was icy in the shadow. A few days previously, a party of English people had gone down with their collie who was unable to climb up again, so that they were forced to go for assistance and the loan of a rope.

We ate a hearty lunch of cold chicken and tongue, hard-boiled eggs and salad, bread and butter, membrillo, beer and cheese, after which we reluctantly mounted our horses and continued our ride to the summit. It was a clear day and from Mt. Ambition, we were able to see as far as the mountains of San Luis and La Rioja.

We returned by a precipitous and disused path which was quite dangerous, there being much loose stone and fallen boulders, but it was exceedingly interesting and beautiful. In some places we looked down on the red roofs of houses in the Cruz Grande valley several hundred feet below, while our horses were obliged occasionally to jump down some of the steeper steps in the rock and at others, they apparently sat on their haunches and did a schoolboy's skid!

At one place we passed a young condor sitting motionless and sleepy-eyed but, nevertheless, alert, on a rock, while a few feet away a desert-

ed lamb bleated piteously for help. It was only a day old and was very hungry and cold. One of the party rescued it, while the condor looked on with one eye open and the other half closed, but made no attempt to interfere nor yet to fly away, although we threw stones at it. The lamb was carried across a saddle until we came to a shepherd's hut guarded by four angry curs. These slunk away when threatened with a whip and we shut the lamb up in the shepherd's primitive kitchen, very well satisfied with ourselves for having cheated the condor of a dainty morsel.

The following day Mt. Ambition was covered with snow, but a few weeks later spring was with us again, and pansies, aroma, japonica, hyacinths and double Neapolitan violets were flowering in sheltered spots. The fire-tailed humming-bird arrived in early August and subsisted for some time on the flaming japonica, driving the hungry honey-bees to the aroma and the stocks.

I remember how very indignant we were with a visitor who, to show his skill as a shot, fired at one of our favourites as it hovered over the bush. Without the reflection of constantly changing light falling on its feathers, the inimitable jewel, lifeless and limp, is of little interest to anybody.

We had two varieties of humming birds. I am not an ornithologist and do not know their labelled names, nor can I attempt to describe their wonderful colouring, scintillating with iridescent, metallic lustre in the sun, showing green, red, blue, bronze or gold according to the direction from which the light falls upon the body poised in mid-air before a flower, while the extraordinarily rapid motion of the wings obliterates its form and creates a "hazy semicircle of indistinctness," while producing a low humming sound. The fire-tailed humming-bird has long vivid green and red tail feathers. Both varieties fly eccentrically and when sipping honey from the flowers of a bush, appear to be motionless, then to vanish, only to reappear as suddenly at another flower and disappear again, like the whistling moth with the immense tongue of the plains.

Both sing a repetition of hard, twittering notes when perched on a tree, and build a beautifully made nest of soft fluff and horse hair shaped like a cup, and generally suspended from a vine or rafters. Our birds returned every season and built their nest in the same corner of the verandah. They usually lay two eggs.

Humming-birds are unlike any other form of bird-life and, according

to Hudson, are considered by some to be "more like insects than birds in disposition." He says, "Some species, on quitting their perch, perform wide bee-like circles about the tree before shooting away in a straight line. Their aimless attacks on other species approaching or passing near them, even on large birds like hawks and pigeons, is a habit they have in common with many solitary wood-boring bees. They also, like dragon-flies and other insects, attack each other when they come together while feeding; and in this case their action strangely resembles that of a couple of butterflies, as they revolve about each other and rise vertically to a great height in the air. Again, like insects, they are undisturbed at the presence of man while feeding, or even when engaged in building and incubation; and like various solitary bees, wasps, etc., they frequently come close to a person walking or standing, to hover suspended in the air within a few inches of his face; and if then struck at they often, insect-like, return to circle round his head. If beaten down and caught... "they almost immediately feed on any sweet, or pump up any liquid that may be offered to them, without betraying either fear or resentment at the previous treatment" (Gould)..... Only in beings very low in the scale of nature do we see the instinct of self-preservation in this extremely simple condition, unmixed with reason or feeling, and so transcendent in its effects."

On one occasion, I had a glimpse of a wonderful bird, as minute as the smallest humming-bird and of a brilliant scarlet colour. Unless my memory betrays me, it flew like a humming-bird. I saw it from my seat on the verandah as it circled the greenhouse, but before I could approach it, it had flown away and I saw it no more. I should like to know if it belonged to the Trochilidae and where its habitat is.

(To be concluded)

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Buenos Aires, April 4, 1925

A MISSIONARY IN POLITICS

WHETHER or not the Montevideo conference of North American missionaries accomplished anything else, it certainly proved a complete success as a distributing point for Dr. Samuel Guy Inman's anti-American propaganda. In the United States, Dr. Inman holds a high place in church circles, but in South America, and especially to South Americans, he is better known as a constant crusader against the land of his birth. It seems a pity, however, that a conference of missionaries should have been made the occasion for again giving widespread publicity to the political beliefs of a widely known anti-American agitator merely because he was one of the active organizers of the conference.

Dr. Inman contends, every time he can get into print, that the United States is a great imperialistic octopus with twenty ugly tentacles, one for each Latin American republic, hovering out and waiting for a chance to fasten its deadly suckers onto them and con-

sume them. The eyes of this terrible and repulsive monster are the bankers who loan money to these republics and the Big Business representatives who trade with them. Dr. Inman contends that these bankers and business men are rapidly and surely getting the Latin American republics into their clutches so firmly that they never can get out, the inference being that the American government will then back up these financial tourniquets with political measures that will bring the South and Central American countries under the absolute subjection of "The Imperialistic United States."

If Dr. Inman's contention were true it would have to follow that all Latin American governments are composed of poor fools and such is far from being the case. When any of these countries seek a foreign loan, they seek it on a competitive basis and the only reason American bankers have been awarded these loans during the last few years is because they have offered them on better terms than their European competitors. And if Dr. Inman knew anything about international finance he would know that international bankers do not hold Latin American loans like some Shylock might clutch a promissory note. They immediately pass them on to smaller bankers and brokers who sell them to the investing public, to merchants, doctors, dentists, school teachers, and sometimes preachers; and bankers will not float a loan of this kind unless they are certain it can be sold to the public, thus assuring them the realization their commission.

As far as the policy of the United States government is concerned, everyone who has given the matter the slightest attention knows that the American government is carefully and consistently carrying out a friendly policy toward South and Central America which is the exact opposite of what Dr. Inman would have us believe. Secretary of State Hughes epitomized that policy in his famous speech at Rio de Janeiro two years ago when he said:

The United States covets no territory and seeks no conquest to the South of its present boundaries.

The liberty we cherish for ourselves we desire for others and we assert no rights for ourselves that we do not accord to others.

We should like to believe that Dr. Inman has been unwittingly misinformed but this is made impossible by the fact that he makes it a consistent and studied policy to confine his friendships in each Latin American republic almost exclusively to a small group of professional anti-American agitators. Nearly all the boundary disputes in Latin America have been definitely settled or are in course of peaceful settlement. There remains, therefore, only one bone of contention for the professional politicians to fight over and that is the bugaboo of yankee imperialism. Dr. Inman has thrown his lot in with this crowd, but he continues to make his annual plea to the sinister bankers and to the scheming representatives of Big Business for the support of foreign missions.

The heart of the whole trouble is that American missionaries are no better liked in South America than would be American business men who came down and tried to tell South Americans how to conduct their business. Latin Americans charged at the conference that most of the so-called missionary work in South America is confined to proselytizing and they are inclined to contend that their way of practicing Christianity is just as good as the North American way. They resent being considered a foreign mission field along with China and the Malay Islands. Leaders of the mission movement have found it difficult, therefore, to find a common ground upon which to meet their South American friends. It is a poor commentary upon the efforts of men like Dr. Inman that after half a century of activity in Latin America the only common ground which he seems able to find is that of spreading a libel against the United States that has been disproved so often that it is no longer countenanced even by thinking Latin Americans.

Dr. Inman on this occasion has been repudiated by a well-known Argentine to whom he thought his libel would appeal, but if he finds that attacking the United States does not make him popular in South America he at least has the consolation of recalling that Benedict Arnold was never popular in England.

THE THREE AMERICAS

By Dr. Julius Klein

Director, U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce

Radio Talk Broadcast from Station WRC, Washington, D. C. Thursday Evening, February 19, 1925, at 9 o'clock under the auspices of the Pan American Union

Some of you may doubtless be wondering whether there has been a slight error in arithmetic or geography in this reference to the *Three Americas*, and whether the good old division of the new world in our school geographies as North and South America is no longer valid. As a matter of fact, geographers and business men are more and more inclined to the use of a third term, namely *Middle America*, applying it to the West Indies, Mexico and the isthmian lands of Central America. This is by way of a reminder to us of the totally different conditions — geographical, climatic and racial — prevailing in that section, which contrast so sharply with those to the north and south.

In fact, it would be even more accurate to refer to our southern neighbors as the "Twenty Americas". One of the outstanding faults of our thinking with reference to them — I was going to say our most serious fault, not only from the political and historical point of view, but from the matter-of-fact angle of our trade and economic relations — has been our failure to appreciate the extraordinary diversity of those basic conditions of population, topography, resources and climate, which affect so profoundly the institutions, the trade, and, in fact, the whole life of the people in each one of these republics. The individuality of each stands out unmistakably in contrast with every one of the others.

And yet we refer glibly to all of them as one group or unit—Latin America or Hispanic America.

Incidentally, we in turn are a bit puzzled, perhaps even provoked, by their allusions to us as the United States of North America. As a matter of fact, it hardly behooves us to take offense at that title, even though we have laid claim to the broader one, the United States of America, in some of our official usages. I say some, because the next time you have a dollar bill in your hand, just glance at the blue seal on it and you will find it labeled in Latin as the seal of the Treasury of *North America*.

Our forefathers and especially the

first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, himself a native of the West Indies, and Washington who visited those islands during his early manhood, appreciated the propriety of such a distinction. Furthermore, it is well for us to remember that for many decades after the discovery of the mainlands of the New World the name America was applied only to the southern continent.

Differences in Nationalities

So much for history and geography. But this point of wide diversity among the many separate elements in the Americas is absolutely essential to any lasting progress in our commercial relations with Latin America. Under no circumstances should our business men assume that what is effective or correct in their dealings with Mexico will necessarily be equally so in Chile. There is quite as much contrast between an Uruguayan and a Guatemalan as between a Frenchman and an Italian, and the distinctions between the general economic and physical conditions in their respective countries are even more marked. Hence the absurdity of such common questions currently asked of the Department of Commerce by business men and others interested in Latin America as to what is the climate in Latin America, or what kinds of food, clothing and furniture are required by the people there, with the expectation of a neat, compact generalization applicable to the whole vast area.

For purposes of appraising trade prospects, it is not only useless but seriously misleading to attempt to visualize "a typical Latin American", just as it is impossible to depict a typical *North American*, who would have to be a weird mongrel of Eskimo, Florida orange grower, California rancher, New York banker, French Canadian lumberjack, etc. The first essential to the success of our trade with Latin America is a respectful consideration of the widely divergent requirements, and possibilities, what might be called the economic *individuality* of each country. Our southern friends are quite rightly incensed when we undertake to fasten on them the relic of our school geography days; namely, the impression that all Latin America is a composite of volcanoes, palm trees, revolutions, and swarthy gentlemen in

sombreros.

And while we are on the subject of ancient fictions, I would like to dispose of another, equally misleading in the field of trade, namely the bugaboo that we must take great care to sell the Latin Americans only those things which they have always bought, and under no circumstances to offend their pride and love of tradition by introducing them to anything new. I sometimes suspect that our European competitors are not entirely disconnected with the spread of that notion among ourselves. But when you come to think of it, if that idea had been rigidly adhered to by our merchants, what would have happened to the export prospects of such universally known American specialties as safety razors, cash registers, sewing machines and typewriters? That sweeping generalization against undertaking to sell Latin America any new devices or designs is in a way a reflection on their well-known spirit of progress and initiative. They want the latest and best. In women's fashions, for example, it is well-known that Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro are usually six months ahead of New York.

Great Increase in Trade

[Our total trade with Latin America, exports and imports, has increased two and a half times in the last ten years, rising from a pre-war average of about \$730,000,000 to \$1,800,000,000 in 1924. And the significant feature of this commercial advance on the export side is found in the fact that much of it is what might be called "new trade", made up of commodities which we did not send to Latin America in any quantities previous to the war—moderately-priced automobiles, films, office furniture, construction machines, ready-made clothing, etc.

There is reason to believe that a good part of this increase in our trade is due to the foresight and encouragement of the Budget Bureau and Congress in providing for the steady expansion of the informational and trade promotive facilities of the Department of Commerce in this field. There are now ten offices of commercial attaches and trade commissioners in the leading Latin American trade centers which is double the number three years ago and provision has been made for more in the future.

[One of the greatest advantages in our favor in trading with Latin America is that that enormous territory is, economically speaking, a new land, whose resources — strikingly similar to our own in many respects — have scarcely been touch



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ed, in need of those very labor saving devices, agricultural implements, transportation facilities, mining machinery, etc., which were so indispensable in opening up our own new lands in the west. For example, the road building campaign which is going forward in all parts of the southern countries is attracting the most enthusiastic and effective collaboration of our engineers and construction companies. The Latin American republics appreciate the profound importance of highways, not only as arteries of commerce, but also as bonds of unity between their widely scattered political units. It is no mere accident that those sections of Latin America which have the lowest per capita mileage of highways and railroads are also apt to have the highest per capita average of revolutions. The good old Roman principle that a well-built highway is the first essential to security and order is as valid in the Latin American empires of the New World as it was in the great Latin empire around the Mediterranean.

There is some anxiety among our merchants as to the prospects for their trade in the southern markets, particularly in view of the impending activities of our European rivals. There can be no doubt that this coming competition will be intense and it is well to appreciate the disadvantages under which we will be laboring there. In the first place, these rivalries will be especially sharp in the great competitive markets of southeastern Latin America which are quite as accessible from Europe as from the United States, and have not been affected from a commercial point of view by the construction of the Panama Canal. Furthermore, these areas are in some important lines, such as meats and cereals, really trade rivals of the United States, and the possibilities of such heavy interchanges of commodities as takes place between them and Europe would seem to be less likely in our own case.

Investments Have Trebled

Nevertheless, there are many significant factors developing in our favor. Foremost among these is the trebling during the past decade of our investments throughout Latin America. Exclusive of government bonds, they now stand well over \$3,000,000,000 as against a little over one billion in 1913. American capital has a dominant position in such basic industries as mining on the West Coast and in Mexico, meat packing in the River Plate region, petroleum in Mexico, Colombia and Perú, and sugar and tobacco in Cuba. Significant advances are also probable along certain lines

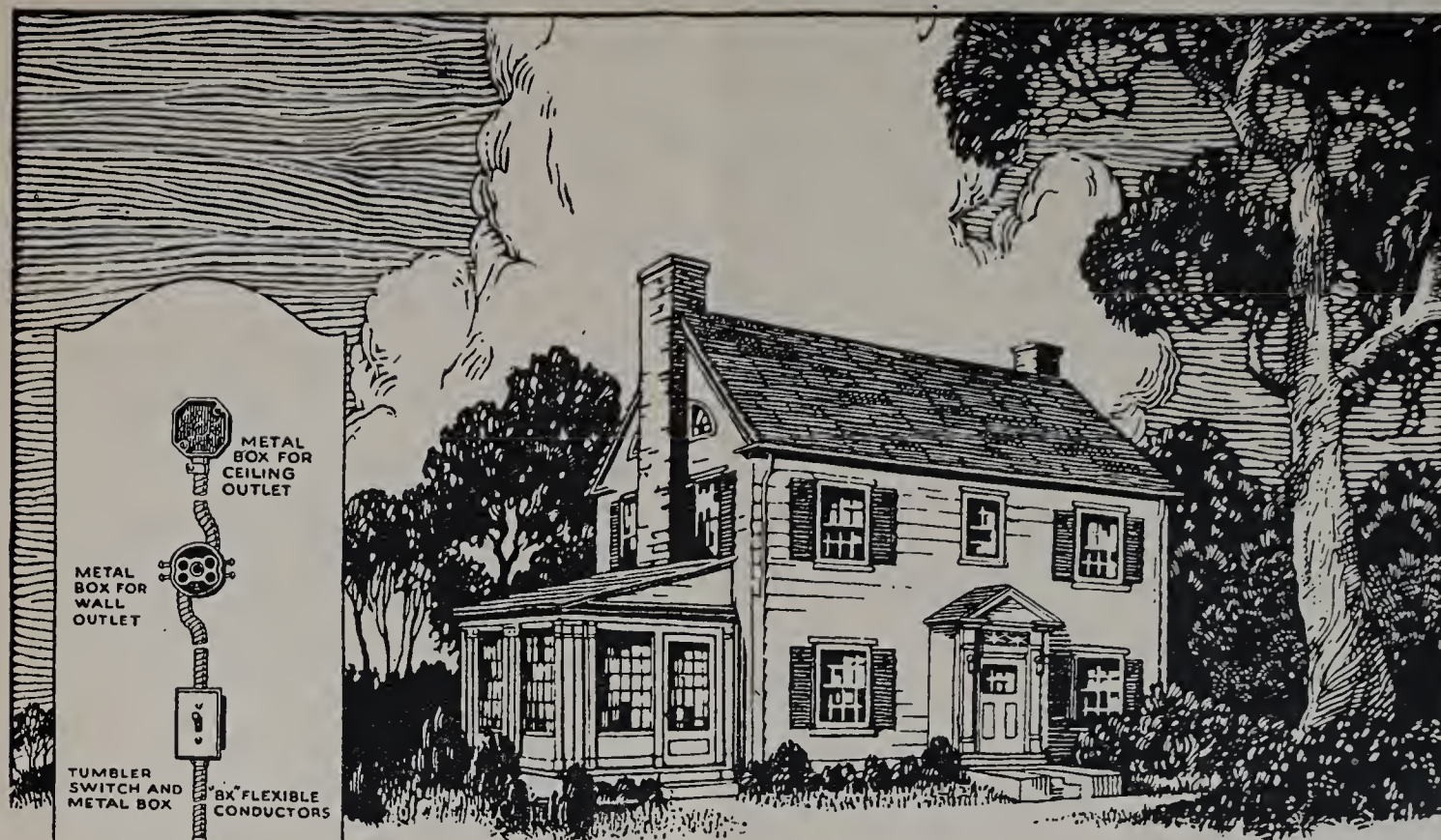
in Brazil. This participation by American capital in the economic development of Latin America not only stimulates the growth of an important market for American supplies incident to such large scale operations, but makes an even more important contribution by bringing into use hitherto untouched sources of wealth and well being, which has reacted profoundly upon the standards of living and the general social and economic outlook for great masses of population in the southern republics.

I might mention here an interesting index of the amazing increase of interest in Latin America on the part of our business community; namely, the number of inquiries on Latin American trade received by the Department of Commerce. In 1922 there were 76,000 such inquiries; the number was doubled in 1923; and in 1924, the total rose to 322,000, or more than four times the quantity two years ago—an average of over 1,000 for every working day. Apparently our business men are no longer under the ancient impression that Latin American markets are far off in some remote inaccessible corner of the globe. They are beginning to realize, as are most of us, that each day we renew our contacts and indebtedness to those territories, from the time we take our breakfast coffee in the morning, which very probably came from Brazil or Colombia, regardless of the mystic names of Mocna and Java. Each of us pays tribute to our southern neighbors from the Argentine quebracho tanning extract in the soles of our shoes, to the nutria fur in our fedora hats. The world at large is realizing more and more the amazing economic possibilities and resourcefulness of these rich empires, which were the original homelands of so many gifts of nature—chocolate, rubber, quinine, cocaine, and even the lowly potato, Indian corn and many others.

Importance of Communication

A profoundly important influence which will affect our trade prospects in the coming years is in the field of communications. Our shipping service to the Latin American seaboard is no longer a cause of shame and humiliation to us, as was the case a decade or two ago. Both the privately owned lines and those of the Shipping Board are now setting a standard of service, speed and regularity of sailings which our rivals are finding it difficult to meet.

Here is another important phase of communications—European owned cables in Latin American waters now total about 25,000 miles, which is slightly less than their prewar figure.



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The American mileage, however, has increased from about 14,000 before the war to 34,000 at the present time. There were few things which contributed more directly to European prestige in the eyes of the average Latin American before 1914 and to European trade advantages over us than the vastly superior cable service from the Old World in comparison with that from the United States. Today the situation is precisely reversed; the average large Latin American newspaper now carries as much material on the United States, accurately prepared by the great press associations, as it does on all the rest of the world put together. The result is that the episodes of our day-to-day existence are being viewed in a much fairer light than was the case before the war. And the tremendous possibilities of inter-American radio in this connection scarcely require comment.

The participation of the United States in the great new development of Latin America will bring advantages not only to both parties in the new world but in the restoration of the old world as well. Our contribution toward the new economic life and strength of the southern republics will be a vital element in the increase of the flow of those resources that are so necessary for the economic recovery of Europe. Latin America's truly extraordinary advance during the past decade offers secure ground for the conviction that there is not only ample room but an actual need for the United States and Europe to collaborate with the rapidly growing native commercial financial and industrial communities in those countries in bringing them into their world's economy.

Vandyck Arrivals

The following passengers arrived last Saturday by the Lamport and Holt s.s. Vandyck from New York and ports of call:

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What The Railways Are Doing For Argentina

IT is no mere coincidence that sees the Chairmen of the three great Anglo-Argentine railway systems simultaneously reviewing on behalf of their shareholders the important interest they possess in this country. Sir Joseph White Todd, Mr. H. C. Allen, and Mr. J. A. Goudge are not only men of note in railway circles but can also boast the possession of knowledge as wide as it is practical concerning Argentine production and commerce, and with that knowledge a deep and intimate sympathy with Argentine affairs in general. For, as many Americans are doubtless aware, the great Anglo Argentine railway systems of today are perforce much more Argentine than Anglo, notwithstanding the fact that their directorates are in London and that the majority of the shares are in the hands of British stock holders. It would be a simple matter to transcribe statistics dealing with the Argentine railway system, but the figures may be had from any reasonably up-to-date year book. Hence it will suffice to mention for the benefit of those to whom the subject may be new that the mileage of the various Anglo Argentine lines is over fifteen thousand, while the recognized capital can be put at more or less one thousand one hundred million dollars, U.S. currency. How these important results were obtained makes an interesting story, but in order to give the account its full value it would be necessary to write up the whole history of Argentina's productive development from 1857, when the little line from Buenos Aires to Floresta, scarce ten miles in length, was opened to public service. The story would have to include the tale of the gradual changes in the cattle trade which the facilities of railroading for stock afforded to the up country estanciero; it embraces the whole history of cereal cultivation in Argentina, as well as the provision of shipping facilities, and even harbors, at her several ports; the immense expansion of the wine industry of Mendoza and San Juan is also one of its chapters, while last but not least must be included the vast amount of experimental work in zones at one time considered unproductive, and irrigation extensions in regions which scarce two decades ago were considered to lie at the back of beyond, and valued accordingly by the buyer of land. Argentina to all intents and purposes has

no roads but the railroad, and even the subsidiary tracks which serve to bring produce from the farm to the railway have been built out of contributions assessed upon the net profits of the lines. And in addition to this, a notable innovation by the Southern Railway took the shape of a subsidiary system of Decauville tracks laid as feeders to the main line in the Southeast portion of the province of Buenos Aires; an innovation which, though scarce two years in operation, has proved of incalculable value to producer, has raised the price of land served thereby, and has materially increased the railway company's traffic receipts.

Railroads Planning Still Further Expansion

August 1914 upset a great many schemes all the world over, and incidentally held up sundry railway improvements and extensions already surveyed and planned by the various Anglo-Argentine systems. How the railways were forced to carry on, practically from 1914 to 1920, with what they had got in the shape of material for the permanent way and existing rolling stock, is another story that, though interesting enough, must be taken as read. Yet those plans were only postponed, not definitely abandoned. Argentine progress being constant, it was self evident that the development of the railways on which so much of that progress depends must also continue. Locomotive renewals and additional rolling stock were the first needs to be filled, and the swiftness and smoothness with which the heavy cereal traffic has been handled during the past two seasons is the best proof of the satisfactory manner in which this has been done. Existing traffic being attended to, there still remained the vastly greater task of affording further facilities mutually beneficial to the lines and to the districts they serve. Thus, the Central Argentine, in addition to rebuilding its Rosario station and rearranging its tracks and yards there and at Ludueña, is also about to undertake an extensive scheme of electrification embracing the major portion of its suburban system in the outskirts of Buenos Aires still served by steam traction. Granted that the success of the first electrical section has been so instant and so marked as to make the further adop-

tion of electric traction a sound dividend-paying proposition, it has still to be remembered that the capital funds must be found somehow or other, and the expenditure duly recognized as chargeable to capital and not revenue; a remark which a subsequent paragraph will possibly make clearer to those not acquainted with Argentine railway law. On the Southern line, work is about to begin on the remodelling of its great terminal station in Buenos Aires, Plaza Constitución, concurrently with the widening of its track into this city, the electrification of part of its suburban system, and the rebuilding of several of its suburban stations. Reorganization and extension of this system's connections in the Bahia Blanca zone is also projected, and explains the recent visit of Mr. Allen to that part of the republic. Turning to the Buenos Aires Pacific, one finds plans brought forward for extensive alterations and extensions in the Mendoza region, embracing the shops, the gridiron, and sundry small branch lines; work which will call for an outlay of about four million dollars. Moreover, it has long been recognized by the board of the Pacific railway that the terminal station in Buenos Aires must be rebuilt on a scale commensurate not only with the importance of the line and the traffic it carries, but also in a style and with a dignity suitable to the aesthetic embellishment now generally characteristic of the Federal Capital. The new station at Retiro has, therefore, been planned, to cost some seven million dollars, and it will be designed to harmonize with the Municipal proposal for a great park coming right down to the river front; a vast open space broken by gardens and tree-shaded paths, with the three railway termini of the Central Argentine, the Central Córdoba and the Buenos Aires and Pacific railway, lining its northern frontage.

The Capital Cost

It must not, however, be thought that the Argentine railways are wholly a law unto themselves. A certain amount of Government supervision began in 1872, and in the year 1891 there was created the department which is still charged with seeing that the railways conform to the various laws under which they operate as public carriers. These duties the Dirección de Ferrocarriles discharges efficiently yet tactfully, relations between it and the various companies being most harmonious. The Federal Constitution of Argentina and the rights enjoyed by provincial and municipal bodies have, however, from time to time led to discussion and even legal



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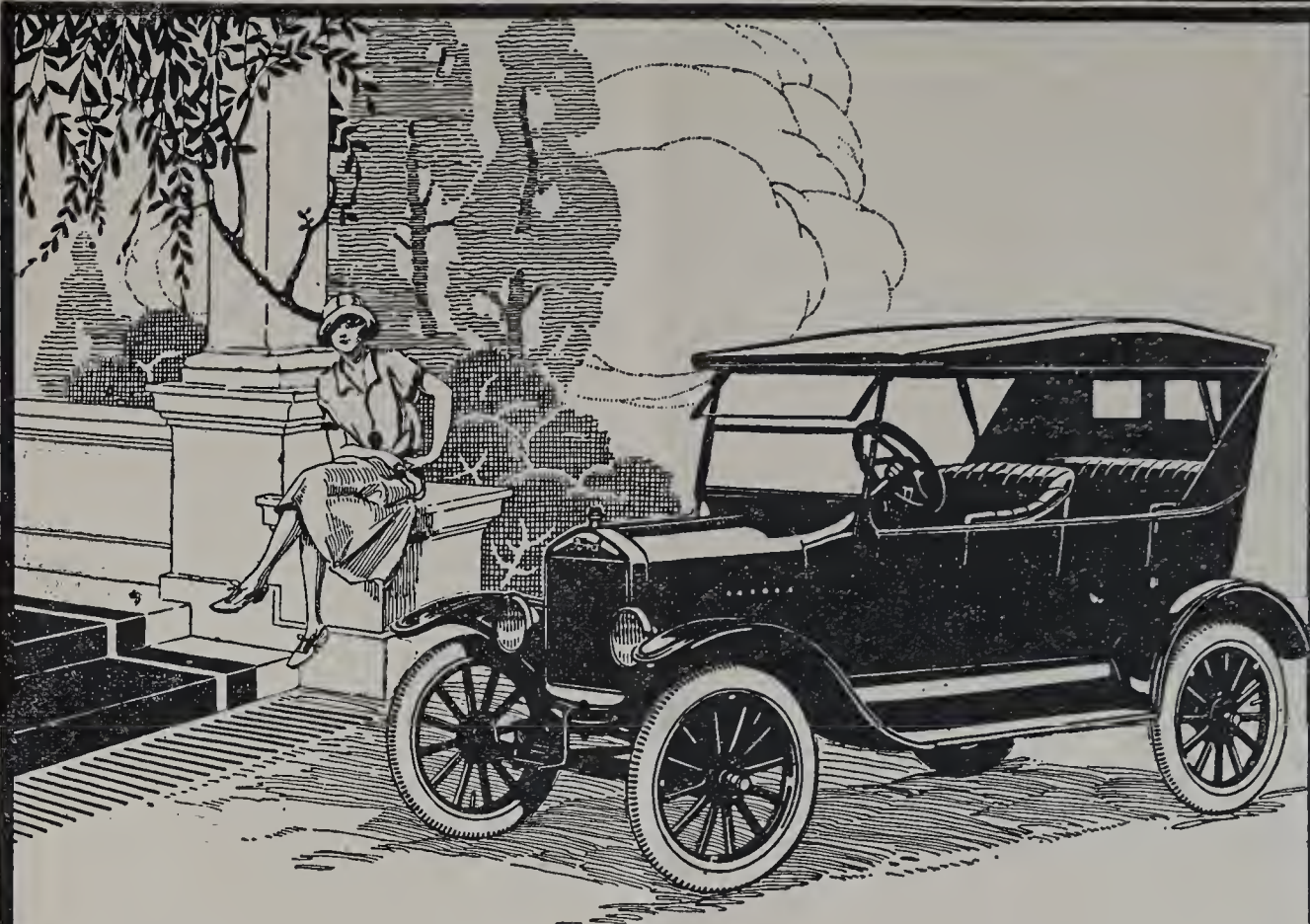
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action in connection with taxation imposed by them upon the railways, who considered such imposts unwarranted. Out of this situation sprang what is frequently referred to as Argentina's Railway Charter of Rights, the Mitre Law of 1907. Too long for insertion here, it defined the privileges and responsibilities of the companies, their taxative liabilities, and the maximum net profit to be earned on the registered capital of the companies. This is summarily put, and merely serves to emphasize the point one now seeks to make, namely, the difficulty which the railways have had in convincing the National Government as to what expenditure may legitimately be charged up to capital account — and as such be recognized by the National Government — and what may be looked upon as expenditure out of current revenue. The point, as will be seen, is of the very first importance when considering railway extensions and improvements planned on the scale indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. Altogether these new works will call for something like twenty million dollars new capital, which will probably be sought in London — and found with great difficulty if there is the slightest uncertainty regarding its inclusion in the capital account of the various companies concerned. Fortunately, relations between the present Government and the Directors of the Railways are characterized by harmony and good feeling which is based on the fullest recognition of the mutual advantages that such an attitude brings in its train. Argentine railway shares are quoted on the London stock exchange at prices which, though relatively satisfactory compared with 1920 and 1921, are in every case from ten to twenty per cent under their par value as far as the ordinary stock is concerned, whereas before the war in the case of the four great systems, the Southern, Central Argentine, Western, and Pacific, the same shares were over par to a more or less similar extent. And while it is not pretended that under present conditions quotations can be carried to the pre-war figure, one may emphatically declare that full and liberal recognition of the capital outlay incurred by the railways is not only strict justice but also calculated to prove excellent propaganda in favor of Argentina's never-ceasing demand for foreign capital. Actions speak louder than words, and such recognition will but confirm in the realm of railway finance the many expressions of goodwill towards, foreign capital that have from time to time been uttered by or on behalf of the present Administration.



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Bugaboo of "Yankee Imperialism" Shattered

By *Henry L. Sweinhart*

(Special to THE AMERICAN WEEKLY)

Washington. — If there has been any fear in the past as to imperialistic aspirations of the United States toward parts of Latin America, particularly territory in the region of the Caribbean, that fear would seem to be totally exploded by the policies which this government has enunciated and the practices which it has put into effect during the past few years.

Never before perhaps have these principles of "non-aggression" been more forcefully stated and more scrupulously enforced than under the regime of Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state of the United States. Furthermore, it can be asserted on the highest authority that there will be no change in the attitude of the American government on this question. If anything, it is believed, the principle will be more rigorously observed in the future, as it becomes more deeply imbedded in the practices by which the foreign relations of the United States are conducted. The "bugaboo of Yankee imperialism" which certain persons in some of the South and Central American countries, as well as in Mexico, Cuba and other West Indian islands, have puffed up from time to time and kept alive, in order to serve their own selfish aims or ambitious schemes, seems to be a "ghost which has been laid."

Recent Events Show American Intent

A number of recent events show the sincere intent of the United States to refrain from invasion of the rights of any of the other American republics or from an effort to acquire territory or permanent domination of any kind in those countries. The fact that the United States "covets no territory and seeks no conquest" to the south of its present boundaries is being more and more demonstrated both by the declarations and the actions of this government. Among these may be mentioned the following:

1. The submission only a few days ago by Secretary Hughes to the governing board of the Pan American Union, composed of the diplomatic representatives here of all the American republics, of a series of projects looking to the codification of the

"American international law of peace." One of the proposed conventions which will be submitted for the approval of the respective governments is a "declaration of the rights and duties of nations." The text of none of the conventions has yet been made public, pending study by the various governments; but the one referred to, as originally drafted by the American Institute of International Law, provides, among other declarations of "equality of nations," that every nation has the right to exist and to conserve its existence; that every nation is in law and before the law the equal of every other nation; and that every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other states, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other states.

U. S. Neutral in Central America

2. The absolute refusal of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Honduras during the long period of political rivalry and instability and the costly civil conflict which resulted. Throughout all these troubles the American government maintained a neutral attitude, aiding only by its friendly advice to help in the restoration of normal, constitutional rule. With the recent inauguration of a peacefully-elected president in Honduras, it is believed the United States has once more given a striking example to the world, particularly to the republics of this hemisphere, of its unselfish and friendly interest in Latin America and of its readiness and ability to lend helpful counsel and cooperation to foreign countries through purely diplomatic channels.

3. The efforts of the United States to prevent future revolutions in any of the Central American countries. The recent action of the American government in the complicated Honduran situation will give added force and meaning, it is believed, to the treaty of peace and amity which was signed by Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador at the conference on Central American affairs held in Washington two years

ago. While this treaty has not yet been officially ratified by all the signatory countries, it has already proved itself a powerful incentive in checking and removing revolutionary tendencies in some of the Central American countries, which was its main purpose. It received its first severe test in the Honduran disturbance and the application there of the principle of non-recognition of a government set up by revolutionary means has pointed the way, it is believed, to lasting success for this formula in the treaty.

Other Examples of Friendly American Interest

Examples might be multiplied of the firm determination of the United States to aid whenever possible, through friendly advice, in the settlement of difficult problems which arise in some of the Latin American nations, but without invading their sovereign rights or encroaching upon their territorial possessions. The announced intention of the United States to withdraw from Nicaragua the legion guard of marines which has been stationed there for some years past, furnished proof of this intention; and the marines were retained in Nicaragua for a few months longer only because of the earnest solicitation of the new government there that this be done for a short time. The marines which had been in the Dominican Republic since 1915 were withdrawn some months ago.

All of these illustrations of this government's attitude toward the other nations of this hemisphere only serve to prove the declaration of Secretary Hughes in one of his speeches that "the liberty we cherish for ourselves we desire for others; and we assert no rights for ourselves that we do not accord to others." That President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg will continue to follow the course which has been laid out in regard to this nation's relations with the other American republics, and that the fear of territorial aggression on the part of the United States which has been scared up on many occasions in some of these countries is baseless, can confidently be stated. The present administration through all its actions and dealings has only served to strengthen the statement, which represents the reflected opinion of the vast majority of citizens in the United States, that this nation seeks no further territorial expansion and that it has no designs, territorial or otherwise, on its neighbors to the south.

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FINDING A DERELICT IN THE JUNGLE

(Continued from last week)

Being the diary of Mr. Bertram Brice covering a journey from Valparaíso, beginning May 19th 1909 and travelling to the waterways of lower Bolivia via Mollendo, Arequipa, Lake Titicaca, Puna, Guaqui, La Paz, Achecache, Sorata, Tipuani, Ancota, Huanay, and the rivers Mapiri, Kaka and Beni where he found a brother whom he had not seen for 20 years and who had been beyond the pale of civilization so long as to be hardly recognizable. The return was made via Mapuritrail, Oruro and Antofagasta, returning to Valparaíso the following year.

(Reprinted from "The South Pacific Mail")

Not having the teeth of a horse, it was necessary for me to break them with stones, which were the only plentiful things in the place, after which I made a try to rest my body and legs sleep being out of the question, as I expected some devilment from the guide. At about 11 p. m., he sat up quietly, I immediately did the same and cocked my Colt, when he said something about the animals and laid down again. I was afraid to sleep any distance away from this man for fear he might do a bolt quietly with my packages, as the moon was now very late, and the night pitch dark, I thought it best to lie a yard distant, with my revolver watching him.

7th August 1909

At 2 a. m., we were off again neither guide or myself speaking, my legs and feet are terribly painful, until I get the sores stretched and the blood in circulation, also my polcas are worn as thin as paper and are little or no protection on the sharp broken rocks which puncture them repeatedly.

I have still 26 hours of hard pushing before I arrive at Sorata. We continued for 10 hours without stopping, sunrise from the top of the range being one of the most beautiful sights I have ever seen. The lower valleys are some 3,000 to 4,000 feet below us, while we travel on the ridge of the mountains, the thick white clouds lying some 300 feet below us, in heavy masses, like cotton wool, entirely concealing the depths below. Had I had films for my camera I could have taken some of the strangest photographs from above the clouds, the clear air, the rising sun and the clouds below appearing like an enormous storm tossed sea with tops of the highest hills sticking up. At 12 p. m. I was obliged to stop for ten minutes and wash my sores in a pool of icy cold water, using washing soap which left the holes cleaner but

deep, and many bleeding. At about 1 p. m. we commenced our descent from the ridge down into the valley, passing through a small colony of 6 stone habitations (that is stones laid on top of one another), this being a gold washing centre. We were able here to buy four small flat breads from the Indians. It being now 4.30 p. m. we pushed along up the valley, endeavouring to reach Rosario before dark. Rosario is the foot of a steep trail, which crosses the last Cordillera high up above the snow level, eventually branching off into the Tiphiani trail. Two of the animals could hardly keep on their legs which necessitated our moving along very slowly, when as darkness was falling we were obliged to halt and make a meal of crushed corn, dried beans, and the small breads (1 1/2 ozs.) and a very little hot water to drink which necessitated our looking around for dried mule dung for fuel. While engaged in the noble occupation of filling our pockets with dung I came to the ground with such force on the back of my head that I was almost knocked unconscious. When I recovered somewhat I examined the cause of my downfall and found we were camped amidst a number of hard frozen pools of water, the ice being 3 inches thick. No sleep for me, but this is the last night thank God. A thick icy cold mist is penetrating my thick canvas sleeping bag, my feet which are covered with dirty bandages are numbed with cold, my sores having no feeling in them now, and as I lay huddled up in the shelter of a rock (a good name shelter) with Elena's special home-made hat tied around my chin, the cold cutting wind making the eyes ache, watching the shadowy form of the guide, I thought, "Thank God I did not press my brother to come back with me, for by this route I am certain he would not have reached La Paz alive. This season I am told is exceptional for the extreme cold in the valley.

8th August 1909

Fixed up the pack mules at 1 a. m. it being pitch dark and all in a bad way men and animals with empty stomachs, my pack mule having to be kicked up on to his feet continually, the animals now having to rest and breathe occasionally it being a 16,500, altitude. At 5.30 a. m., we joined the Tipuani trail (on which I had travelled exactly 2 months previously) and crossed the top of the Cordillera 17,400 feet with such a cold wind (the sun not being visible) that hands, face, and especially my feet which were now without "polcas" as they were worn right through, were black with the cold, at our last stop I had been obliged to cut one of my pair of trousers off at the knees, and wrap the cloth around my feet in place of my polcas, which I am carrying along with me as ornaments to grace my walls in Chile. At 7 a. m. the broken down animals made their last burst when we commenced to meet the Indian traffic, my guide now lagged behind. There being no further danger I did not object until I saw him stopping the Indians and opening their bundles, so I waited and asked him what he was doing to these poor devils, he said he was looking for bread which was not entirely the truth as he was also robbing them of any small amount of money that they possessed which they carried wrapped up in a rag. This I told him to desist from as we were but one hour's journey from Sorata which lays some 3,000 feet in a hollow. He then asked me to advance him his freight in order to do some trading swindle with the Indians. This I foolishly did, being in a happier frame of mind on account of sleep and food appearing in the near proximity, the result being he transferred the pack from the mules to an Indian and cleared out just as glad to see the last of me as I was glad to see the last of him. I arrived in Sorata at 10 a. m. and there received Elena's letter from the Boston Bolivia Rubber Co. I bought new polcas and arranged for a mule to Achacacha for which I paid double. Did I sleep and eat well that day? I did.

9th August 1909

Set out for Achacacha 40 miles on mule at 6 a. m. it being necessary to cross the Cordillera 17,500 feet on the other side of Sorata valley the high altitude now not troubling me in the slightest, probably due to my lean and fit condition. After a bad throw from my mule, which appeared terrified at certain Indians, I arrived in this town at 6 p. m. and booked by

the old army baggage car for La Paz.

10th August 1909

Started at 5 a. m. for the 66 miles journey, changing our mules 3 times and arriving at 5 p. m. in La Paz where I was able to attend to the now very sore legs and arms. After careful examination I came to the conclusion if they were any worse on the morrow it meant a hospital business which I wished by all means to avoid in La Paz and if possible to postpone until I arrived in Antofagasta. As in the train between Oruro and Antofagasta there is hope of these bettering in the cold with attention.

11th August 1909

I here arranged my brother's title deed for Alta-Mirani paying the past four year royalties on the rubber plantation, after which I called on Don Manuel Vega, Chile Minister in Bolivia, and presented a letter of introduction dated some two and a half years past (when the accident with my hand prevented me making the same journey). I had breakfast with him. I was received with every consideration, notwithstanding my ragged and broken down appearance with my cowhide polcas in place of boots.

Don Manuel Vega is one of the most liked and respected persons in La Paz having been there for many years. His hobby is the collecting of old silver with which he has walls covered.

He also gave me a letter to the Custom House authorities on the frontier as also those of Antofagasta which relieved me of any trouble I undoubtedly would have had with my rubber sack of skins, these being dutiable. I then saw General José Manuel Pando, Ex-President of Bolivia, who previously gave me the information regarding my brother being alive. He asked me about him very kindly, and suggested alcohol as possibly the cause of my brother's downfall from a wealthy man to a primitive savage to which I gave the negative, and the correct reasons which were, the forceable taking of his Indian labourers by the Delegation of which Manuel Pando was the head or in other words the appropriation of his cash capital (as these men could have been sold for some thousands of pounds) and also an excessive use of the coca.

12th August 1909

At 8 a. m. I was going up the Zig-Zag way leaving La Paz for Oruro



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which place I reached at 5.30 p. m. at once changing trains for the Antofagasta combination where I at once met Voltaire, the mining expert with whom I travelled previously on the "Orissa."

We struck a card-sharper. I got clear with £10 loss, Voltaire who continued, dropped £50 and the card-sharper, in turn, dropped off at a way-station, when he went to wash his hands.

13th August 1909

The travelling upon the Antofagasta Railway to Bolivia is worthy of remark, the food being better than any I have had since leaving the "Orissa."

On this journey we passed through some very interesting large borax deposits, etc.

14th August 1909

Arriving at 8 a. m. at Antofagasta when I found from our Agent that there was no P. S. N. C. sailing for some 7 days, so I booked by the C. S. A. V. steamer "Tucapel" on the 16/809 after telegraphing Elena.

20th August 1909

Arrived at Valparaiso 6 a. m. when Elena appeared in the Company's launch and after (metaphorically speaking) muzzling me, took me ashore in my polcas and chains, my ankles and legs being still covered with the painful and very deep sores from the insects which make boots too painful to be worn.

The time employed on this expedition through the Rivers Mapiri, Kaka and Beni was made exceptionally quickly, as on the return journey I sacrificed all comforts and underwent severe hardship that would not have been experienced had I taken more time and had a companion, or waited for animals and proper means of transportation, but as it was essential that I should arrive with the least delay possible on account of the poisonous condition of my legs and arms which really required laying up in a colder climate to get better, it was best, I considered, to do double work and reduce the delayed arrival at some civilized place where I would be able to attend to myself. The time and the means of transport I employed on the various sections of the journey were as follows:

	days
Steamboat	11
Muleback	6
On foot	24

(including the shooting expeditions)

Rafts on rivers Mapiri, Kaka and Beni	1
Lake Titicaca	1
Ancota Gold Mines	5
Railway	5
Mollendo	2
Arequipa	2
La Paz	6
Sorata	3
Rurrenbaque	4
Total	91

Such a journey should most certainly not be taken alone but in company with some friends or companion and a fairly strong constitution is required to throw off the fevers and colds and recoup after such fatigue with want of proper food as have never previously been experienced. Such discomforts as sleeping in clothes and boots with the bare ground for a bed etc. are minor items which cannot be classed as any great discomfort when taking into account the climate and surroundings.

All the photos taken at Ancota Gold mine and onwards were lost in the river. I was however able to get a number taken by Camus a Spaniard in Rurrenbaque, who made a business in this way.

Supplementary to the foregoing Diary, I give a few items of information that have drifted out from the upper rivers regarding several character and people I met with on my journey to the interior.

8/20/09. On this date C. (who assisted me with his Bolivian "Código Penal," at the time when I was ordered to turn up the concession papers of "Altamirani," (my brother's place, which was given to him by Sr. M. Pando, late President) and which, it will be remembered, I was obliged to take from Zerna, by trickery, arrived in Valparaiso from Rurrenbaque, not more than skin and bones. He had taken the opportunity of Schmidt's balza being down river for rubber, to skip from old Drew's place, his outfit being (what he had) on his back.

The man who had previously done such a big deal in local cargo, manipulated as transit cargo to Bolivia (which does not pay duty) was not too proud to pocket, for his own use, Schmidt's remittance to his family in Chile (which I observed he had carefully guarded during his painful journey up Tipuani pass, in an empty incandescent mantel box).

(to be concluded)



Mr. F. F. GRIFFITH and Mr. F. J. DOVER
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THE INCA'S THRONE IN CUZCO, PERU



On a slight elevation, facing the "Fortress Sachsahuaman," on the hill back of the city of Cuzco, and only about a half hour's walk from the center of the city, is the famous "Inca's Throne," hewn in the solid rock.

In the above engraving, the throne which was once the seat of mighty monarchs, is occupied by an Indian mother and her present generation descendants of the race which once inhabited The Land of the Incas.

Between this throne and the fortress is a level field, now grazed by sheep, which in ancient times was probably a parade ground for the Inca's armies. From this throne, who knows how many generations of powerful rulers have reviewed their troops, or what scenes of tragedy, valor or sacrifice have been witnessed from this cold and silent throne of solid stone?

The Incas who once occupied this throne of rock ruled over an Empire of greater extent than any existing today. No ruler of this age possesses such immense amounts of gold as was theirs. Considering the knowledge and the implements available, their subjects wrought greater works than any of this generation; roads, irrigation canals, temples, forts, and massive walls of masonry, which are the marvel of all who visit Cuzco.

THE LAND OF THE INCAS

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SALLY ANN'S SCRAP - BOOK



THE chic of the Parisienne, famous the world over, has never been adequately analyzed. What is this intangible thing that makes every woman from Sioux Falls to Peking long to be mistaken for a Parisienne?

Is it something that can be acquired? Or is it a fairy gift-bestowed on every little Parisienne at birth, and to be struggled for by others? Is it the way the Parisienne wears her clothes? Is it the size of the woman inside the clothes, or the clothes themselves? Is it an unborn sense of line, of color? Is it her walk? Or is it purely psychological?

I asked an observant young American doctor studying in Paris for his analysis of this thing which the average woman would rather have written on her tombstone than that she was respected by all who knew her.

He said, "It is the walk of the Parisienne. The way she carries herself, the way she puts her feet down.

I stood with a friend one day in the Bois for an hour watching them go by. We both agreed no women could walk like the French woman."

I asked an artist who has been living in Paris for years to contribute his ideas on the vital subject.

He replied, "It's their absolute femininity. The French women are good to look at because they do not in-



For evening wear

This elaborate headdress may be of oriental inspiration, but it is very modern in effect. Tiny rhinestone bands outline the part and follow the hairline and are wound into the coils of the hair to simulate a headdress. This is equally effective for the bobbed or unbobbed, if the coils of hair happen to be the sort that are removed with hairpins, there is no objection to that. Naturally this sort of thing is not appropriate with any but evening clothes.



A hat with a cape

We have here one of the trick styles that fashion loves. This hat has a scarf which pulls down from each side and forms a cape to be worn over the suit or frock as an extra decoration. The same material used for a band about the hat is used about the throat to keep the scarf from flowing too freely. It is highly recommended for sportwear.

terfere with the figures God gave them, as the American woman seems prone to do, trying to look like a boy and succeeding in looking like nothing."

I asked a male author, one with an eye for the ladies and a chuckle for the latest popular phrase.

Said he: "It's purely psychological. When you can't explain anything any other way, say it is 'purely

psychological.' That explains everything from trick boy murderers to French chic."

Dispose of the Frills.

Apparently an adequate solution of the mysterious workings of the Envious Order of Chics calls for a conference of the league of nations. That not being imminent, so far as interested Americans are concerned, we in our "splendid isolation" attempted to get to the bottom of this important international problem ourselves.

As Mr. Kipling says, you learn about women from women, so I took his hint and began to study the femme from this more direct source.



Elaborate necklace

Very elaborate necklaces and combinations of colorful stones are featured in costume jewelry. Here is one where pearls of various sizes and oval cut corals are effectively contrasted. It is so very decorative that it can be worn only with a gown that has a very plain neckline.

PEBECO

TOOTH PASTE AND MOUTH WASH



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Suipacha at Corrientes

Whether I have solved the great mystery to my own satisfaction I am still a little in doubt. But among the things I have learned from and about the Parisienne are that the first commandment of chic is to rid oneself of every superfluous frill, sub or super, every bit of excess jewelry, garish trimming and ornament.

Another is the French woman's wholehearted acceptance of her mirror as her best friend and severest critic. She dresses to please her own fastidious self, more than to please her neighbor, her neighbor's husband or his brother, although there is no offense meant nor taken should a male eye be lighted up by the vision. No offense whatever! The consequence is that when she steps out she has that air of assurance of a deed well done, with no single frayed edge of hair, complexion or dress to disarm her confidence.

Always a Feminine Touch

Consequently there are none of those days in her life when she wishes so-and-so had not seen her looking "such a fright." Nothing is too much trouble where the true Parisienne's appearance is concerned. She has the time, no matter how busy with other interests, to study herself and to perfect every little detail from shoes to shingle. She is a skilled needlewoman herself, almost without exception, and she can correct a line that is displeasing with a deft stroke or two.

But upon me, more than any other feature, the sheer femininity of the Parisienne makes the impression. She has maintained the lure of sex through it. She may wear a *tailleur*, but there is the scarf of the *boutonnière*, the light hosiery and daintily shod feet to preserve the feminine lure.

She may be ever so slight, yet she is a creature of curves, not angles. She may wear her hair in a boyish bob—yet she is never boyish. She stands erect and instead of trying to flatten her chest into a boy's form she is proud of a curved and definite bust line. In other words, she is a woman and dresses and acts as though she were proud of it.

While you may agree the American woman is better shod on the whole than the French, yet the latter's feet are non-athletic and distinctively feminine gendered in their short vamps and high heels. Her shoes, I believe, make her walk what it is. Curiously enough, in spite of the high heels generally adopted around the age of 15, the French women are free of foot deformities. We are taught to believe the majority of foot troubles are due

to this high heeled habit. The French foot is shorter and broader than the American. The American girl dresses her feet and puts them down as though she were on her way somewhere and knew where she was going. The French feet look as though they might be bent on some mysterious little rendezvous along the way.

Again, the French woman has an instinctive feeling for line. You see it in the *midinette*, in the way she wraps her cheap little coat around her; in the angle at which her hat is pulled down on her head; in the inexpensive frock she wears, more likely than not made by her own hands out of a bargain remnant, and in the never obtrusive color scheme of the whole outfit.

Drawing a Comparison

They wear black for the street a great deal. A black hat, slim lined long black coat with narrow bands of fur at neck and cuffs, short skirts, light hosiery (dark hosiery is never seen), and trim patent pumps. Yet when they adopt a color from head to feet it is one perfect color scheme. There is no haphazard choosing of a hat. The hat is bought to wear with the coat or with the suit. It is almost as important as getting the proper marriage mate — this color union of hat and dress.

Susanne is secretary in a film publicity office. She picked up a remnant in dark green cloth one day and had a coat made. For two weeks she could not wear it because she had not yet found the dark green felt hat to go with it.

In an ultrasmart dining or dancing place you will see a handsome woman enter, well dressed, even stunning, as we say. At the next table sits the chic Parisienne. You begin to ask yourself why the woman at the first table has suddenly lost your interest. Perhaps it is because she has not applied her makeup with that attention to infinite detail characteristic of her at the second table.

Perhaps it is the scarf thrown around the shoulders of No. 1, an expensive thing, to be sure, but an extra thing. Perhaps it is the beaded dress, just a bit too glittery. The C. P., too, is wearing white—yes—and there are beads on it. But they don't hit you in the eye. With No. 1 you are conscious of a handsome woman, an expensive dress, beautiful pearls, diamond bracelets — several of them — and a rich husband. With No. 2 you are conscious of an exquisite toning down of ornamentation and a tremendous chic. And you wonder if that's it, after all. You're pretty sure it's the half of it anyway.

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FURS

Gazelle is to be used rather more for short sport coats than for more serious purposes. The length of one's fur coat depends upon the type of fur chosen, and consequently varies with each model; naturally, one must always consider one's height when choosing a model. All sorts of brown and gray furs will be right this season, as well as vison and zibeline for sumptuous full length coats. Breitschwantz, baby lamb, and caracul look very well both in short and in three-quarter lengths. The narrow type of silhouette is to be preferred in the fur coat.

Ermine is incontestably the evening fur of the season; nothing can possibly harmonize better with all one's evening gowns.

Martial and Armand are showing a pale gray frock, trimmed with silver lace, on which lovely shadows are traced in gray mousseline.

Marthe Regnier, of the Theatre Daunou, Paris, is said to be wearing a Callot frock of white crêpe satin, the lace edge of which is finished with long fringes of pearls, which offer little concealment when she walks. She wears also at another moment in her play a beautiful Callot tea-gown of a supple rose-peach charmeuse, with long sleeves à la Juive, lined with Veronese green.

A number of hostesses are again putting candelabra at each end of the table. Flowers are no longer so high that it is impossible to see people who are seated across the table, but are in low bowls. It is very correct to put blossoms broken from their stems upon the dinner cloth, arranged like the carpet of flowers before an altar of Buddha.

Rumor has it that, if one listens, one will surely hear crinolines pass at this very moment in the streets of Moscow. Paris smiles a little, and decides to continue dictating what she pleases to the world, as usual.

Bordeaux red is correct, and forest green,—beige, and rose beige, and bois de rose, all of which are associated in one's mind with the greens and the chestnut tones and the ochres. All the XVIII pastel tones will be used for evening frocks.

The Mode in Paris

Evening frocks are lovely at this moment, with their embroideries and their ornamentation of pearl in every tone, the effect of which is made ex-

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quisite under the brilliant lights. There are a great many straight, pearled frocks still shown, which by their grace make a woman appear very slender, and young. These dresses very frequently have veils of tulle or of vaporous georgette floating at the sides—a very graceful idea for dancing. Ostrich feathers are still used as trimming. One may use beautiful ostrich plumes as motifs along the bottom of the skirt, or even make a wide border of uncurled feather fringe. Tunics are frequent, and allow of width in the skirt, which one always wants a little of for fox-trotting. The tunics are made sometimes of gold and green lace sometimes of silver lace.

At Nice and Cannes there are sumptuous toilettes and numerous creations. The little robes de promenade are really exquisite; they are perfectly straight, with large leather belts low over the hips. Some of them have fullness in front, some at the sides.

RECIPES

These are all tried recipes, submitted by a lady famous for the perfection of her knowledge of culinary matters.

Potato Croquettes.

- 1 pint of mashed potatoes
- 1 beaten egg
- 1 teaspoonful of salt
- 2 tablespoonfuls of melted butter

Shape in pyramids, dip in beaten egg, roll in bread crumbs, and fry in deep fat. Serve garnished with parsley.

College Pudding

- 1 tablespoonful of butter
- 2 " " sugar
- 3 " " milk
- 1 egg
- 1 pinch of salt
- 1 teaspoonful of baking powder
- 1 scant cup of flour

Cream the butter and sugar, add the yolk of an egg, then add the flour in which the baking powder has been mixed, and mix with the well-beaten white of the egg; flavor to taste; put it in a buttered tin, and steam half an hour. Serve with a rich sauce.

Sauce Paradiso

Separate the yolks and whites of two eggs. Beat the yolks until they are a pale yellow; beat the whites very stiff. Beat into the yolks half a cup of granulated sugar; beat until it is creamy. Then beat half a cup of sugar into the whites. Flavor with lemon or rum, and add whipped cream if you wish.

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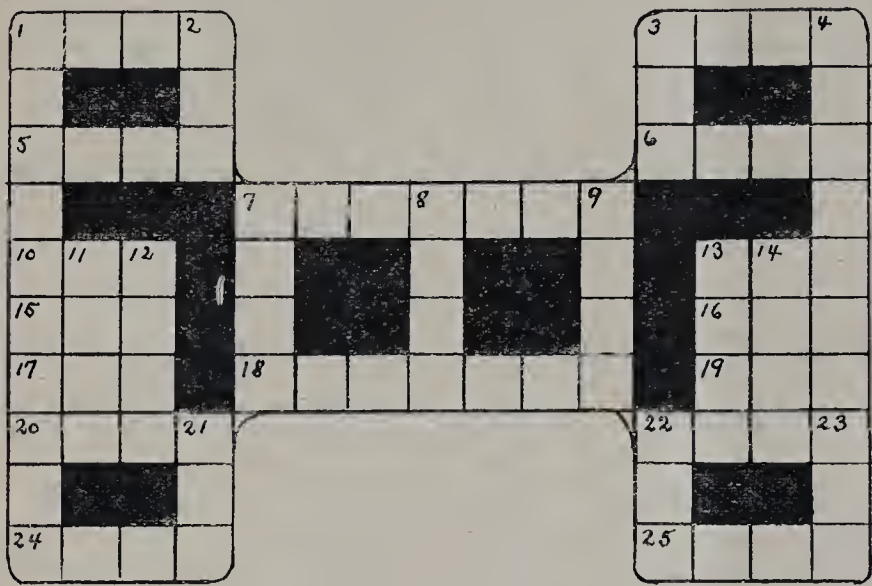
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CROSSWORD PUZZLE

This week's cross word puzzle was designed, or rather perpetrated, by Mr. W. E. Phelps, a well-known and popular member of the American community in Buenos Aires. Mr Phelps has even gone so far as to christen his puzzle and he calls it "A Dumb-bell's Defamation." It's a good puzzle, but if you are not familiar with the latest slang, you'd better wait for the solution, which will be published next Saturday.

A DUMB-BELL'S DEFAMATION

A simple test for simple people



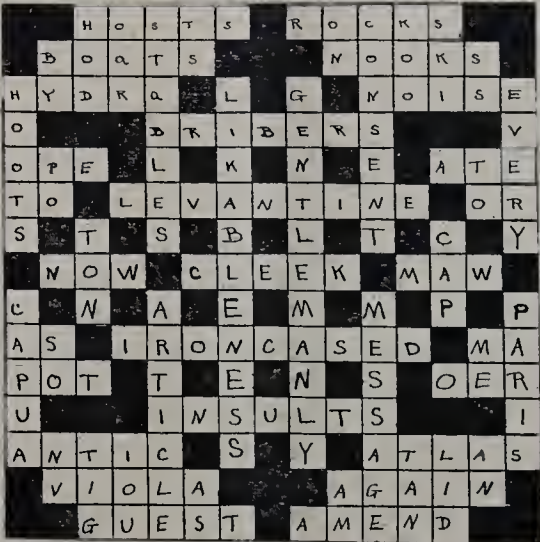
HORIZONTAL

1. He didn't know it was loaded (colloq)
3. Ornithological term for "silly ass."
5. Earthy matter.
6. Part of a hammer.
7. Suffering from ostentatious exaggerated ego. (colloq)
10. To laboriously supplement.
13. A digit.
15. Antithesis of Yank (colloq).
16. Interjection.
17. God (Latin).
18. Pyrene would have saved her house and children (entomological).
19. Antidote for vamps.
20. East Indian money.
22. Man's name.
24. Robin Hoods' favorite quarry.
25. Birthplace of boobs (Chicago).
9. A foxless foxhunt.
11. Dirge.
12. Dark.
13. Conjunction.
14. Strongly recommended by Horace Greely.
21. Suitable.
22. A nocturnal wiseacre.

VERTICAL

1. Senseless jargon.
2. A parasite (colloq).
3. Disappears when one stands up.
4. Nothing above the ears (colloq).
7. First cousin to a boob.
8. Vague.

ANSWER TO LAST WEEK'S CROSS WORD PUZZLE



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NEWS OF THE WEEK FROM THE CABLES

ALL President Coolidge's hopes to get the gang together again and agree on what sort of weapons should be carried by the various nations were shattered this week when Premier Herriot of France instructed the French ambassador in Washington, M. Daeschner—sound French for all the German sound—to inform Secretary of State Kellogg that France is not interested in reducing armaments at this time, no doubt preferring to keep up the war program which she thinks eventually will win for her hegemony of Central Europe.

This announcement produced the usual "sensation" in Washington and London and in the one place it was intimated that if France insisted on acting like that pointed remarks would be made to her about paying her debts to the United States and in the other there was the usual English inclination to look on and say nothing.

Opinion on the whole subject, however, was rather adequately summed up by the newspaper *Risorgimento* of Rome which pointed out that only two nations in the world today are really belligerent, France and Japan, and that these are building warships and improving their armies as fast as they can.

"France should look toward the other side of the Atlantic where there is a real program of peace," the paper said. "It is time for France to take heed; she cannot enter into a disarmament conference, but she will have to disclose her schemes eventually."

Kellogg Silent

Secretary Kellogg did not care to discuss the French attitude, any more than did Foreign Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain, but Mr. Kellogg did say this:

"We did not ask France for any opinion regarding the proposed conference; we have no further comment."

The attitude of France toward the efforts of the other big powers to

reduce armament expenditures is gradually bringing about her isolation, which does not seem to worry France, for she is continuing to build up her alliances with the new Central European states by loans to buy army supplies and officers to demonstrate how the supplies should be used.

Great Britain has come out frankly in favor of a "peace pact" on the continent in which Germany would be a party, but the likelihood of this diminishes as the arguments for it increase.

Premier Herriot, of course, is having his domestic difficulties; he seems to have lined the Catholics up against him solidly by his withdrawal of the ambassador to the Vatican and the attitude he assumed toward the Alsace and Lorraine Catholic schools. On top of this, he has so angered the Royalists—whom the Radicals accuse of being in league with the Catholics—that they are lurking in every alleyway with the old "totschlaeger" out to do him in.

Students On Strike

The latest demonstration against Herriot comes from the students, starting in the University of Paris where the premier appointed a politician friend to a professorship of law. The students—and the faculty—thought he ought to have appointed a man from the faculty, and perhaps a good Catholic.

When the man appeared to assume his duties there was such a wailing and weeping that he was dumbfounded. Then along came the police and cracked a few heads. This was resented by the students who turned about and did some head-cracking on their own account.

The row wound up Thursday morning with the proclamation of a forty-eight hour strike by the students of the university, and this was extended to all the big colleges of France.

The premier, however, did not appear greatly concerned, although he was personally menaced in the Chamber of Deputies when he was alleged to have called a war-cripple an epilep-

tic. The session had to be adjourned in the fight that followed.

Poincaré Rampant

While President Coolidge was sorrowfully considering the tendency of the world to keep on preparing to fight and refusing to take a great interest in his peace and disarmament plans, former Premier Poincaré of France broke loose with his usual song of hate. He referred to the German proposal that a pact be entered into guaranteeing peace.

"France should not be asked to relinquish or diminish her own means of protection in the face of Germany who is not disarmed," he said after describing the horrors of the German invasion of France. "Nor should France be asked to exchange these means of protection for appearances of guarantees or a mirage of security for her life is at stake."

"If it should happen some day that, after apparently guaranteeing our frontiers, the Reich, with or without Soviet Russia, should renew her partition of Poland and then should incorporate Austria with Germany she would quickly have regained her hegemony of Central Europe and it would remain only for her to take the third step and turn finally against France to accomplish for the second time a movement that resulted in the tearing away of two of our provinces and the establishment of the German empire. It is at the first step that the allies ought to halt this march, if they do not wish to prepare for Europe a future as tragic as her past."

French Peace Views

Although Premier Herriot is a Socialist and has been credited, even in Germany, with the most pacific intentions, he has looked at the German peace and guarantee pact proposals with a jaundiced eye. According to the latest reports, the Quai D'Orsay has prepared a reply to the German proposals to give France sufficient security—so that France could discuss reduction of armaments if she were

so inclined—asking for a detailed account of the German intention toward frontiers and a definite declaration as to whether she intends to seek admission to the League of Nations unconditionally. Unless Germany answers this question regarding the League in the affirmative, France will not negotiate.

The German proposal offers guarantees of the French frontier but does not mention the Belgian frontier, which France regards as of equal importance with the French frontier.

Another fly in the ointment is the quite frank but unofficial opinion in England that Germany will not abide by the new eastern frontiers, and that eventually she will sally forth to wipe out the Polish corridor and resume her natural intercourse with East Prussia and re-take the portions of Upper Silesia which were lost to her following the French-fomented rebellion there after the plebiscite.

Whether Germany will undertake these things on her own in the years to come or make a bid for the assistance of Soviet Russia is a question which is worrying more heads than are housed in the French foreign office.

German Troubles

While President Coolidge was planning a new conference for peace, the Germans fought out their first presidential election, and the highest vote — more than 10,000,000 — was polled by a monarchist. However, the constitution provides that the winner must have a majority in the first election, and no candidate received the same, wherefore another election must be held April 26.

The result of the elections showed, clearly enough, that the republicans in Germany could defeat the monarchists and the ultranationalists if they combine their forces, and this likely will occur in the April elections. Even the monarchists admit that there is no possibility of a return of "The King of Prussia" within the next twenty years, and the nationalists are chiefly concerned with keeping the monarchical tradition alive.

However, the elections caused a wave of terror to sweep over France. The newspapers displayed the monarchist menace in their most startling type, and asserted that the "revenge war" was sure to come as soon as the old hard-boiled boys were back in the saddle.

The Germans were too busy with internal affairs to care much what France, or anybody else for that matter, thought of the elections, but political leaders began negotiating for a battle royal the twenty-sixth of April

when the field will have been narrowed down until candidates representing the old and the new ideas will have an opportunity to fight the issue out to a ballot-box finish.

Peru Dissatisfied

Europe was not the only place where there were rumors and threats and denials and alleged preparations for "eventualities." According to despatches from Washington, the Peruvian embassy there received a note from the Peruvian foreign office for transmission to the State Department saying that the award of President Coolidge in the Tacna-Arica case was entirely unsatisfactory and that the only thing that would keep Peru from taking very vigorous steps would be the sending of American authorities and forces into the two disputed provinces to remain there until the plebiscite is held, to prevent the Chileans from ousting everybody in favor of Peru.

The alleged note—which was not delivered—is said to have pointed out that Peru got the worst of the arbitrator's decision and that it would be impossible to cooperate in carrying out the award unless the United States was willing to promise, with officers and soldiers, that the plebiscite would be perfectly fair.

The gist of the note was published by Colonel George Harvey's well-edited newspaper The Washington Post, and the comment the colonel made thereon was anything but cheerful. In the first place he pointed out that American opinion is absolutely opposed to using United States' soldiers to settle foreign quarrels, and in the second place he doubted very much whether the President himself could settle the matter in this way, or any other way if Peru continued intransigent.

Although the note was never delivered, and instead a memorial was handed the State Department reciting alleged wrongs done Peruvians in Tacna and Arica by the Chilean forces of occupation, the impression prevailed that the note actually had been received and would have been delivered if The Washington Post had not received a copy and published it, the publication causing a storm throughout the United States.

After it was seen that the United States would be hostile to such a move, Peru is believed to have decided to withhold the note temporarily at least.

Codifying Law

Just as the commission of the League of Nations on the codification of international law met in Geneva

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and agreed to do its durnedest to assimilate the rules for the conduct of nations in peace and war, the Pan American Union gave out the drafts of thirty-one projects prepared by the American Institute of International Law and sent to all American republics intended to prevent any assault and battery or slander among the American nations.

One of the projects provides for the outlawry of war for territorial expansion and would establish "as a fundamental concept of international law" that without reference to existing controversies "in the future territorial acquisitions obtained by means of war or under the menace of war or in the presence of armed forces to the detriment of any American republic shall be unlawful."

The conference in Geneva, trying to do the same thing for the entire world, heard Dr. Suárez of Argentina make a speech in which he assured the Old World that the future civilization would have to be based upon the civilization in the New World and it would be wise for the savants of Europe to learn what sort of a society exists over here.

Up To Americas

"Latin America has two representatives on the present commission who are convinced that international order and security only will be attained by international justice and hence it is necessary to forget continental interests and take up the needs of entire humanity," Dr. Suárez said.

"The American continent already has given an encouraging example. We must not limit our efforts merely to cataloguing subjects capable of codification, but seek a solution on all points of difference. The greatest past obstacle has been the absence of legal authority charged with the task of settling disputed points. We can overcome that, and we will point out especially the needs of the American continent and seek to conciliate these needs with the needs of Europe.

"We are convinced that the pillar of future civilization must be erected on the American civilization where a new constellation is arising around the United States, inspired by ideals of international justice."

Former Attorney General Wickersham of the United States, present as a delegate, said he was confident that the American republics would be of great assistance, and he promised to submit the conference a copy of the drafts prepared by the American commission on uniform state legislation.

Business Mergers

New York announcements said the Dodge Motor Company had been pur-

chased by a group of bankers headed by Dillon, Read and Company for something like \$146,000,000, with the intention of forming a new company with probably I. G. Wilmer, chairman of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, as chairman. There were reports that the Packard and Hudson companies might be taken into the merger, but these were definitely denied.

E. L. Doheny announced the sale of the Pan American Petroleum Transport company with large South American interests to the Pan American Eastern Petroleum Company, which the Standard Oil Company of Indiana controls. The Pan American Eastern Petroleum Company is understood to be seeking an interest in the Lago Petroleum company.

These sales and combinations caused widespread interest throughout the United States and experts expressed the opinion that they were the forerunner of an epoch of large combinations in business on an unprecedented scale, which probably will result in congressional action. The purchase of the Pan American Petroleum Company from Doheny results in the formation of a syndicate virtually uniting Sinclair and the Standard Oil Company of Indiana in the Mexican and South American fields, inasmuch as Sinclair and the Standard of Indiana jointly own the Sinclair Crude Purchasing company and the Sinclair Pipe Line company. The new combination will be the largest crude oil producing and marketing organization in the world, the combined capitalization exceeding \$500,000,000.

Meanwhile a vast consolidation of railroads is proceeding rapidly in the United States under the direction of the Van Sveringen brothers who five years ago were unknown, but have risen spectacularly to be the most powerful figures in American railroad finance.

The Robert Dollar steamship company has purchased five Pacific Mail vessels, obtaining a virtual monopoly of American passenger ships in the Pacific.

Amundsen's Plans

The famous Arctic explorer, Amundsen, left Oslo this week enroute to Spitzbergen from where he will hop off with two seaplanes in April or May on a flight to the North Pole. His plans for the flight previously were abandoned on account of lack of money. Cash is being raised now by the sale of Amundsen postage stamps.

Amundsen expects to land near the Pole if he finds open water, otherwise he will make a reconnaissance and land as near as possible. He is taking along

two aviators who recently, in mid-winter, completed successfully a flight around Norway.

The English dirigible R-33 left Cardington aerodrome Thursday morning for a flight to Pulham by way of Cambridge and Newmarket. This is the first airship flight since the R-34 fell in the Humber in flames several months ago.

The British war ministry awarded contracts for the construction of ten airplane hangars which is the first portion of the construction throughout the country of a chain of home defense air stations to eventually total thirty, which will house fifty-two home defense air squadrons, twenty-six of which will reach their full strength in 1926.

The British, aware of the French air superiority, are experimenting to obtain a new and faster bullet proof non-inflammable airplane, and there are constant rumors that a helicopter has been developed and that practice in ground defense for aerial attacks is being carried out.

First army manoeuvres since the war will be carried out in Great Britain in September in Hampshire and Wiltshire and in parts of Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex and Dorset.

President Coolidge keeps hoping that about the time these maneuvers start he will be able to convene another conference on disarmament in Washington.

Balfour and Arabs

Lord Balfour, who was active in the promotion of the plan to give the Jews a national home, went over to Jerusalem to assist in the inauguration of the Jewish University, but he discovered that he was anything but popular over there. The Arabs have called a strike against the Jews and say they will carry it on to a bitter end. In his speech at the opening of the University, Lord Balfour said a new epoch had begun and that a great effort would be made to rehabilitate the home of Jewish culture which never had ceased from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem to the British army's expulsion of the Turks.

"It is a profound mistake, however, to imagine that the Arabs can not derive the fullest advantage from this university," he said. "I hope that the Arabs will remember the darkest days of the darkest ages when civilization was smothered by barbarians that the Jews, together with the Arabs, greatly aided in bringing the first sparks of light which illuminated the darkness."

Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner, said that "as

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faith and enthusiasm had turned the land back into a thriving and progressive state, so we will succeed in turning animosities into friendship."

Five hundred New York Jews arrived at Haifa on the first ship to fly the Zionist flag and went to Jerusalem to attend the ceremonies.

Death Penalty

The House of Commons rejected by a substantial vote, the mention of a Labor member to abolish the death penalty in the army, holding that it was necessary for discipline, although the Laborite pointed out that there were no better fighters in the war than the Australians who would not permit the infliction of the death penalty. He said thirty youngsters under 21 years of age were shot during the war because they were afraid, and he held that attacks of "nerves" have nothing in common with cowardice.

Proponents of maintaining the death penalty explained that during the whole war only 287 officers and men were executed, and many times officers trying offenders minimised charges or overruled death sentences. The Secretary for War said that only 11 per cent of the death sentences passed during the war were allowed to stand, 89 per cent being either quashed or reduced. He said the death penalty was intended less as a punishment than as a deterrent to others.

Pope's Consistory

The Pope held a secret consistory this week and made a speech in which, thinking of France right then, he regretted that there seemed to be ill will toward the Catholics in many parts of the world. He announced the creation of two Spanish cardinals, and recalled the forthcoming canonization and beatification of several servants of the Church and remarked that "they certainly will pray that full peace and unity be restored among all the peoples, and also that the church will see the return of her erring children into her arms."

Speaking of the Holy Year pilgrims, the Pope said:

"It has been a special pleasure, not only because the rich and distinguished but also the very poor, to whom the journey to Rome has been costly, ardently desired to show their fervor and piety; it has been a spectacle for all the world, for angels and men."

Referring to the missionary exhibition at the Vatican, the Pope praised the efforts of those "bringing civilization to the peoples and inspiring youth to enroll in the missionary military," and adds that the visitors to

the exposition saw the unity and universality of the Catholic church, which is entrusted to teach one single faith preserved by a single Roman Pontiff.

Various Disasters

Seventy-nine German soldiers were drowned in the Weser river near Detmold when a pontoon bridge on which they were crossing collapsed. The bodies were not recovered.

More than three score men were killed in a mine near Metz when an elevator fell a thousand feet. The dead were frightfully mangled while a few who escaped with serious injuries went insane because of the horrors they had witnessed.

A mine became flooded at Newcastle and trapped forty miners who gradually were drowned. The population of the entire town prayed through a whole night for "a miracle" to save them.

Four bodies of ship's officers were washed ashore in Scotland and from the condition of the men it was announced that apparently a mutiny had occurred and the officers had been massacred, the crew starting on a pirate cruise.

All the editorial writers of The Washington Post, guilty of publishing the Peruvian note to President Coolidge about the Tacna-Arica award before it was delivered — it never was delivered — will be discharged, according to a rumor. Colonel George Harvey, chief editor, will still be on the job.

Lieutenant Osborne Wood, son of the Governor General of the Philippines, who recently went over to Paris and Monte Carlo and dropped the insignificant sum of \$500,000 gambling—he was reported to have won this previously on the stock market recently — came home on a cargo boat and said he was sorry he had done it.

Some Sighing Atoms

Professor S. R. Williams of Amherst reports he has established communication with atoms. He has discovered that they sometimes sigh. Iron atoms under the influence of a magnet are said to emit wails, which has been established by ultra-sensitive amplifiers.

In describing his discovery, the professor recalled that during the war two highly sensitive terminals were embedded in the ground near No Man's Land by means of which enemy conversations could be detected.

Extension of this principle of amplification to the study of what is "said" by the atoms of iron in a magnetic state, the professor declares, has finally been rewarded by the barely audible sigh.

Local Notes and Gossip

Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, Argentine Ambassador to the United States, expects to sail for the United States on the s.s. American Legion next Thursday after a leave of absence of several months.

The Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis de Amposta, has recovered from his recent illness.

Mrs. C. H. Woodward, wife of Capt. C. H. Woodward, U. S. N., chief of the American Naval Mission in Peru, arrived last Saturday by the s.s. Vandyck and will proceed to Lima by way of the west coast, to join her husband at his post.

Señor Juan Manuel Traverso, Argentine Consul at Los Andes, Chile, departed last Saturday for his post.

Colonel Carmelo Levene has received an appointment as military attaché to the Argentine legations in Uruguay and Paraguay.

Miss Harriet M. Saunders and Mr. Hilton C. Benson will be married at the American Church next Wednesday afternoon at 16:30 o'clock.

Miss Estela Taylor and Dr. Rafael Maldonado will be married on Thursday, April 30.

Mr. and Mrs. Lester Grant arrived by the s. s. Vandyck, last Saturday and departed for Chile on Sunday by the international train.

Miss Emma R. Chapin, who has been General Secretary of the Buenos Aires Young Women's Christian Association, for five years, and has been absent on furlough in the United States for a year, has returned to take command of her post once more.

Mr. E. C. Brown, manager for the Dearborn Chemical Company, has returned from a vacation of several months spent in the United States.

Dr. M. J. Henry has gone to Cordoba to continue his studies for the Argentine dental examinations.

Mr. and Mrs. Otto C. Schmidt have moved to Calle Sucre 3066.

Mr. Charles H. Abbott, South American representative of the International Correspondence Schools, is planning to leave Buenos Aires about the fifteenth of this month for a business trip to Chile which will keep him away two or three weeks.

Mr. Frederick H. Hauser, general manager for the United States Rubber Export Company, has returned from a short business trip to Brazil.

Mr. Charles T. Lathers, manager of the Detroit Branch of the Ford Motor Com-

pany, is expected to arrive here early this month from Brazil. This will be Mr. Lathers' third visit to Argentina, his last one having been about two years ago.

Mr. Francis Curry and family are planning to sail by the next steamer for New York for a vacation of about five months.

Mr. Levy, of the International Products Company, of Paraguay, passed through Buenos Aires last week and departed by Sunday's international train for Chile on his way to the United States. Mrs. Levy and Miss Levy went to the United States a few months ago.

Mr. Leon M. Estabrook, who has been appointed director general of the World Agricultural Census, is planning to leave the United States about May 1 on his way to Rome where he will put in about a year of preliminary work in organizing the census. He then plans to visit all the principal agricultural countries of the world and probably will return to Argentina on this mission within the next two years.

Mr. Miles Vaughn, formerly manager at Rio de Janeiro for the United Press Associations, and who was later in Buenos Aires for several weeks, has been appointed Far Eastern manager for the U. P. with headquarters at Tokio.

Mr. Charles Sanders has gone to Cordoba on a holiday.

Mr. F. W. Diemont has recently returned to Buenos Aires after a six months' trip to Holland.

Mr. W. B. Jones has been appointed General Manager of the Banco Sirio Libanés del Río de la Plata, which will be opened on April 30.

Mr. Daniel Gowland has returned to Buenos Aires after a holiday at Mar del Plata.

Mr. L. Davis has departed on a trip to Cordoba.

The Misses Julia and Sarah Claypole are at Mar del Plata.

Miss Barbara C. Ripley and Miss Helen Vogler, who are Y. W. C. A. secretaries in Rio de Janeiro, have departed for Chile on a holiday.

Miss Hazel Bent and Miss Rosemary Reinhold, Y. W. C. A. secretaries in Valparaiso, departed for Chile on Sunday, after attending the conference in Conchillas.

Miss Tirza Dinsdale and Miss Buelah Noyes, Y. W. C. A. secretaries in Santiago, departed by the international train on Sunday morning. The Association is

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Mrs. James Cushman of New York, who represents the Y. W. C. A. on the World's Committee as Vice-President of the United States Section, will arrive in Buenos Aires from Montevideo within a few days.

Miss Edith Dabb, who is a specialist on work among Indians, has been attending the Montevideo Conference of Churches and taking a lively part in the discussions upon matters pertaining to the Indians of South America.

Mrs. Robert E. Speer of New York, President of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., is spending a few days in Montevideo before coming on to Buenos Aires. Mrs. Speer plans to study the work of the Association in the different countries of South America.

Miss Anna May Stokely, of Tennessee, arrived by the s.s. Southern Cross. Miss Stokely is almost coming back home, for she has already spent five years in South America as secretary in Santiago, and her new work on the Continental Staff for Students' Interests will require that a great deal of her time be spent in Chile.

The Columbia Club will meet next Wednesday, instead of Friday, at the home of Mrs. Thomas J. Parker, 2006 Calle Conde, Belgrano, at 2 p. m. Mrs. J. J. Pratt will read a paper on the life and writings of William J. Loeke, and Mrs. Anthony L. Parra will give the Special Current Topic.

Mrs. Clara E. Benitz of the estancia "La California", Santa Fe, has come to Buenos Aires a visit.

Miss Ethel Newbery with Miss Cora Page have gone on a visit to Mrs. Lily Page's estancia at Acevedo.

Mr. and Mrs. Osvaldo Repetto, expect to be in their new home which they are building on Calle Pampa, Belgrano, before very long.

The American Woman's Club of Belgrano met on Monday afternoon with Mrs. Clarence F. Feeley, at her home 1667 Calle Conde, Belgrano. Mrs. Fred Six read a very interesting account on Argentine gaucho poetry, illustrating the authors Hidalgo, Godoy, Varela, Aseasubi and Ricardo Gutiérrez. The next meeting will be on April 13th at the home of Mrs. Arthur Gordon, when the study of gaucho poetry will be continued, the authors being Estanislao del Campo, José Hernández, R. Obligado, M. Coronado and C. Oyuela. Mrs. Robert Gieschen will sing

Dr. S. W. Damon, who has been taking a year of post-graduate work at the Dental School of Northwestern University in Chicago, returned to Argentina on

the S. S. Vandyck. Dr. Damon is not a new-comer in Argentina, for he has spent twelve years in Salta, Jujuy, and Tucumán. For a year and a half he lived in Bolivia, during which time he added to his degree of Doctor of Medical Dentistry from Harvard that of C. D. of Surgeon Dentist from the University of La Paz. Dr. Damon is expecting to practice in Buenos Aires.

Dr. and Mrs. Robert Speer, Mrs. James Cushman, Miss Elizabeth McFarland, Miss A. M. Stokely, and Miss Margaret Vesey are expected to arrive in Buenos Aires on April 9.

Sir Arthur Yapp, Secretary of the Y. W. C. A. in London, left Buenos Aires on Thursday.

Mr. and Mrs. George Edward Kidd of Calle Santa Fe 899 are receiving congratulations on the birth of a son.

Mr. and Mrs. S. L. Gillin departed on Tuesday with their family to spend some time in Tandil.

Mrs. N. K. Fougner of Loreto 1741, Belgrano, entertained the newly-organized Bridge Club on last Monday afternoon. After luncheon, the ladies played bridge until four o'clock, when tea was served. The following ladies have formed the new club: Mrs. John Happer, Mrs. Robert Holm, Mrs. Charles Hopkins, Mrs. McClelland, Mrs. George Robertson, Mrs. R. Hummel, Mrs. George, and Mrs. N. K. Fougner. The club plans to meet every Monday at 12:30, so that the very serious business of bridge may be preceded by a luncheon party—and tea afterward will ease the sorrow of the unlucky. The ladies will act as hostesses according to the dictation of the alphabet. Mrs. George will entertain next Monday.

Mrs. Ernest Keppel left Buenos Aires Monday night for a visit to the estancia of her cousin, Mrs. Furlong, at "El Peridó", near Coronel Dorrego, F. C. S.

Mrs. Will L. Smith entertained several ladies at tea at her home in Martinez yesterday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. Ricardo Green have returned from Mar del Plata.

Mr. Charles C. Eberhardt, former American Consul General at Large for South America, has been appointed American Minister to Nicaragua. Mr. Eberhardt's last visit to Buenos Aires was in 1916. His latest appointment is a well-deserved promotion under the Rogers Law, which permits the promotion of efficient consular officers into the diplomatic service.

The Governor of Misiones, Dr. Barreiro, returned to Posados on Sunday after spending a few days in Buenos Aires.

The Buenos Aires Y. W. C. A. is planning a tea on April 14th in honor of Mrs. James Cushman of New York and Mrs.

Robert E. Speer. Mrs. Cushman is vice president of the World's Committee of the Y. W. C. A. and Mrs. Speer is president of the National Board of the Association. Both ladies came to South America to attend the Conchillas conference.

Unreality will be the subject of tomorrow's Christian Science Services, both at the First Church, Calle Rivadavia, and at the Society, Calle Tucumán 854. The services will begin at 10.15 o'clock.

Mrs. Milan B. Mann has resigned her position as secretary of the United States Naval Attaché, as she and her husband expect to go to the United States in the near future. The Navy Department has appointed Miss Goodrich of Washington to be her successor and Miss Goodrich is expected to arrive by the S. S. Western World.

Mrs. Emerson Bigelow has been confined to her bed this week with grippe.

The Rev. Ralph J. White and Mrs. White are expected back from Montevideo on Monday of next week.

Dr. Carlos Nye is planning to leave Buenos Aires next Tuesday for the Chaco where he will spend Easter Week hunting big game.

Mrs. George G. Cobean is recovering from an operation on her throat which she underwent on Monday of this week.

The Y. W. C. A. gave a tea for the members and ex-members of its clubs last Saturday at the home of the Association, 384 Calle Piedras. A hundred and fifty guests were present. Miss Sheldon, one of the secretaries who has been for some time in the United States on furlough, and has just returned, was welcomed back by many of her old friends.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Muller sailed for Europe last week by the s.s. Antonio Del-fino and expect to make their home in Germany. During the last year, Mrs. Muller was private secretary to the manager of the American Chamber of Commerce in this city.

The Chancellor of the Argentine Embassy in Brazil, D. Alejandro Acosta, sailed on Thursday for Rio de Janeiro.

Mr. George S. Brady, United States Trade Commissioner, was in Rosario on official business this week.

Sir Joseph White Todd, Chairman of the London Board of the Central Argentine Railway, departed for England by the s.s. Arlanza.

The Business Woman's Club of Buenos Aires will hold its first meeting of the year at 14:30 this afternoon in the club-room of the American Church. All English-speaking women will be warmly welcomed to the tea-time chatter at four o'clock, when everybody will have time to tell all their summer's adventures to

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LA NACION

BUENOS AIRES, VIERNES 13 DE MARZO DE 1925



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**Fueron salvados del incendio
los documentos del Banco de
la Nación en Concepcion**

CONCEPCION, 12.—El fabricante de la caja del tesoro de la sucursal del Banco de la Nación, Sr. Sherer, llegó hoy de esa y procedió a abrir el tesoro, encontrándose todo en perfecto estado. Una caja de hierro sufrió desperfectos de importancia, habiendo sufrido los papeles, depositados en la misma, pequeños deterioros. Desde mañana funcionará la sucursal en un local alquilado provisionalmente. Se atribuye el origen del fuego a una imprudencia del ordenanza, que arrojó una lámpara encendida a la galería del edificio con el objeto de destruir un avisero. Coméntase elogiosamente la actitud del gerente, quien dispuso la noche del incendio que fueran salvados en primer término los libros, documentos y muebles de la institución, lo que se consiguió. En cambio se quemaron todos los muebles y ropas del gerente.

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*The Documents of the Bank
of the Nation in Concepcion
Were Saved from the Fire.*

CONCEPCION, 12.—The manufacturer of the vault of the Bank of the Nation, Sr. Sherer, arrived today from Buenos Aires and opened the vault, finding it in perfect condition. An iron safe was badly damaged, and the papers stored in it were spoiled.

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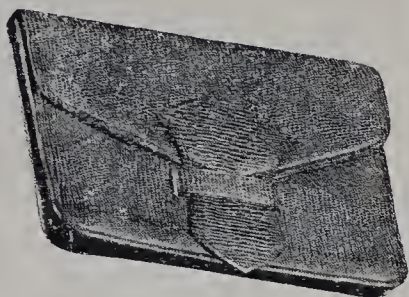
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everybody else. Miss Martha Allen will give a talk on how to dissect the character of your friends and pet enemies from their handwriting.

Mr. and Mrs. John Daniels of Minnesota arrived in Buenos Aires on the American Legion. They will remain at the Plaza Hotel until April 9, when they will return by the same steamer to Rio de Janeiro to visit their son who is Secretary in the American Embassy. After six weeks in Brazil, Mr. and Mrs. Daniels expect to return to the United States.

The Sunbeam Club met yesterday afternoon at 17 o'clock in the club room of the American Church.

Mr. and Mrs. N. Donnelly are motoring in the Cordoba Hills.

Mr. Newton W. Cronhelm, manager of the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society, has returned to Buenos Aires from a vacation spent in Punta del Este.

The San Isidro A. C. American Tournament, Mixed Doubles, for members only, will take place on April 11 and April 18. Entries will be closed on April 9. Previous to that date, they will be received by members of the committee and by a representative at the club.

Major John H. Norton and Major Lindsay sailed on the Arlanza on Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. Samuel Belcher arrived from the United States by the s.s. American Legion.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gordon McGhie were among the Americans who arrived on the s.s. American Legion.

Dr. William Strauss, who sailed for the United States on the s.s. American Legion on February 12, returned this week by the same steamer. Dr. Strauss, who has been established in Buenos Aires for a number of years, is a member of the well-known firm of Strauss Hermanos, Importers.

Mr. Philip Malcolm, manager of the Galena Oil Company, who sailed for the United States on February 2, returned on the s.s. American Legion. Mr. Malcolm remained in New York, during his visit, where he was in consultation with the main office of the Galena Signal Oil Company.

Mrs. M. P. Crawford arrived in by the s.s. American Legion, and will be very glad to see her old friends at Calle Loreto 1717, Belgrano. Mrs. Crawford is the mother of Mr. Henry P. Crawford, manager of the Remington Typewriter Company, and this is her second visit to Buenos Aires.

Mr. and Mrs. Myron Keith, of Boston, sailed for Rio de Janeiro this week by the s.s. Arlanza after spending a month in Buenos Aires and Mar del Plata during which they were entertained extensively

Mr. Keith is vice president of the Walk-Over Shoe Company and was intensely interested in seeing to what a high stage the Argentine shoe industry has developed. During his visit to one Argentine factory he saw in operation a shoe making machine which he invented forty years ago.

Mr. Frank Fangman, of the Cía. Amstea del Rio de la Plata, the local organization of the American Steel Export Company, departed for Chile by last Sunday's international train on his way to the United States. He expected to be away about three months during which he will visit his old home at Hollywood.

Mr. Bernard S. Van Rensselaer entertained the Round Table for dinner at his home on Monday night to meet Mr. Isaac F. Marcossion who made an extremely interesting talk on his experiences as an interviewer of kings and emperors for The Saturday Evening Post. The following members of the Round Table were present: Mr. A. P. Allensworth, Mr. James M. Barker, Mr. Cyrus T. Brady, Mr. George G. Cobean, Mr. Cuss, Mr. E. Stanley Cutts, Mr. Arthur Gordon, Mr. Ralph W. Huntington, Mr. F. D. Posey, and Canon Spanton.

Mr. William Frances Dean, an American engineer who is on his way to Comodoro Rivadavia, arrived on the s.s. American Legion.

The Rev. Father F. Fowler, C. P., will preach at a special English service at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Good Friday at the Holy Cross Church. A full choir will chant the "Lamentations."

Due to time-table changes on the Central Argentine suburban service, all the Sunday services at St. Saviour's, Belgrano, will revert to the usual winter schedule which, generally speaking, are ten minutes later than those that have been in force during the summer.

The Nandu Campfire Girls are planning a picnic for next Thursday afternoon.

Mr. William F. Benkiser, resident vice president of The First National Bank of Boston, left the city this week for a short holiday, expecting to return before the departure of Mr. Barker next Wednesday.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Tierney are planning to sail for the United States next month to be away about five months on a vacation.

Easter Sunday at the American Church will be commemorated by the usual Easter services, in addition to which two very notable American preachers will speak. Bishop Francis O'Connell, who is regarded as one of the greatest preachers in the United States, will speak at the Easter morning service. Dr. Robert E.

Speer, chairman of the Committee on Religious Cooperation in Latin America, and a well-known author, will be the preacher at the Easter evening service.

Holy Week will be observed at the American Church by special services on Good Friday and on Easter Sunday. There will be a special service at 10:30 o'clock on Friday morning at which the preacher will be the Rev. Dr. Robert Brown, pastor of the Richmond Avenue M. E. Church of Buffalo.

Mr. and Mrs. Willard T. Clark are planning to sail for the United States by the S. S. Western World on May 7 for a vacation of several months at home.

The Rev. Dr. W. D. Crowe, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, Mo., will preach at the English service at the Lutheran Church of The Redeemer in Villa del Parque at 8:30 tomorrow morning. Dr. Crowe is one of the foremost preachers in the United States.

Vice Consul and Mrs. Ferrand are planning to leave Buenos Aires early next week for Montevideo where they will take a steamer to their new post at Porto Alegre, Brazil. They leave behind them a large number of friends who regret to see them depart.

The Rev. Father Harold, pastor of the Church of the Epiphany of New York City is a visitor to Buenos Aires, having made the voyage for his health with the intention of returning almost immediately to New York.

Mr. James M. Barker, manager of the Buenos Aires branch of The First National Bank of Boston, expects to depart for Chile by next Wednesday's international train on his way to the United States for a well-earned vacation of several months.

Five hundred Biblical works, many of which are marvels of modern editing and the book binder's art, are included in the second Biblical Exhibit which the Knights of the Cross have opened at their new center, 712 San Martin. Last year this exhibition was arranged at the Holy Cross Monastery but has been moved to the center of the city this year to make it more convenient to the public. The exhibit is open every day from 4 to 8 p. m., except on next Wednesday. Father William, the director of the Center, will be on hand from 4 to 6 every day to explain the exhibit to anyone interested.

The Ladies' Aid and Orphanage Aid Societies of the American Church met Thursday afternoon with Mrs. John Wright, at her home in Calle Bernardo de Irigoyen. The new President of both Societies, Mrs. S. G. McClintock, took

over the chairmanship from Mrs. A. T. Nickson. The other new officers are Mrs. Sherman Aekerman, Vice-President; Mrs. J. J. Gerzen, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. F. O. French, Recording Secretary; and Miss Florence MacLean, Treasurer. The report given by the out-going Treasurer, Mrs. Willard Shrewsbury, showed that the financial condition of the Societies is splendid. Plans for entertainments for this season were discussed, Changes in the Constitutions of the Societies were presented, to be voted on at the next meeting, the principal one being that of joining the two societies in one. A new member, Mrs. Birkhart, was introduced.

The Italian Ambassador, Luis Aldrovandi Mareseotti, Count di Viano, has departed for Cacheuta, where he will remain for a few days.

The Argentine Ambassador to the United States of America, Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, has been appointed to represent the Argentine Government in the form of Ambassador Extraordinary at the transfer of presidential power in Cuba.

Mr. John R. Brown departed on Thursday for Rosario on a business trip.

Miss Isabel Hope and Mr. Alfred Harrington's engagement has been announced.

Mrs. George S. Brady gave a bridge tea yesterday afternoon in honor of Mrs. Kitchel Ferrand, whose husband has been recently appointed Vice Consul in Charge at Porto Alegre, Brazil. The following ladies were present to say good bye to Mrs. Ferrand; Mrs. John W. White, Mrs. Clarence Feeley, Mrs. Ritterstaat, Mrs. N. Fougner, Mrs. C. Anderson, Mrs. Arthur Gordon, Mrs. F. Morawski and Mrs. A. V. Edwards.

Miss Ivy Bond and Mr. G. A. Pell of San Isidro will be married on May 16th.

Dr. I. B. Harper, pastor of the American Church, returned with Mrs. Harper from the Montevideo Conference on Wednesday of this week.

American Legion Arrivals

The following passengers arrived Tuesday by the s.s. American Legion from New York and ports of call:

Mr. O. Ajuria, Mr. Julian Ajuria, Mrs. Maria Luisa Coffman, Mr. Rex Eldon Coldwell, Mr. Oliver Federico Crawford, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Daniels, Mrs. Aelia L. Davenport, Mrs. Mabel Dean, Mr. William F. Fernandes, Mr. Paulino D. Fernandez, Miss Eugenia Fernandez, Master Alberto Gilchrist, St. John Douglas Grayson, Mr. Wilmer Melville Lynch, Mr. Daniel J. Malcolm, Mr. Philip L. McGhie,

Mrs. Charles D. de Martinez, Mrs. Luzetta K. Meissner, Mr. Richard Morgan, Mr. Frederick O'Donnell, Mr. Peter R. Papini, Mr. Genaro Routin, Mr. Albert E. Routin, Mrs. Carlota Santos, Mr. Manuel Sheperd, Mr. William N. Shepherd, Mrs. Margaret L. Snyder, Mr. Arthur J. Southcott, Mrs. Maida, Dr. Guillermo Strauss, Mr. Carmelo Pastena, Mr. Ralph Baker, Mrs. Ethel Bril, Mr. Alan K. Manchester, Mr. Samuel Beleher, Mr. John W. Clay, Sr. Salvador Alonso, Mr. Alfredo Jose, Mr. Simon Zangl, Mr. James Brown, Mr. William O'Conner, Mr. Henry Johnson, Mr. William Fitz Simon, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Mr. Charles Stevens.

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Said he:—You succeeded, I wouldn't do it again.

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Philadelphia Was the Pioneer in Trade With South America

By Chas. Lyon Chandler

Manager, Foreign Commerce Dept. Corn Exchange National Bank.

With the increasing importance of ocean commerce between Philadelphia and South American ports manifesting itself in a steadily growing exchange of merchandise, it is interesting to note the stellar role Philadelphia played more than a hundred years ago in establishing United States commercial relations with Latin American countries. So far as can be ascertained, the first United States vessel to enter the River Plate was the ship "John," of Philadelphia, belonging to John Leamy, a prominent figure in the commercial life of the city in the late seventeenth century. The "John" arrived at Montevideo sometime in November, 1798, and sailed thence for Philadelphia March 14, 1799. Her manifest shows she carried a cargo of boards and daveles. and returned to Philadelphia "with the products of the country" — what is now Uruguay.

The next Philadelphia ship to arrive at the River Plate was the "Liberty," in command of Captain Andrew Miller, which, from records, appears to have reached Montevideo as early as March 13, 1799, sailing on her return voyage in June, 1799, reaching Philadelphia three months later.

The "Liberty" brought a shipment of tallow from Manuel de Sarratea, of Buenos Aires, and this constitutes the first shipment of record of any commodity from what is now the Argentine Republic on an United States ship.

Today Philadelphia enjoys a most substantial trade with Buenos Aires, steadily growing in magnitude and value.

Records also disclose that the brig "Pennsylvania," Captain, Francis Knox, of Philadelphia, arrived at Montevideo in the latter part of 1799, returning to Philadelphia July 15, 1800. Another Philadelphia vessel, the brig "Rose," Captain, John Meany, arrived at Philadelphia from a sealing expedition "in 57 days from the Isle of Lobos, near the Falkland Islands, and sometime before from the Rio de la Plata."

On August 30, 1800, Don Thomas O'Reilly, who seems to have had considerable business relations with Philadelphia, asked permission to return to the United States aboard the

bark "Mercury." This permission was granted by the Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata, including what is now Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. O'Reilly was back in Buenos Aires April 22, 1802.

In 1800, we also hear of a power of attorney given at Buenos Aires to Thomas O'Gorman, who was instructed to buy goods and enter into contracts for the acquisition or loading of vessels, the accounts to be endorsed by the Spanish Consul in Philadelphia. Such contracts had been duly entered into for apparently more than one vessel by O'Gorman. During 1801 and 1802 at least fifteen Philadelphia ships were in River Plate ports. Of them was the "Washington," Captain Williamson, of 1,000 tons, launched in Philadelphia in 1800 by Eyr eand Massey, and said to have been the largest vessel built in the United States up to that time. Others were the "Alexandria," Captain Griffin; "The Sally," Captain McPerson; "Aurora," Captain Thompson; "Three Sisters," Captain Ansley; "America," Captain Swain; "Canton," Captain Willis; "Louisa," Captain Moffett; "Mary," Captain Norton; "Molly," Captain Harding; "Pigou," Captain Collett; "Rosebud," Captain Peese; "Rose," Captain Miller; "Ruby," Captain Hoey, and the "Thetis," Captain Logan.

The "Pigou" made a return trip to Montevideo in 1806, and on November 27, 1806, a ship called the "Elizabeth" of Philadelphia arrived at Rio de Janeiro.

It is interesting also to note that the first shipment of Brazilian coffee to the United States reached the port of Philadelphia on the ship "Pittsburg" in 1809, consigned to Christian Lewis Krumbharr, and that the first ship to Brazil from the United States was the "Tobias," which reached Rio in 1800.

It should be further noted that Hyppolito Jose Costa Pereira was sent to Philadelphia in the late seventeenth century to study botany remaining here for two years, and is the only South American of definite proof who conversed with George Washington.

It is a certainty that these early commercial connections established through Philadelphia enterprise, fol-

lowed later by the moral and material aid and the example of the United States, were factors in the Latin American wars for independence. — Export Trade and Finance.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETY MEETS TUESDAY FOR NOMINATIONS

The Patriotic Society of American Women will hold its April meeting at 14.30 o'clock next Tuesday in the hall of the American Church. This will be a very important meeting as the nominating committee is to be elected. Under the new constitution, this committee will be charged with the nomination of officers to be voted for at the annual meeting. It is important, therefore, that all members be present.

Dues for the current year are now payable and the treasurer will be prepared to receive them at the meeting. Only members whose dues have been paid can participate in the annual election.

After the business meeting, Miss Martha Allen, of the editorial staff of THE AMERICAN WEEKLY, will give an address on "The Human Secrets Concealed in the Palm." Miss Allen has made palm reading a hobby all her life and during the war read the hands of nearly 6,000 soldiers. She, therefore, knows her subject well.

The musical portion of the entertained will be supplied by Mrs. Luisa Rodriguez at the piano.

Mr. J. B. POWERS TO WED IN ATLANTIC CITY APRIL 27

Mr. J. B. Powers, assistant South American manager of the United Press Associations, who is now in New York on leave of absence, will be married on April 27 to Miss Carolien White of Atlantic City. The wedding will be at Atlantic City.

The wedding will be the culmination of a romance which began something over a year ago when Mr. Powers and Miss White met in Lima the romantic city of the viceroys, while Mr. Powers was there on business and Miss White was there with her parents on a tour of South America. Miss White's sightseeing and Mr. Power's business thereafter happened to coincide from Lima down the West Coast and over the Andes to Buenos Aires, as such things sometimes do, and when Miss White and her parents left Buenos Aires for New York, Mr. Powers' more intimate bachelor friends were certain he would soon leave them.

Mr. Powers is now spending a

month in the New York office and expects to depart for Buenos Aires soon after the wedding.

RUBEN DARIO, Jr. APPOINTED CONSUL FOR NICARAGUA

Dr. Ruben Dario, son of the famous Nicaraguan poet, has been appointed Nicaraguan consul in Buenos Aires for about nine years and is widely known in literary and artistic circles of Argentina. For several years he was a member of the staff of La Nacion and has written several poems and short stories of real merit, his "Sapo de Oro" being one of the best short stories that has appeared in Spanish in recent years.

While earning his living working most of the night as a newspaper man, Dr. Dario was also studying medicine during the daylight hours and received his decree as a doctor of medicine some time ago.

Nicaragua is to be congratulated for choosing as its consular representative in the largest South American capital the descendant of its best known and widely loved son.

TOMORROW'S SERVICES AT THE AMERICAN CHURCH

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper will be observed at tomorrow morning's service at the American Church. There will be no sermon, the entire hour being given over to Holy Communion. The choir will chant "Sanctus" and "Gloria in Excelsis" and will sing the anthem "O Strength and Stay."

At the evening service, which begins at 20:45 o'clock, the preacher will be the Rev. W. D. Crowe, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, Mo., who is an orator of unusual ability. At the evening service, Mrs. Beswick will sing the offertory solo.

CHURCH CONFERENCE WILL OPEN HERE NEXT SATURDAY

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Dr. Robert E. Speer, and several other leaders of the recent Montevideo Conference of religious workers have come to Buenos Aires to attend a regional conference of the same nature which will open with a mass meeting at Prince George's Hall at 20:45 o'clock next Saturday night. All the Protestant churches of the city will participate in the conference and addresses will be made by prominent religious leaders, some of whom are among the most noted orators in the United States. The meetings will be open to the public. Other prominent church people who will take an active part

in the conference are Bishop F. J. McConnell, of Pittsburgh, Dr. Frank Sanders, Dr. H. A. Holmes, Dr. Juan Ortis Gonzalez, Dr. J. W. Fleming, Dr. Exner, Mr. E. M. Bowman, and Mrs. McConnell, president of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.

OURPHUN CHANGES NAME

"Ourphun", which has won for itself the enviable position of being one of the widest read English magazines in South America, appears this month under a new name, "The Argentine Magazine for all Who Read the English Language", which will, of course, be shortened to simply "The Argentine Magazine". The change in name is the result of a prize contest among its readers, but the name is the only change that has been made, the current number of the magazine being up to its own high standard in every particular.

The Argentine Magazine is full of interesting reading and photographs of Argentina and of well-known people in the English-speaking community. It has another advantage over many of its competitors in that it is carefully edited and well printed on good paper, so that it is a pleasure to read it.

Miss McFARLAND RETURNS

Miss Elizabeth McFarland, Executive Secretary for the Continental Committee of the Y. W. C. A., has returned to Buenos Aires after a year's absence in the United States. She spent the year chiefly in traveling to raise funds and interest in the work in South America, particularly in the southern states. She also devoted a great deal of time to attending conferences. The National Y. W. C. A. Conference last April, and the meeting of the World's Committee of the Y. W. C. A. in Washington in May were the affairs of major importance. There was also a Y. W. C. A. Convention at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin in August, in which Miss McFarland took a prominent part. At many other conferences Miss McFarland spoke on South American matters.

In an interview with a representative of THE AMERICAN WEEKLY, Miss McFarland said: "Americans are asking far more intelligent questions about South America than in days very recently gone by, and seem eager to really rid themselves of misconceptions and ignorance in regard to this continent. More people are studying Spanish all the time, and, so far as one may judge from a superficial knowledge of the matter, I believe

that there has been a real advance in the teaching of the geography of South America; the material taught is much more accurate, and the presentation seems to be very much more intelligent."

Miss McFarland's headquarters will be here in Buenos Aires as heretofore, although she will travel in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile, finding her way back to Buenos Aires about once a month.

Sacred Cantata

The sacred cantata "The Crucifixion" by Sir John Stainer will be sung at St. Saviour's Church, Calle Cramer 1840, Belgrano, at 20:45 o'clock on Good Friday. The soloists will be Mr. Charles Gabb, tenor, and Mr. H. K. Hudson, bass. They will be supported by a chorus of between 30 and 40 voices.

Wesley Guild Rally

The Wesley Guild held its initial rally of the season on Wednesday night in the hall of the American Church.

After a musical program, the Nandu Camp Fire Girls served refreshments, and everybody appeared to feel that the new year of effort had been inaugurated in a spirit of comradeship and solidarity.

The Wesley Guild plans to meet every Wednesday evening at 9 o'clock. The first Wednesday night in the month is scheduled as Church Night, the second as Educational Night, the third as Devotional, the fourth as Social. These broad divisions admit of very great variety in the meetings. Dr. W. W. Sweet, head of the History Department of De Pauw University, whom Dr. Harper saw frequently at the Montevideo Conference and was able to interest in the Guild, will speak next Wednesday evening. On the 15th, Dr. Barclay, Assistant Book Editor of the Methodist Church, will give an address.

Holy Week at Holy Cross

Palm Sunday, 5.30 p.m.: way of the Cross, Sermon in English and Benediction. Palm leaves will be distributed at the end of the service.

Holy Thursday: 9 a.m. Solemn Mass and Procession; 2.30 p.m. Office of Tenebrae.

Good Friday: 2.45 p.m. Office of Tenebrae; 3.15 p.m. Sermon in English.

Holy Saturday: 10 a.m. Solemn Mass.

Easter Sunday: 8 a.m. Communion for men 10 a.m. Solemn High Mass.

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ROUND THE MARKETS

April 3.

NOTE. The monetary system of the Argentine Republic is based on the peso oro, or gold peso of 1.6129 grams 9/10ths fine, established by National Law No. 1130, dated Nov. 5, 1881. It is sub-divided into 100 centavos.

The paper peso, equivalent to 44 gold centavos, the rate established by the Conversion Law, No. 3871 of November 4, 1899, is legal tender for all payments within the Republic, but in virtue of the Emergency Laws of August 9, and September 30, 1914, the right to claim delivery of gold in exchange for paper money is temporarily suspended.

Argentine Currency Position

Gold in Conversion Office	\$451,782,984	gold
Gold in Arg. Legations	30,071,598	"
Total in Arg. gold pesos	\$481,854,582	

Present circulation in Argentine paper pesos 1,388,142,280 m/n.

Sight Drawing

Rates on	Feb. 28	April 2
New York	109.70	114.
London	45 ⁷ / ₈	44
Paris	17.70	16.90
Belgium	18.10	17.15
Italy	22.50	21.20
Spain	6.40	6.15
Switzerland	4.72	4.55
Brazil	41:000	41:200
Uruguay	1% disc.	9% prem.
New York-London	4.78	4.77 ¹ / ₂

The Money Market

As the Ministry of Finance has pointed out, not only has the Argentine currency recovered all the paper withdrawn on account of the gold shipments made to New York during 1924 but it is even better off than it was prior to the government extractions by some twenty-four million paper pesos. Yet the demand for money is constant, and rates are firm, with 6 to 7 per cent readily obtainable by lenders for good commercial paper and a minimum of 8 per cent for single name advances. Bank balances for the end of February already show the effect of this injection of new money, the deposits increasing by sixty-five million paper pesos while the advances are forty-five million higher, with an increase in the cash in hand of thirty one million pesos. March figures, when they are available, will show still better results, but not on that account is there much reason to hope for cheap money which, one ventures to think, has gone for many a day, even although the government has been able to renew some \$117,000,000 paper of their short-date obligations for 6 months at 4 1/2 o/o.

Exchange

The break in local rates which marked the past week is readily explained by a glance at the position of cereal shippers. They have taken full advantage of the government decree by borrowing and depositing gold in New York at a cost of 4 1/2 o/o per annum on an average, and with the equivalent in Argentine paper thus obtained they are able not only to continue their purchases but are also free to negotiate their drafts against shipment where, when, and how they please. As has been said on various occasions, importers cannot so easily stand aside, with the natural result that all through the past ten days there have been more buyers than sellers of foreign exchange, with the natural effect on the quotation of the Argentine peso. With dollars at 114 and sterling at 44 pence there seems, however, some reason to think that bottom has been reached, and all the factors bearing on the problem are to-day in favour of a rise that may be every sharp when it does come. March saw but little forward selling, and as the cereals must be shipped and drawn for if their value is to be obtained from abroad, we may very well see, ere another month is out, bills offering freely and rates moving in favour of Argentina by leaps and bounds. Not that such a form of progression is desirable, for what commerce here needs is stable rates, and the sooner they are characteristic of the market the better for buyers and sellers alike. Continental currencies have shown some improvement, not so much on account of Argentine conditions as because of the growing belief that both France and Italy are likely to get over their financial troubles without acute political unrest. French francs indeed went to 16.35, but this reaction was too rapid to last, nor need any important recovery be looked for until the new budget proposals are in operation. Local currencies are not greatly changed, Brazil being 41.200 and Chile 345. Orientales, which were at a discount in February, are now at 9 o/o premium.

Stocks and Shares

Public confidence in the bonds of the National Mortgage Bank, the Cédulas as they are invariably termed locally, is unshaken, and, dear money notwithstanding, dealings have been large and prices firm even over the month-end and despite the fact that March 31, being a quarters-day, brings many settlements to a close. Proportionately, Cédulas are almost better regarded than National Bonds, though quotations for these are also steady, and despite some heavy liquidations, the securities are easily placed with holders who are apparently in no hurry to get rid of them. Provincial bonds, Mendoza excepted, are in demand, as are the bonds of the Buenos Aires municipality. The an-

nouncement of probable intervention in the Province of Buenos Aires, far from affecting the market unfavourably, would seem to have almost given it a fillip, all its internal bonds being firm and the Paris bonds of the Meridiano V. railway in marked request. Such industrial shares as belong to good dividend-paying concerns under sound direction are at once absorbed and it is evident that there is quite a fair amount of private capital looking for such openings. The Sansinena Meat shares are quoted at 96 buyers, and there are buyers for the Comodore Rivadavia shares at 102, though Astra Oil, who are also reported to be doing well, are barely 61. A few comparative prices, taken over the month, read as follows:—

Name	Int. Date	Rate	Feb. 28	April 2
Cedula Hipotecaria Law 8172 . . .	Jan-Jul. . .	6%	97.60	98.20
id id 11th Series . .	May-Nov . .	"	96.50	97
id id 19th " . .	Feb-Aug. . .	"	94.90	95.20
id id 21st " . .	Jan-Jul. . .	"	95.30	95.40
id id 22nd " . .	Jan-Jul. . .	"	95.30	95.40
Cred. Arg. Interno. Year 1905 . . .	Q'try. . .	5%	89.60	87.40
id id 1923 . . .	" . . .	6%	96.80	95.10
Munic. Loan City B. Aires Ser. A . .	" . . .	6½%	94.60	95
id id " B . .	Mar-Sept . .	"	96.50	94.20
Cía. Sansinena shares	\$100 gold . .		92	96
Astra, Cía. Arg. Petróleo . . id	50 paper. . .		64.50	61

Wool

Although the buying of Coarse Crossbreds continues and prices for this grade may be considered steady at present quotations of \$13 to \$17 paper per 10 kilos, the condition of the local wool market is far from satisfactory. Fortunately for themselves many of the breeders, convinced that the paralyzation of the Continental and Bradford wool trade cannot last, are holding their stocks back and thus diminishing the visible demand. They can afford to do so and the effect of their action may be to strengthen prices and so recoup them for their present loss of interest. There is no inquiry whatsoever for fine wools, and even Medium Crossbreds are not easy of sale, save at prices which growers consider unduly cheap. Stocks in the Central Produce Warehouses are 11,640,828 kilos as against 3,066,863 this time last year.

Hides and Skins

Markets, though still quiet, are a little better, with good prices paid for heavy winter hides, prices for which may go up to \$14 paper the 10 kilos. In salt hides demand is still slack and prices, save for exceptional lots, no better than 0.60 to 0.65 cents paper the kilo. In Sheepskins the lack of interest that has characterised the whole month still prevails. Southern skins are fetching \$1.40 paper the kilo,

\$1.60 paid for Chubut skins. No demand for those with fine wool.

Cereals

There are hopes that the Wheat market, having shaken out the speculative element, will now be left to ship freely, especially as several holders in the interior are finding it hard to carry their stocks much longer. Spot Wheat in Buenos Aires is \$14.70 paper per 100 kilos, with \$14.95 for May. The market for Maize is barely steady at \$9.40 paper per 100 kilos, while Linseed is decidedly weak at \$21.40 spot and \$21.75 for May delivery. Efforts are now being made to minimise the amount of Argentina's harvest of seed, at any rate on paper, in view of the pessimistic reports regarding European requirements. At the lower prices now ruling, American inquiries are becoming more frequent, though the amount of business booked so far is small.

Moreno's Crew Returns

Most of the crew of the Argentine dreadnought Moreno, which is being refitted in the United States, returned to Argentina last Saturday by the Lamport and Holt s.s. Vandyek. Among those who returned were Commander Marcos Savon Lieut. Commander A. Sciacaluga, Lieutenant Angel Satoona, sixteen petty officers, and 127 sailors.

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IN LIGHTER VEIN

To Piccadilly via B. A.

A London omnibus driven by a London man has been seen on the streets of Buenos Aires. We concede that when the road is up in London, drivers have to make a detour, but he seems to be going a long way round.—Punch.

From the "Daily Cable": "Yesterday we were the first London newspaper to report the assassination of the King of Navaria. To-day we are the first to deny that report. The "Daily Cable" is always first with the news."

Her Guess

Mrs. Fox. — "Please explain to me how it happened that I saw you kissing a man in the kitchen last night."

"Maid — "I dunno, ma'am, unless you were lookin' through the keyhole."

And the Filling Station

"I suppose you give a great deal to charity."

"Yes—anonously, through Mr. Rockefeller."

So, So.

Mrs. Kelly: "Did yure husband come home sober?"

Mrs. Rooney: "Comparatively so. He admitted he was drunk."

What in the Dev—!

Gerald: "I tore up that poem I wrote last week."

Ethel: "Tore it up? Why that was the cleverest thing you ever did."

What Did She Expect?

Lady (visiting insane asylum): "I wonder if that clock is right?"

Inmate: "Of course not. It wouldn't be here if it was."

Not No Good at All

First Frosh: "I don't see why they want to learn us this old English for anyway."

Second Ditto: "Me neither. It ain't no good to an engineer."

Try This Dish

Take one reckless natural born fool; two or three big drinks of bad liquor; a high-powered, fast motor-car.

Soak fool in liquor, place in car and let go. After due time, remove from wreckage, place in black, satin-lined box and garnish with flowers.

Lady: Officer, I want to report that the young lady next door continually neglects to pull down her shade when undressing

Officer: Very well, madam, I'd be only too glad to look into the matter.

FLAPPER FANNY says—



Garters have a "kneesy" time.

No Best Style

"I made a mistake in telling my wife this garage was portable."

"How so?"

"I have to move it about just like she moves the furniture."

A Fair Guess

"Where do you suppose these scenario writers get their ideas?"

"Well, judging from the product, I should say they get them from each other."

Before Barnum

A negro had heard his parson tell the story of Daniel in the lion's den. He doubted the story very much, however, so he decided to see the parson about it.

"Pahson," he questioned, "am it true dat Daniel was thrown in de lion's den and dey didn't eat him up?"

"Yes, suh, Brudder Smiff," answered the parson, "dat am de fack."

"Den dey must have been circus lions."

"No, suh; de Bible say just de contrary."

"It do?"

"Yas, suh, it do. Don't it say dat it happened 600 B.C.?"

"Yeah, it do say that."

"Well, don't B.C. mean befo' circuses?"

Traveler: Your son just threw a stone at me.

Irishman: Did he hit you?

Traveler: No.

Irishman: Then he wasn't my son.

Way-Back

"What is it when our souls go back—and back—and back!"

"That's fallen arches."

The Careful Mexicans

Women tourists wearing knickers, an exchange proclaims, are forbidden entrance into Mexico, yet we often thoughtlessly make light of the Mexicans.

Lane Logic

You can tell what kind of wheels a man has in his head, by the "spokes" that come out of his mouth.

Secretive

North "Why did you tell your wife the truth about that affair?"

West "So she would never know what happened."

Maybe Three

Voice from Top of Stairs: "Is that you, John?"

John (who has the Christmas heaves): "No, m'dear—mussa been two other fel-lahs."

She was late, was our steno, and she said: "You see, my rubber corset had a puncture and I had to go to six different garages before I could get a man to vulcanize it."

Man (from overturned canoe) — "Hi! Hi! I'm drowning! Drop me a line!"

Fellow on Bridge—"What's the use? Ain't no postoffice where you're goin'." —Boston Transcript.

Mother: Now, Dorothy, do you know what becomes of bad little girls?

Dorothy, hanging her head, "They have dates every day."

To the hotel clerk: When an old maid applies for a room give her suite 16.—Kansas City Star.

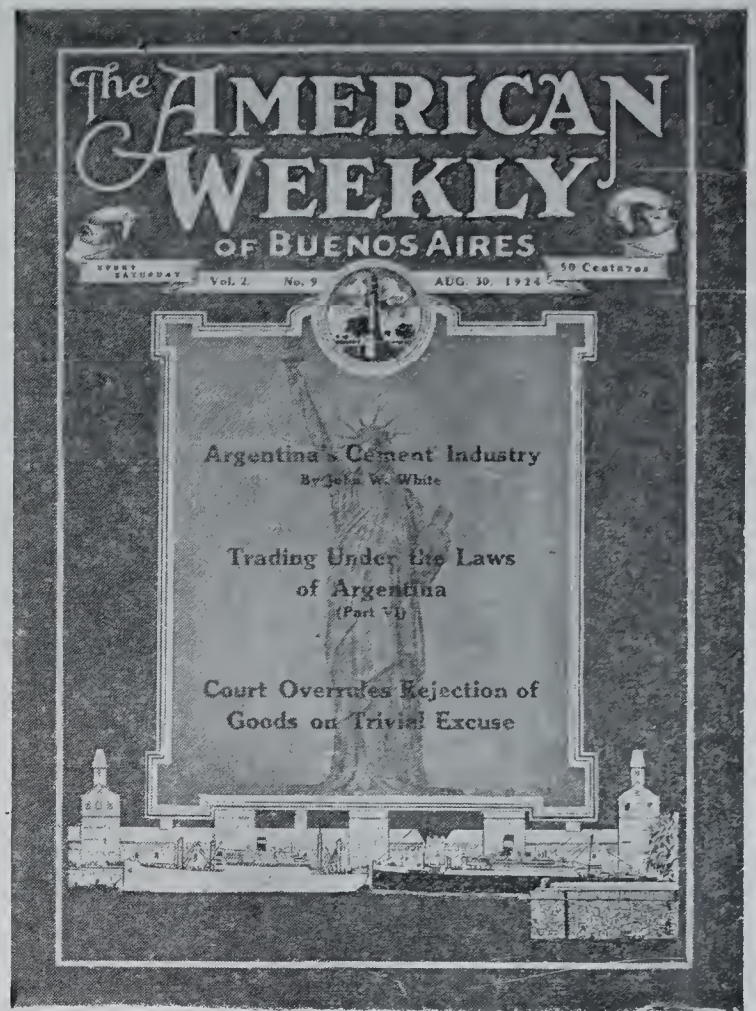
It hasn't happened yet, but eventually there will be a Society of the Fellow Passengers of Wales.—San Francisco Chronicle

The telephone rang in the lumber office:—"Yes, hello." "Hello yourself, this is Mr. Kaplovitch. I want you should send me twelve 2x10 right away." "All right, sir, how long do you want them?" "Oh, I want them a long time, I been put dem unter der house."

Teacher:—Some terrible things can be caught by kissing.

Bobby:—Yes, you ought to see the poor fish my sister caught that way!

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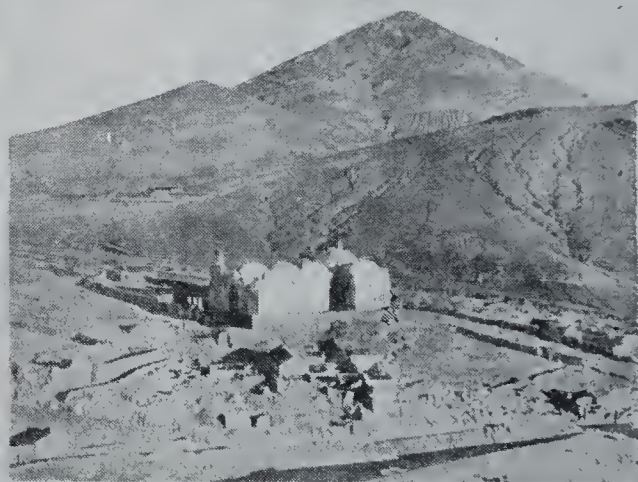


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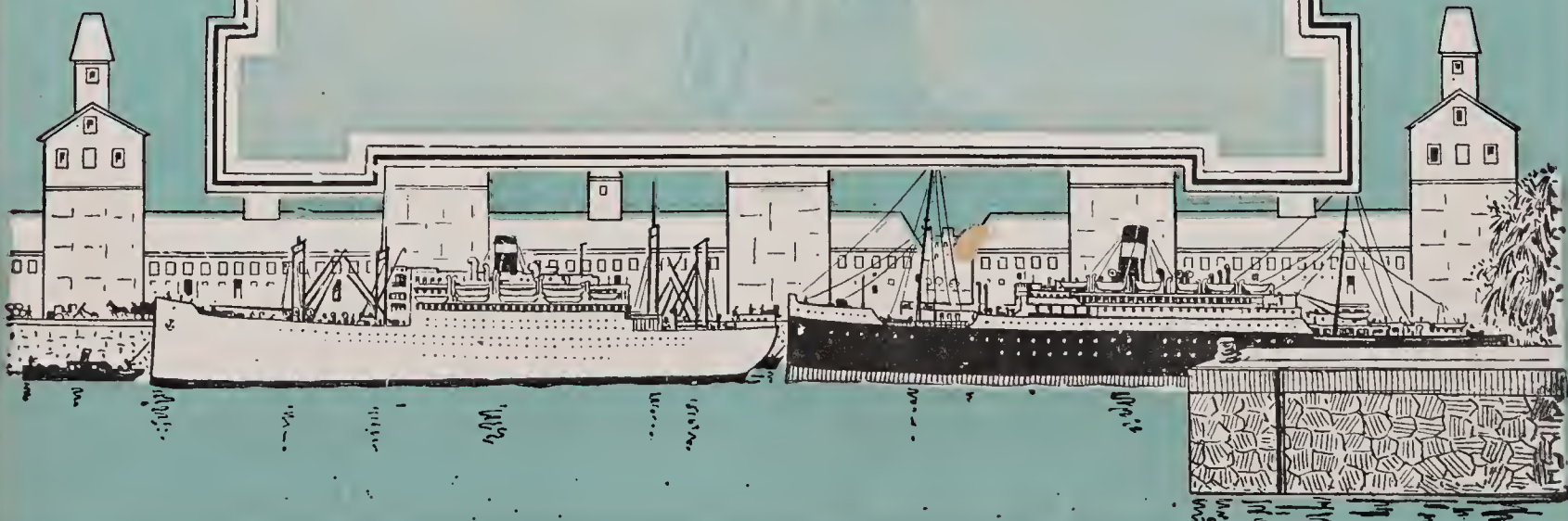
**New Buenos Aires Subways
to Cost \$120,000,000 m|n**

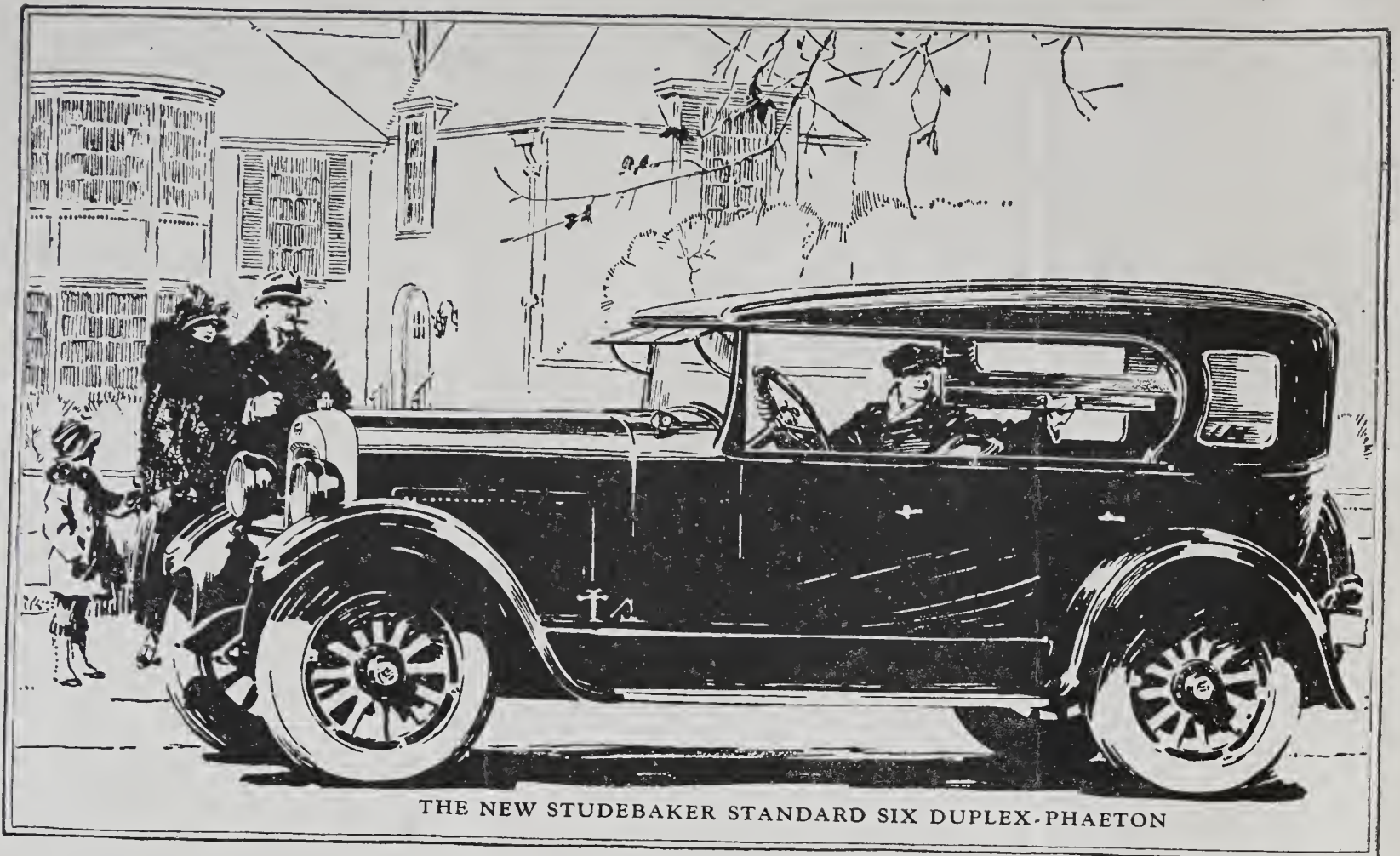
**Foreign Exchange in Latin
America**

By Chas. A. McQueen

**American Nations Settling Old
Boundary Disputes**

By Henry L. Sweinhart





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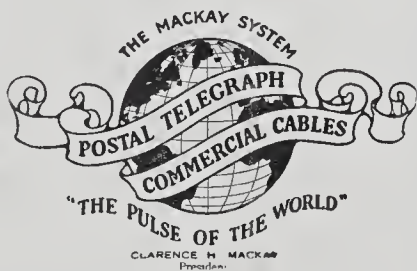
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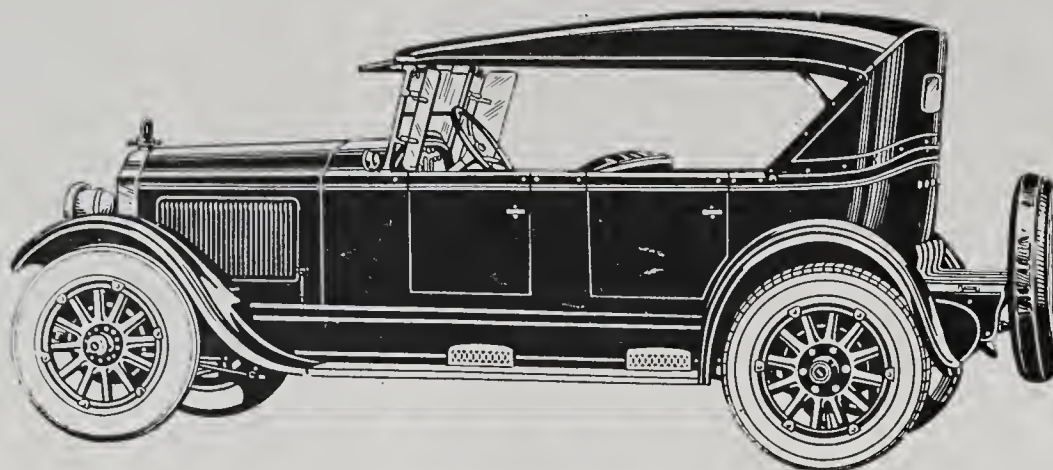
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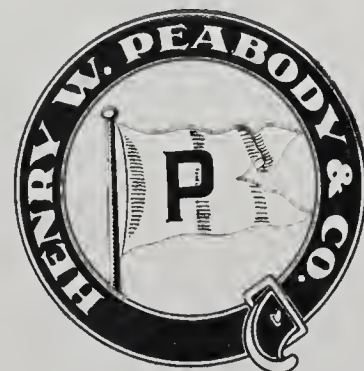
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April 11, 1925

PROPOSED NEW SUBWAYS TO COST 120,000,000 PESOS

THE General Manager of the Anglo Argentine Tramway Company presented a project to the Municipality this week proposing the expenditure of 120,000,000 pesos in the construction of two new subways in Buenos Aires and the removal of several surface lines which would be replaced by omnibus service. One of the subways would run under Calle Maipu from the Retiro station of the Central Argentine Railway to the Plaza Constitución station of the Southern Railway. The other would run from Plaza Mayo to Plaza Italia, running under the proposed North Diagonal Avenue part of the way. These subways would permit the removing of surface lines from 40 city blocks in the downtown district. The entire project, however, is dependent upon the Municipality's consent to the company increasing the street car fare from 10 centavos to 12 centavos on surface lines; to 15 centavos on the subways; and to 20 centavos for transfer combinations between surface lines and subways. The company also states that it will be necessary to charge a fare of 15 centavos for omnibus journeys of less than 5 kilometers, and 20 centavos for longer journeys.

The project is accompanied by a note in which the administrator says:

"My company has decided to approach the municipality with a new project which tends to resolve the diverse and principal questions now pending relating to street car service, which affect not only the municipality and the company but especially the public. The rights and obligations in force are not in themselves sufficient to provide for the unforeseen necessities now present. Any solutions must naturally be equitable and the result of good faith on each side. It is a very urgent matter which the local government has to resolve and

my company is doing its best to contribute a complete scheme. Together with the project I send a detailed statement and it will be noted that the company has done everything possible to make this a complete study taking into account the present and future situation of the general traffic as well as the street car traffic of the city and I am sure that the authorities will find this project just and reasonable and advantageous to the general interests.

Difficult Traffic Problem

The General Manager of the Company point out that the City of Buenos Aires presents, from a traffic point of view, two matters which taken together, constitute the principal difficulties in the way of the proper solution of the problem.

One consists in the fact that the center of density of traffic does not coincide with the geographical center of the City, as the density is worst at the extreme eastern end of the City and right up against the Port zone; that is to say, against the River Plate. It, therefore, follows that the intense movement of the City occurs in a relatively circumscribed and small zone, which makes the problem of distribution to and from periphery very difficult.

The other problem is that exactly in the zone of congestion, the streets are very much more narrow than in other portions of the City and therefore are the least adequate for the intense traffic borne over them.

The congestion in the center is not due entirely to street cars but also to other vehicles, for which a strong reglamentary code should be enforced, once the street car problem is solved. It is suggested that during certain hours of the day no horse drawn or man pushed vehicle should be allowed in certain zones and

neither should any loading or unloading from carts be permitted, nor parking of motor vehicles.

Moreover, private cars should not be allowed on certain streets, to avoid the present obstruction caused by them; on other streets the parking time should be strictly limited and also special streets should be set aside for parking.

The company's note gives some interesting data regarding the number of passengers handled by the street cars of the Anglo Argentine Tramway Company. Passenger traffic originating in the central zone and terminating in it amounts to 100,000,000 passengers a year, while this zone receives 240,000,000 more from the outlying sections of the city.

Fifty million passengers are handled every year on the streets between Reconquista and Pellegrini, inclusive, of which 14,000,000 travel on Calle Maipu alone. Ten million passengers travel on Calle Callao every year and 5,000,000 on Calle Libertad, while only about 1,000,000 travel on the streets west of Callao.

The note then continues:

It is seen, therefore, that the capacity of the streets is not exceeded, except in the first group; i.e., Reconquista to Pellegrini. In order to arrive at a fair understanding, only the streets running north from the Avenida de Mayo have been considered, but the same figures also apply to the streets running South.

In consequence, it is within the first group that it is urgent to find a solution, which cannot be other than the construction of subways, because the quantity of passengers that would have to be accommodated if the surface lines are removed amount to between 30 and 40 million a year.

Proposed Solutions

As a first solution it is suggested that to relieve the central zone in the

direction north and south it would be necessary to construct one subway that would be sufficient for the present and future necessities for many years. This line is that from Retiro to Plaza Constitución. The very fact that at these two points are the large railway termini indicates the necessity for handling large volumes of traffic. Moreover it is proposed that the street lines in Calles Maipu and Esmeralda should be taken up, but in order to avoid hardships for the public, good omnibuses should be run.

The second solution is the entire suppression of street cars in certain parts or even in the whole lengths of certain streets in the central zone. In this case the lines to be taken up would be Maipu from Sarmiento to Charcas; Corrientes from Reconquista to 25 de Mayo and from Maipu to San Martin; Sarmiento from Paseo Colón to Maipu; Chacabuco from Moreno to Brazil; San Martin from Victoria to Corrientes; Reconquista from Corrientes to Rivadavia; Esmeralda, from Rivadavia to Juncal; Piedras from Rivadavia to Brazil.

It is clearly pointed out that it is not possible to completely substitute street lines by omnibus service because even in the best of cases, these are only auxiliary to the surface car system and the great mass of the people can only be properly served by street lines and subways.

In treating of the necessity of a subway from Plaza Mayo to Plaza Italia, stated that the population is not symmetrically distributed and that there is a zone in the southwestern part of the City that is practically uninhabited.

Calle Rivadavia is not the true center of population. This is grouped along a line running from Plaza Mayo to Chacarita and Villa Devoto. For this reason the note says, it will be advisable to construct another subway from Plaza Mayo to Plaza Italia, but this cannot be considered independently from the extension of the Diagonal Norte to Corrientes and with the construction of a plaza in Corrientes and Cerrito, and also the latter street must be widened.

Omnibus Service

It is suggested that the termini of the subways (Caballito, Constitución and Plaza Italia) should be connected with more outlying zones by means of omnibus service and later on this same means of rapid transit should be applied to other subway stations near to the terminal points mentioned.

In order that the subways should work to maximum efficiency, the cars should not come to the surface. Passengers should be handled expeditiously by means of elevators, moving stairs, etc., and there should always be a large number of omnibuses ready to take passengers from the subway stations.

Finally, continues the note, the solution of the traffic problem, in as far as it affects the Company, is:

The constructions as soon as possible of a subway from Retiro to Constitución, running under Calle Maipu.

The construction at a not distant date, of another subway from Plaza Mayo to Plaza Italia, always provided that the Diagonal Norte is opened throughout when the Company starts to build the subway.

Suppression of surface cars in certain densely congested zones.

Replacement of the Number 9 service (Retiro to Constitución) by omnibus, when the subway is constructed.

Limitation of the existing number of surface cars in heavily congested zones and organization of omnibus service, which is more flexible and can be put on to attend to sudden demands.

Organization of multiple omnibus lines at principal termini of the subways or at adjoining stations.

Full working capacity of the subways by suppressing surface lines and transporting passengers from low level to street level by mechanical means.

The Financial Aspect

The representative of the company maintains that the financial condition of the same is very precarious and that this situation is not due to bad management but to world economic conditions. For this reason, the growth of the company is paralyzed and, therefore, the extension of means of transport is also paralyzed, bringing about a hardship for the constantly growing population of the city.

To reestablish the financial equilibrium of the company which has been upset for so many years, the following three points must be resolved:

1. Decide upon the compensation provided for by law 11110 as regards contribution to the pensions fund.

2. Let the company have the proper means of paying its staff adequate salaries as compared with the cost of living and which at least should be equivalent to that paid by the municipality and the national government to its employees.

3. Give the company the means of obtaining sufficient funds

(a) To allow for the expenses of upkeep of present equipment and to maintain without fear of restriction the present services,

(b) To assure that the capital already invested in the company shall meet with sufficient remuneration to allow the company to pay dividends, as the share holders have not collected anything since 1913.

Mr. J. N. WISNER GOES HOME TO ATTEND 4 CONVENTIONS

Mr. John Nelson Wisner sailed for New York by the s.s. American Legion this week as a delegate to four conventions in the United States. The principal object of his trip is to attend the twenty-first annual convention of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, which is to be held at Houston, Texas, from May 9 to 14. Mr. Wisner received an invitation through the United States government to attend this convention as a delegate from Argentina and he took with him an exhibit of Argentine advertising.

Mr. Wisner is the head of the Estudios Wisner, which in the five years since their inauguration have become the biggest American advertising agency in South America. The Estudios Wisner employ between 50 and 60 people and handle many of the most important American accounts in this market. They also have what is probably the most complete and up-to-date equipment in South America, doing all their own art work, photo engraving, and printing, including color work.

Mr. Wisner has not been home for twelve years and he expects to be away about three months on this trip, during which he will visit his mother and sisters in Southern California, as well as Portland, Ore., Chicago, Detroit, Washington, and the State of Maine.

While in the United States, Mr. Wisner will act as delegate from Argentina to the Rotary Clubs Convention at Cleveland; as the delegate of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Argentina to the annual foreign trade convention of the Foreign Trade Council; and delegate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce here to the United States Chamber of Commerce at Washington.

Both Names, Please

Stranger: "Do you know a man working here with one leg named Smith?"

Clerk: "What's the other leg named?"
—Kablegram.

Mr. MARCOSSON SPEAKS TO U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. Isaac F. Marcossou, of the staff of The Saturday Evening Post, who has been in Buenos Aires for a month preparing a series of South American articles, addressed the meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce on Tuesday afternoon of this week. Mr. Marcossou spoke briefly but what he said was to the point and he took occasion to denounce the anti-American propaganda that was handed out at the Montevideo religious convention. In this connection, Mr. Marcossou said:

"I am glad to be here at the time when the question of the economic imperialism of the United States has been raised and I am glad to take the lead in scotching the snake. This propaganda is the product of misguided uplift and is the kind of hammer that from time to time is thrown into the great machine of commerce.

"I am convinced—and I speak from personal contact—that the great majority of the South American delegates to the religious convention at Montevideo do not share the views which have been promulgated by various officials of that body and one in particular. The spirit of American religious interest in South America is full brother in constructiveness to the ideal of American commerce in these parts. Any other conception is an injustice to those courageous pioneers who have planted and who are perpetuating American interests in South America.

"The allegation of economic imperialism is conceived in ignorance, brought forth in bigotry, and fostered through prejudice," stated Mr. Marcossou.

Mr. Marcossou also made the sage remark that if it were not for those same Big Businesses which are being condemned as having evil designs on South America, there would be precious little sinews of war for uplift work.

In speaking of commerce, Mr. Marcossou said that since the war it had been his duty and his privilege to follow the battle line of business around the world and that he was convinced that the eclipse of business through politics is passing. He referred to the Dawes Plan as marking the passing of this eclipse, stating that the German Reparations Problem, instead of being considered a great economic problem had been made a political game. "It must be a source of pride to every American that the wedge which entered that political

game and broke it up was the American plan which is now known as the Dawes plan and which marks a milestone in the progress of the world and marks the end of the intrusion of politics in business."

Mr. Marcossou referred briefly to the Tacna Arica award which he said was great, just, fair, and statesmanlike.

FRUIT EXPERT COMPLETES SURVEY FOR CALIFORNIANS

Mr. Carl J. Ley, a consulting horticulturist, departed last Sunday for Chile on his way back to the United States after having spent a month in Argentina in the interests of a group of nearly 100 fruit growers of Redwood Valley, California, who are interested in coming to Argentina. Instead of selling out all their possessions and coming to Argentina as so many other American farmers have done, these fruit growers employed the expert services of Mr. Ley who came down and looked things over for them.

After travelling extensively in those regions of Argentina where fruit is grown, Mr. Ley came to the conclusion that the district best suited to American fruit growers is the irrigated region of Mendoza and San Juan, but he will recommend in his report that American farmers should not come to Argentina unless they have sufficient capital to buy a large tract of land and to operate on a large scale, preferably with a group of fellow Americans. Mr. Ley will report that American farmers who are accustomed to all the luxuries and comfort which they have in the United States would find it very difficult to adjust themselves to the life of a small farmer in Argentina where there are few comforts and no luxuries.

Miss ALLEN ENTERTAINS BUSINESS WOMAN'S CLUB

The Business Woman's Club of Buenos Aires held its first meeting of the year last Saturday afternoon in the hall of the American Church. There was a large attendance and plans for the year were discussed at the business meeting. A program committee was elected to serve for three months, and composed Mrs. Irma Nellado, Miss Mary Heiskell, and Miss Ada Turdon. Miss Ann Hillery was elected as librarian. The president, Miss Banes, appointed Miss Edmundson as Assistant Secretary, pending an election. The officers for

the year 1925 are the following: Miss Alice Banes, President, Miss Elena Albhoff, Vice-President, Miss Elisa Albhoff, Treasurer, and Miss Barbara Hughes-Hallett, Secretary. Miss Martha Allen gave a talk on "How to Read Character from Handwriting". She passed about a number of letters which illustrated typical or unusual formations of certain letters, and gave her interpretation of their meaning. Then the various members produced letters in which they were interested, and Miss Allen discussed the probable significance of certain signs.

American Legion Departures

The following passengers sailed by the s.s. American Legion on Thursday afternoon for New York and ports of call:

Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, Argentine Ambassador to Washington, and family; Hon. Hoffman Philip, American Minister to Uruguay; Señor Cesar E. Etcheverry and daughter; Mr. Esteban Liaco, Mr. and Mrs. Antonio Alonso and family; Lieut. Hector Mendez, Mr. Nelson Dickerman, Mr. Howard Miller, Mr. Carlos G. Palmer, Mr. Charles E. Palmer, Mr. and Mrs. Harry S. Noble, Mr. and Mrs. William D. Harper, Miss Clare Harper, Miss Minna Dohrn, Miss María Llamas, Miss Tomasa Garcia, Mr. Percy Goody, Mr. Hilario Ballesteros, Mr. and Mrs. George Wiggins, Mr. and Mrs. George J. Lindgren, Mr. Isaac F. Marcossou, Mr. and Mrs. James Gillespie, Sister Isabel Graham, Sister Amrie Quiglia, Sister Clementina Veglio, Mr. and Mrs. Elias Kaplan, Mr. Philip Frost, Mr. Royer Luey, Mr. and Mrs. John Daniels, Mr. John Nelson Wisner, Mr. Frank A. Diekoff, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Gutiérrez, Mr. and Mrs. John C. Weadock, Miss T. Marie Dunbar, Mr. and Mrs. Paulo Fernandez, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond McHune, Mr. Eugenio Fernandez, Mr. Alberto Fernandez, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Wharin, Mr. and Mrs. Felix Lyat, Mr. Erico Kapelner, Mr. Horacio Bullrich, Mr. James A. Hoggsette, Mrs. Sibil James, Miss Ann T. Reed, the Rev. and Mrs. W. D. Crowe, Mrs. Gillmore, Mr. McGregor, Mr. Charles Asp, Mr. Philip Spear and family, Mr. R. W. Lea, Mr. John P. Seaholm, Miss Sarah Haggard, Miss Henriette Lamkin, Mr. Joseph Stearn, Miss V. P. Penrose, Mr. and Mrs. Lee W. Turner, Mr. Schulz, Mr. and Mrs. Campton, Mr. Al Sezekler.

Willing to Oblige

He was rushing for a car when a pretty young woman stopped him. "Please help the Working Girls' Home," she requested.

"Certainly," he said, "but I haven't much time. How far away do they live?" —The Pretzel.

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Buenos Aires, April 11, 1925

A MISSIONARY IN POLITICS

UNDER this same heading we referred last week to the occasion taken by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Guy Inman to continue at the recent Montevideo conference of religious workers the campaign of anti-American propaganda which he consistently carries out at every opportunity. Last week we stated that we would much prefer to believe that Dr. Inman had been unwittingly misinformed, because it is repulsive to us to think that any American could be such an active enemy of the land of his birth as Dr. Inman is. We added, however, that we could not believe he was innocent, because of his studied policy of confining his Latin American friendships to people

who are known for their anti-American sentiments.

Since last week's editorial was written it has developed that Dr. Inman not only engaged in anti-American propaganda in Montevideo but that he deliberately misrepresented the facts in the case of his biggest piece of propaganda — the famous Mistral letter. It now develops that the letter written by the Chilean poetess Mistral and given to the press by Dr. Inman as having been presented to the Congress never was so presented and never was intended for presentation. It also develops that the English translation of the letter which Dr. Inman gave to newspaper men was not a correct translation of what the Chilean lady wrote.

We have talked during the week with American delegates to the Montevideo conference who do not think any more of Dr. Inman's methods than we do, but most of them tried to make excuses for him. There may be some excuse, although we doubt it, for an American who goes into foreign countries and misrepresents his own country in an effort to gain the friendship of the people he is among, but there is no excuse for a Doctor of Divinity who adds to that crime the still worse one of deliberately violating the truth.

We do not expect the truth from politicians, but we do have a right to expect it from Doctors of Divinity and when a man like Dr. Inman is willing to stoop to the lowest sort of political methods and to violate the truth in doing so, it is time that he lay aside the cloth of the church and wear only the cloak of the political rife he panders to.

South America is full of American business men who have been working just as earnestly to uphold the honor of American business standards in South America as have the American missionaries to uphold their beliefs.

These American business men contribute liberally to the uplift work that is being carried on by their fellow Americans, and now comes a high figure in American missionary work asking all South Americans to believe that the American business man is a missionary of economic imperialism.

As Mr. Marcosson stated before the United States Chamber of Commerce in Argentina this week, the great majority of delegates to the Montevideo conference were not in accord with Dr. Inman's anti-American activities. But Dr. Inman is a churchman of very high position in the United States and evidently there was not a delegate at the convention who was willing to take upon himself the risk of repudiating him.

It is high time, however, that the men who intend to spend the rest of their lives in missionary work in South America publicly repudiate Dr. Inman. If they do not do so, it merely signifies that they accept Dr. Inman's belief that there is only one common ground on which they can meet the South Americans among whom they work and that common ground is anti-Americanism. If after all these years of earnest religious effort in Latin America it is necessary to hold up the bugaboo of the octopus of American imperialism before Latin Americans will look at the Protestant cross, then it is about time to admit that the effort has been a failure and to give it up.

We do not believe that to be the case, however, and for that reason we believe that Dr. Inman is a dangerous meddler who will do more harm than good to American uplift work in South America. There ought to be some way of disenfranchising Dr. Inman and preventing him from enjoying the rights of American citizenship. But at least he can be repudiated by the men who do not care to continue their life work under the shadow of his shame.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA*

A Survey of Conditions Since 1914

By Charles A. McQueen

Special Agent, U. S. Dept. of Commerce

KEEN interest in the progress of European reconstruction and the overshadowing importance of the quotations of sterling and of other European currencies in New York have somewhat obscured the improvement and the relative stability that the Latin American exchanges have recently attained. Only three years ago many of the more important countries of Latin America were in the midst of a commercial stagnation that was accompanied by a great depreciation of their currencies in terms of gold — or, to put it more accurately, in terms of dollars — since international movements of gold were so restricted as to bring about artificial conditions in physical dealings with that metal. So abnormal were all the conditions surrounding and affecting exchange transactions, that extraordinary premiums were paid for dollar drafts. With some few exceptions, the material status of the Latin American currencies had actually been strengthened by the consequences of the war, in so far as the visible stocks of gold held at home and bank credits abroad were concerned. But the overturn in 1920 of all ordinary standards of industry and commerce brought about so dubious a situation that the general tendency was to permit exchange quotations to go to an extreme without aid from the monetary gold stocks.

This policy no doubt speeded the development of the crisis, aided the producers and exporters, and set up curative reactions. With greater or less promptness, the principal exchanges moved upward from the extreme of depression reached in 1921 and in the following years considerable improvement has been made. The Argentine gold peso was worth 70 cents in September, 1921, and 80 cents in September, 1924; the Peruvian pound in the same interval moved from \$3.36 to \$4.08; and the Colombian peso advanced from \$0.88 to \$1. On the other hand, the Chilean peso went only from 10.2 cents to 10.5 cents, while the Brazilian milreis fell from 12.5 to 10 cents. Brazilian and Chilean currencies and exchanges stand by themselves and are affected

by their own peculiar characteristics, explained in the following pages.

Nearly all of the Latin American currencies not actually stabilized not only have now a foreign exchange value considerably greater than that of three years ago, but, what is more important, have passed the stage of rapid and irresponsible fluctuations. Furthermore, the tendency of the past few months (up to December, 1924) has been steadily upward, in response to an improved export trade accompanied by the same conditions of confidence in world progress that have been reflected in the movements of sterling and some other of the European exchanges.

War Experiences Common to all Latin American Countries

In making the necessary references to the effects of the war on the monetary and exchange situation of the 20 Republics of Latin America, much repetition can be avoided by outlining their common features and their uniform reactions to the principal conditions that affected them all with similar consequences. First, it might be well to describe what might be called a "typical" Latin American country. This hypothetical nation would be a republic, though with administrative authority and functions more highly centralized than those of the United States, both in theory and in practice. Its people would present on the whole a rather wide variation of social conditions, ranging from a cultivated, influential, and affluent minority to an illiterate class of peasantry or workers with more or less Indian blood. Its politics would be characterized by violent antagonisms between different parties, based on personal and inherited motives rather than on clearly defined differences in principles of political economy.

This supposed country would be supported chiefly by husbandry and the extractive industries, the products of which are exported to the older and more populous industrial nations. Consequently, foreign trade would be the prime factor in the national economy, and a well-sustained exportation of such natural products would be necessary in order to pay

for the essential imports of manufactures and meet the payment of interest on foreign debts and on foreign capital invested in the country. Furthermore, there would be such a specialization in local industry, due to natural causes, that one class of products — whether agricultural, pastoral, or mineral — or even one commodity (sugar, coffee, cacao, tin, nitrate, wool, cotton, meat, wheat, or yerba mate) would be of such outstanding importance as to warrant calling it the practical mainstay of the country's prosperity.

From the financial point of view, this country would rely upon customs collections for a large part of its public revenue and upon direct and indirect taxation of industry and commerce for a large share of the remainder. In Government finance, its situation would be that of an expanding and developing community, favoring large expenditures on public works, and consequently with a relatively important foreign debt and a fairly continuous record of deficits in the annual budget. Its money would be based on the gold standard as evolved through various stages from the old Spanish silver standard. In times of economic tranquility, this country would be an importer of gold, on account of its generally favorable trade balance and the attraction of foreign capital to its developing activities.

If one keeps in mind the above salient points which more or less apply to all of the Latin American countries — in so far as common characteristics can be assigned to 20 entities — it will be easy to understand the natural consequences of the great changes introduced by the war.

From 1914 to the present, the countries of Latin America have passed through five distinct periods of alternating depression and expansion, each with its own peculiar reactions. These periods may be briefly summarized as follows:

- I. The dislocation first caused by the outbreak of war was accompanied by panics, moratoria, the disappearance of circulating gold and the diminution of reserve stocks of gold until remedial measures were taken, the inconvertibility of Government paper money and bank notes, a contraction

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in credit, a demand for the settlement of accounts owed abroad, the exportation of gold until embargoes were declared, the rupture of ordinary exchange rates in the shape of an extraordinary premium on foreign remittances, a diminution of both imports and exports, and a reduction in Government income caused by the last-named factor.

The situation remained generally acute until October or November, 1914, when the first effects were spent. It was followed by a period of general depression during which measures of various kinds were taken to restore the sufficiency of the currency, generally by forbidding the exportation of coin, by issuing emergency paper circulation, or by authorizing new coinage. Official intervention in exchange was limited to a few instances in which exporters were required to sell drafts to some central agency at fixed rates. Such drafts were generally used for the benefit of the Government in meeting its foreign payments. Government finances in general were in disorder, borrowing was resorted to wherever possible, and new taxes and increases in import duties were instituted. This period, generally speaking, lasted well into 1915, when an improvement began.

II. From some time in 1915, as a rule, until the end of the war great prosperity was experienced, induced by rising prices and a ready market, first for agricultural and pastoral products, and later for all kinds of minerals. While trade with Europe was somewhat restricted, that with the United States flourished, even after this country entered the war. Closer financial relations were established with the United States and the dollar came to have a prominent place in exchange transactions. The growing supplies of bills of exchange representing exports, raised rates to gold parity and in some cases above par. Currency shortages were common, owing to the inflexibility of the money systems and great demand for cash in everyday business. The rising silver prices from 1916 on caused continued hoarding and exportation of silver coins. In some countries gold came back into general circulation; imports of gold were received, chiefly from the United States, and the banks greatly increased their foreign credits. Government revenues were restored, often through the imposition of new or increased export duties, and a tendency toward increased public expenditure became evident. Public debts were reduced. During this time, while exports were fairly large and represented high values, imports were

relatively depressed by conservation of tonnage and by the war restrictions placed on certain commodities.

III. At the end of the war, marked by the signing of the armistice, there was a period of hesitation. The exchange situation was eased by gold imports, mostly from the United States, and dollar exchange practically returned to par. Nevertheless, the inconvertibility of the paper currencies was maintained and the inflated stocks of gold were not released because of the general opinion that Europe's effort to regain a gold standard would immediately cause the loss of the metal. Soon there began the postwar boom, marked by speculation in commodities and abuse of credit. The sinister feature was a great increase of imports, in response to the generally greater purchasing power of each country and its low stock of commodities. Both Government income and expenditure remained at high levels.

IV. The boom was followed by a depression the effects of which may be said to have touched every class and degree of people. Prices of export commodities collapsed. Commercial failures were heavy, unemployment was large, and frozen credits were the rule. There was stagnation in the export trade, while imports for a long time continued to arrive in response to old orders placed on an optimistic scale. Exchange values had begun to drop even before the full extent of the calamity was realized; as the adverse conditions continued, the value of the local currencies fell to record depths. The severity of the decline of exchange—or conversely, the premium on gold represented by dollar drafts—was due partly to the inability to utilize the accumulated stocks of gold, but it may be attributed chiefly to a generally adverse trade balance and to exchange operations induced by panic or lack of confidence in the restoration of values. Some capital was exported to Europe, not a little of which went into speculative purchase of marks and other depreciated money. While public expenditures remained at the high levels voted by legislatures still under the influence of inflation, public revenues declined or failed to continue the advances that had been maintained during preceding years. The economic malady lasted from the middle of 1920 until about the middle of 1922 or the early part of 1923, although some of the effects have not yet been overcome. It was the period of great increase in public debts, on account of unbalanced budgets, and of very sharp and irresponsible fluctuations in exchange.

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V. Production and general trade conditions showed healthy symptoms during 1922, and a considerable improvement in basic factors was seen to be on the way, although still uncertain because of continued unsettlement in Europe. However, the absence of any pronounced industrial recovery and the continued difficulties in Government finance caused exchange rates to improve only slightly in 1922 over 1921, and to make but a gradual advance in 1923. In some of the principal countries the imports continued to exceed or nearly equal the value of exports, so that the balance realized in the merchandise trade was either adverse or nonexistent, leaving no margin to apply to other payments. To the burden of insufficient revenues was added that of a heavy premium on remittances on account of the public debt. Floating debts of the Government became heavy and so weighed upon the banks that monetary reforms seemed impracticable. Nevertheless, confidence slowly returned, with the increasingly favorable prospect of European recuperation. Fluctuations in exchange became less, and a tendency toward gradual improvement in the value of the local money was perceived. In the meantime, there had been readjustments in prices and values to conform to the new status. As the world prices of staple commodities tended to strengthen in 1924, it seemed likely that a new period of development was approaching, based on new conditions and contingent to a great degree upon a resumption of normal world commerce. The most refractory problem, that of the rehabilitation of public finance and the easing of its burden on exchange and credit conditions, showed encouraging signs of eventual solution.

The traces of all the varied events and conditions outlined in the preceding paragraphs will be found in the following brief statements of monetary and exchange conditions in the individual Latin American countries. Owing to limitations of space, it is impracticable to substantiate by the use of statistical data all the assertions made with respect to the volume of trade, quantity of money in circulation, Government debt, and other details. Necessarily, many important developments in politics, labor, local industry, and banking are passed over.

Economic Contracts With the U. S.

In the West Indies and Central America, the close financial and commercial relations with the United States have brought the dollar into use either as actual money or as a

measure of value in more important business transactions, in the assessment of duties, and in the administration and control of the local currency. Of the nine Republics (including Panama) that are found in this regional classification, only one, Guatemala, now has an active currency and exchange problem. Stability prevails in the others with the possible exception of Honduras, whose situation has been affected by the internal disorder that has prevailed intermittently since 1921.

In the two north-coast Republics of South America, Colombia and Venezuela, are found currencies maintained on a gold basis independent of the dollar. Proximity to the United States helped these nations to preserve a relative stability in commerce and industry at a time when European markets were disorganized. There are close banking connections with the United States, and all foreign exchange transactions depend on the dollar.

Turning to the west coast, a diminution of American economic influence is perceptible, although it is to be remarked that in all these countries — Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile — developments which are chiefly traceable to the opening of the Panama Canal have caused the trade of the United States to take a leading position. Direct financial relations with the United States have been established, but there is still a strong affiliation with Europe. The custom of evaluating export products in terms of sterling in connection with the collection of certain export duties in drafts on London has retarded the adoption of the dollar as the pivot of exchange transactions, in spite of the fluctuations of other exchanges in terms of gold.

The River Plate section, comprising Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, is an agricultural and pastoral region of considerable importance in world economy. Its trade relations have naturally centered in Europe, whence it has received most of its developmental capital and a large part of its latter-day population. Argentina and Uruguay present a thoroughly modern social and economic organization, with accompanying complexity in financial conditions and a high degree of independence in exchange dealings. Trading in dollar exchange is well established and has been employed not only in the direct settlement of commercial accounts but in connection with banking and arbitrage operations and in public-debt transactions. But the great preponderance of trade with Europe and the influence of European capital investments are

factors sufficiently powerful to make financial contracts with Europe still of primary importance.

Brazil shares to a certain degree the economic independence of the Rive Plate countries, but its foreign exchange market is affected by the traditional use of sterling as a measure of value, brought about by generations of dealing with London, and confirmed by the erratic movements of the local currency over many years. Instability in currency and exchange is closely linked with the conduct of business and finance in all its branches.

Explanation of Terms

In speaking of exchange, it is quite general in Latin America to have in mind the value of the local money instead of the premium or discount on foreign bills. An "unfavorable exchange" or "low exchange" usually means a low valuation of the national currency in relation to a foreign unit. An "improvement in exchange" means an appreciation of the local unit in terms of foreign money or gold. This point of view is taken in the following pages except where precise wording indicates the contrary. It is believed, however, that the reader will not be misled by the terms used, as care has been taken to avoid technicalities.

Where the dollar mark (\$) is employed, United States currency is always meant.

Data and figures on which the survey is based have been obtained almost exclusively from reports of agents of the American Government abroad and from official publications. Absolute accuracy is not always possible, but pains have been taken to avoid secondary sources in which provisional or hasty statements often lead to errors perpetuated thereafter. It will be noted that exchange rates are generally those published in the Latin American centers where exporters sell and importers buy their drafts and thereby exercise a preponderant influence on the exchange tendencies of their own currency.

The term "war period" as used in the following pages generally may be taken to mean the 10 years, more or less, that have elapsed since the outbreak of war in 1914, for monetary and exchange conditions are still governed, in the majority of cases, by the effects and after-effects of the war.

Argentina

Argentine exchange is quoted in two units which, however, have a fixed relation to each other. The gold peso (sums in gold are usually designated by the suffix o/s, mean-

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ing oro sellado — coined gold) has the intrinsic value of 5 gold francs, or \$0.9648. The paper peso was stabilized in 1899 at 0.44 of the gold peso, or about \$0.4245—227.27 paper pesos to 100 gold pesos. (Sums in paper pesos usually carry the suffix m/n, meaning moneda nacional — national currency). Paper money is put into circulation only by the Argentine Conversion Office (Caja de Conversión) in return for gold coin deposited at the legal ratio. Conversely, the Conversion Office normally delivers gold in redemption of paper money. However, redemption was suspended in 1914 and has not yet been resumed. Thus large sums of gold were turned over to the Conversion Office during the war in return for paper currency, but the reverse operation was impossible. As a result, the Conversion Office now holds twice as much gold as it had at the end of 1913, and there is a corresponding increase in the paper circulation. No gold has been withdrawn during recent years except certain amounts shipped to New York in 1924 by the Government under authority of recent budget laws which permitted such action as an economical means of meeting the service of the foreign debt.

Since the Argentine currency system experienced no basic change during the war period, interest centers chiefly on the course of exchange fluctuations and the devices employed to meet the effect of the restrictions placed upon gold movements, the phenomenal expansion in foreign trade occasioned by the demand for Argentine cereals, meat, and wool, and the varied influences controlling the conduct of public and private finance.

From an American point of view, no development of these years is more interesting than the growth of the

commercial and financial relations between Argentina and the United States. Before the war, Argentina's trade was preponderantly with Europe and practically no direct financial contact with New York existed. Dollar exchange was nominal and was computed on the basis of settlement through London or other European centers. New York was used chiefly as a source from which European bankers might draw gold for direct shipment to Buenos Aires when such a course was advantageous.

These conditions changed after the outbreak of war. Argentine imports from the United States increased. Direct trade relations were established. American banks opened offices in Buenos Aires. The dollar became the most convenient and stable unit of exchange transactions, for at this time communication with New York was easier and safer than with any of the European capitals, and a free gold market existed in the United States, whence might be drawn the metal representing the increasing sales of Argentine products abroad. Thus, during 1915 and the ensuing years until the middle of 1920, dollar exchange held closer to its par rate in Buenos Aires than any other currency. Sterling followed a similar curve until the sterling rate in New York was "unpegged" in March, 1919. Data on the approximate highs and lows of dollar exchange in Buenos Aires (all authorities differ somewhat from these figures), the annual average value of the gold peso in New York as recorded by the Federal Reserve Board, and the gold movements between the two countries as published in United States trade statistics, are given in a following table. The par rate of the dollar in terms of gold pesos is 103.64 (gold pesos per \$100), and that of the gold peso in cents is 96.48.

Argentine Exchange Rates and Gold Movements

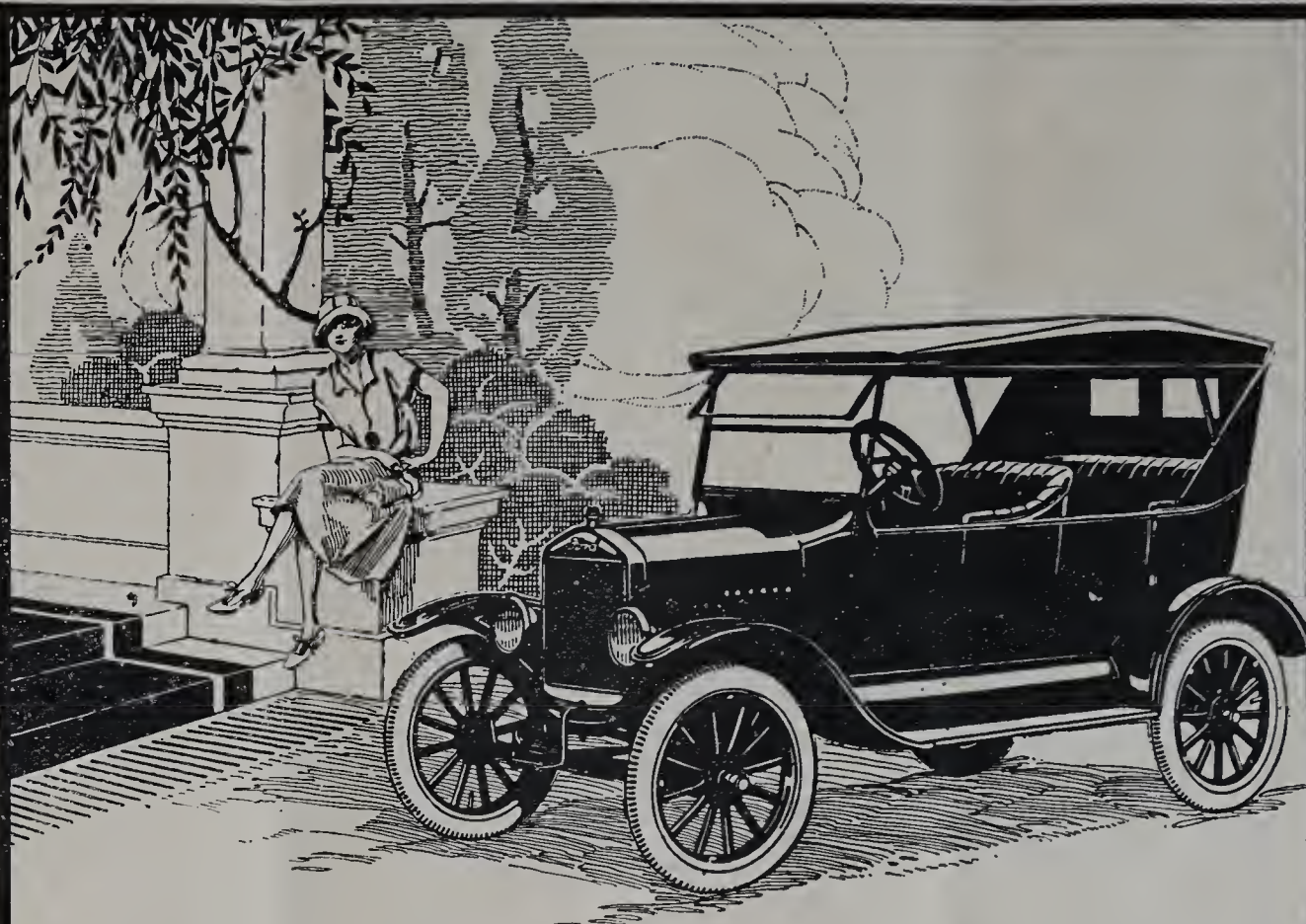
	Dollar exchange in New York			Gold shipments ²	
	Buenos Aires (cable quotations, rates), gold pesos per \$100	cents per gold peso,	annual average ¹	United States to Argentina	Argentina to United States
1914 ³	104.50	103	.....	.....	\$500,000
1915 ³	108.80	104.20	.....	\$1,500,000	.....
1916	106.17	99.51	.....	27,090,000	6,330
1917	103.05	94.10	.....	25,202,000	6,322
1918	100.48	97.68	.....	6,000	3,834
1919	104.53	98.45	99.02	56,560,000	102,721
1920	134.50	102.20	90.70	89,995,000	1,707,682
1921	157.00	123.80	72.99	.....	1,066,471
1922	124.30	116.00	81.82	.....	26,828
1923	142.50	116.40	78.57	48,600	5,337,914

¹ Rates for cable transfers, as recorded by Federal Reserve Board.

² Actual gold shipments were modified by credit arrangements, embargoes, and compensatory transactions referred to in the text.

³ Sight rates.

(To be continued)



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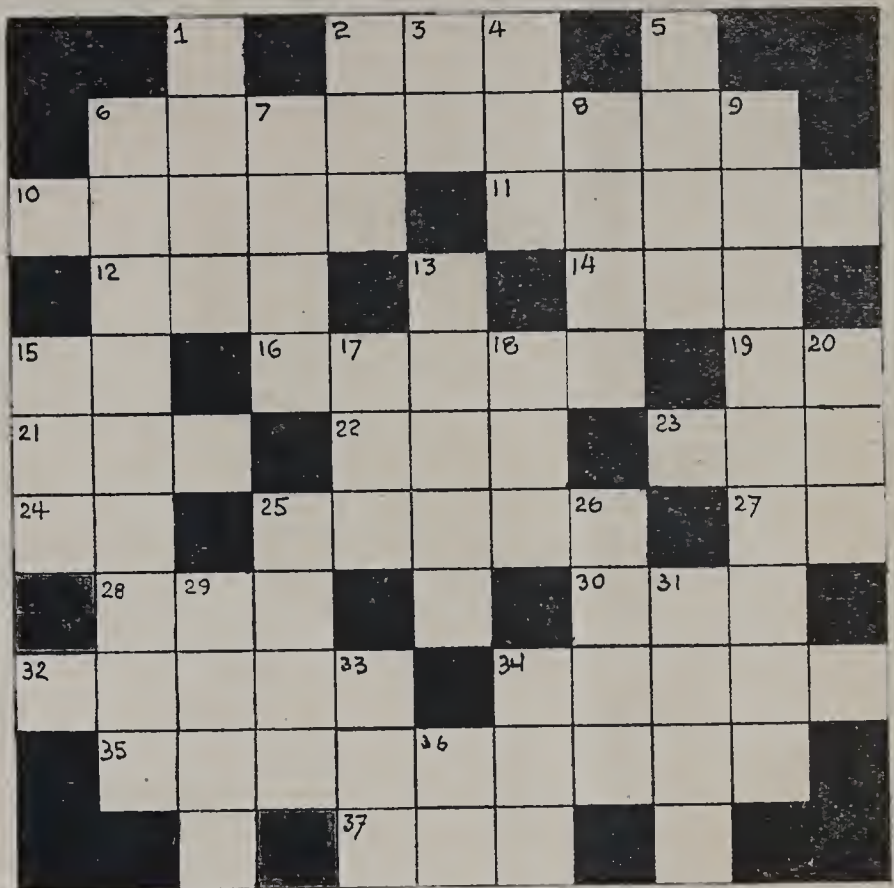
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CROSSWORD PUZZLE

This week's puzzle was designed by one of the very first subscribers to THE AMERICAN WEEKLY, Mr. Henry Lanark Miller, of Real del Padre, Mendoza. The solution will be published next week.



HORIZONTAL

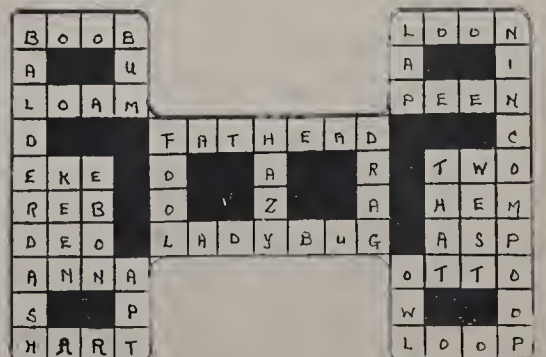
2. Initials of a neighboring country.
6. The land we live in.
10. To rebuke.
11. To wipe out.
12. To be in debt.
14. Likely.
15. Forward.
16. Consumed.
19. Albert.
21. "Greater than Kings."
22. Familiar for Margaret.
23. America's greatest.
24. Half of good-bye.
25. Vowels.
27. America really belongs to him.
28. What Columbia is of the Ocean.
30. Pedestrian sled.
32. Hawaiian dances.
34. A persistent people.
35. Consequences.
37. A siesta.

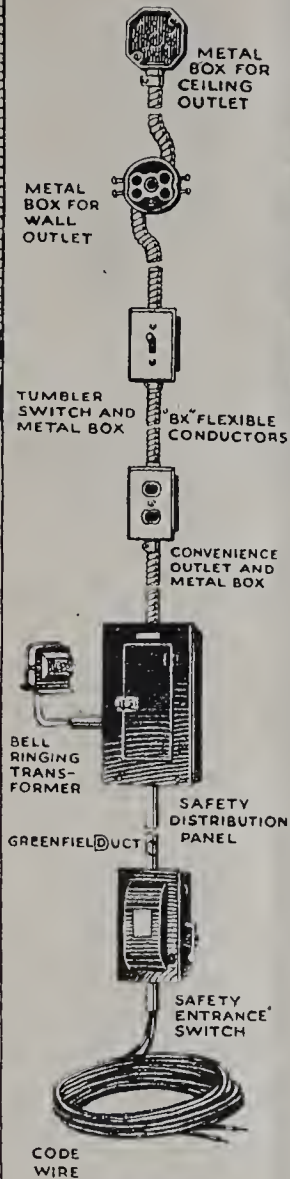
VERTICAL

1. To increase.
2. First color of the spectrum.
3. The proper way to get.
4. A Salt Lake Indian.
5. A sure thing.
6. High peak of the Andes.
7. Joy.
8. Persia.

9. To set on his feet.
13. To acquire without strict observance of commercial formalities.
15. A cereal.
17. A friend.
18. Myself.
20. The king of beasts.
25. The reverse of tame. (Don't get WILD.)
26. The Lands we love.
29. Pertaining to a fairy (Possessive.)
31. A bird, and a scientific toy.
33. Japanese coin.
34. A small devil.
36. Initials of a great South American Republic.

ANSWER TO LAST WEEK'S CROSS WORD PUZZLE





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FINDING A DERELICT IN THE JUNGLE

(Continued from last week)

Being the diary of Mr. Bertram Brice covering a journey from Valparaíso, beginning May 19th 1909 and travelling to the waterways of lower Bolivia via Mollendo, Arequipa, Lake Titicaca, Puna, Guaqui, La Paz, Achecache, Sorata, Tipuani, Ancota, Huanay, and the rivers Mapiri, Kaka and Beni where he found a brother whom he had not seen for 20 years and who had been beyond the pale of civilization so long as to be hardly recognizable. The return was made via Mapuritrail, Oruro and Antofagasta, returning to Valparaíso the following year.

(Reprinted from "The South Pacific Mail")

My pleasure at seeing him again was great, and he was able to give me further information he had obtained from the Indians down river about my brother, who appears to have made a definite deal with "Huarri," the "blood brother" to my brother, to deliver over 6 of his tribe for one year to work his sugar cane distillery of alcohol in return for the Virgin Mary being finally transferred to him "Huarri" as his own property.

I also obtained further news of my good honest friend Myers, the American "hold up" who would not steal a friend's personal effects or his tobacco. It would appear that the quiet and humdrum life of store-keeper at Chiniri, and the work of dragging the balzas up the rapids to Huanay with rubber freight, on the not very varied diet of boiled rice, platano, alcohol and pure river water, palled on his wandering nature, and as at the time I speak of, some mechanics contracted for the putting together of the "White Elephant," "Incawarra Gold Dredger," (which cost the syndicate, Sir George Newnes, late of "Tit Bits" and others some £500,000, and returned some 3 kilos of gold) happened to be at Chiniri, my American friend, cleared them out of all they possessed at that scientific game called "Monte," after which they left for "Incawarra," some twelve hours down current.

After their departure Myers's evil side asserted itself and he misbehaved himself with the official complaint which Myers (with his usual gentlemanly instincts) arranged in a satisfactory manner to all concerned by returning to each individual person the money he had *legitimately* won from them at "Monte," which act showed that he recognised that he had done wrong and wished to make up for it, as far as was possible to do so, as no question of fear induced this man to make reparation.

Being probably ashamed of him-

self, he took a balga in company with young "D," (late of Liverpool whom I previously mentioned as having dropped £30,000, on the Buenos Aires race-course) and after victualling his frail means of transport with 1 kerosene tin of alcohol was switched downstream — to the devil or otherwise — over number of small rapids in that part of the river which I spoke of previously, to make the acquaintance of Howard — brother "hold up," since reformed (who now makes an honest living breeding pigs on platanos and selling the fat to the Indians) — and to induce him to join them in a hold-up at the station "Bellavista," where they collect the duties on the rubber leaving Bolivia, after which to continue down the "Amazonas," with the result of their labour.

His plans, however, were not successful, as, in the first instance, the victualling department was not properly managed, and unless you can shoot an Anter, pig or deer on the way, or catch a fish which requires a line and hook (and I don't suppose he had one) it will take three days paddle with a strong current helping one along before one arrives at the banana plantation of the man who had his ear eaten off, by that horrible disease "Espungy," and as presumably they left it all to the current and gave their practically undivided attention to the kerosene tin of 40 per cent. over proof, friend Myers' raft was fortunately observed and brought to shore when floating past Rurrenbaque and they were treated carefully and kindly by Merritt for D. Ts., fed upon tinned beef and Marimon monkey and saved from a certain death lower down the river.

We will leave friend Myers there recuperating and using his endeavours to persuade "hold up" Howard to chuck his happy homestead (with 4 beautiful and well set up Indian wives of whom he is the happy possessor) and to return to "the life of the free" and make money

quickly, while I give the next information as to my brother, from whom I received a letter which took 5 months and 17 days in transit.

He spoke in happy and hopeful tones, very different to the tone when I met him, when he told me his number was up, but that he was satisfied as he had seen me before passing in his gun. The cause of the change appears to be that he has obtained an antidote for the hook worms which finish off so many, if remaining in the climate for any length of time.

A pamphlet was published by an American doctor on this sickness which prevails in the southern states of America, in which he says thousands of persons suffer and eventually die of this scourge, the effects being anemia, loss of physical power, and in fact a gradual sapping of strength and decay, want of energy, procrastination and melancholia being the natural results of the decay.

This parasite worm is found in the intestines and in the same manner as the parasite "sucker fish," serves the shark, taking all nutriment from the body, so does the hook worm.

He advised me that his health had considerably improved, his muscles once more stand out hard, to which I say "thank God" may it continue.

He also informed me that during the two months following my departure from the Beni, he trapped and shot 3 tigers in his place at Altamirani, one of them being still larger than the animal I got on the south side of the river which measured 10 feet 3 inches, tip to tip.

His dog, which he took down river with him to Altamirani from Rurrembaque when I returned to Chile found a final resting place in the stomach of my old acquaintance the Red Chopped Alligator who caused me a sick feeling in my internals when recrossing the river at Salina Point on the water logged balza (say 3 inches under water).

The unfortunate animal slipped off the same water-logged balza, and was promptly nobbled.

In January 1912 I sent two letters but received no further communication from him, i.e. 10 months at date.

The world is small. In February 1912, Schmidt appeared in Valparaiso after 8 years in the River Mapiri (Huanay). He came as he felt he was likely to go mad if he did not see white people, (what about my brother 22 years inside?).

The news from Schmidt was most interesting, and included the sudden death of Cholo Samuel and the bad maiming of Aramayo (who had his throat half cut when I met him)—

both of Huanay — the pity being that the latter job was not properly finished.

It will be seen in my diary, when I remarked on my first slight acquaintance with the above named two scoundrels — Samuel the man who contracted to place a mule at my disposal for \$40.00 at 3.30 a. m. to get to Ancota and advise Lang that an order had been given to bring Charies dead or alive to Sorata (which simply meant, shoot him from the hill and stick to his washings and diving outfit.)

My legs were in a putrid condition with Carachas and to do the journey and cross the river to Lang's before night, was necessary otherwise the Tipuani lot would cut my throat first opportunity specially after having previously accompanied Lange to the other side of the river to deliver an order to arrest 5 of the colony for stealing material. As will be remembered, it was necessary to do this job armed, which I did, and I may say that after I returned to Chile, I received a letter from Lange — forwarded by an outside Indian carrier telling me that he had been badly knocked about, but had escaped across the river, and his intention was, not to give them any more of his company until he was coming outside altogether, when he intended paying his final visit with .44 ammunition to increase the number of crosses round about Machuca's last resting place, and he will do it, bar accidents, but I am wandering off from Samuel. The correct sum was \$400, he asked \$40.00 and then did not comply until 9 a. m. knowing that I would be stranded at night with his brother assassins in Tipuani, for which reason I could not go, however, retribution overtook him in the following manner. A Chilean found his way into Mapiri, and was brought down on one of Schmidt's rafts to Huanay where he was employed as Schmidt's capataz over the Indian crews.

The man one night crossed the river on balza against orders, and went to Samuel's despacho of alcohol where Samuel and Aramayo, the Corrijidor, were drinking. The feeling is strong against Chileans and being 3 to 1, they commenced to give him a good dose of "wangling" the man eventually escaped and returned across the river; securing his revolver he returned, and promptly planted a ball in the lower part of Samuel's stomach and another in Aramayo's fat thigh. Samuel gave up the ghost without delay, but Aramayo determined to take advantage of the incident to ruin Schmidt's competitive freighting business: as by energy Schmidt was monopolising Ara-

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mayo's people. The result was, Aramayo prepared one of the usual lying solicitudes to send to La Paz, accusing Schmidt of having ordered his Chilean capataz to wipe his freight competitors out, in a quick and effective manner.

Schmidt on hearing of the plan which spelt ruin, gave the Chilean two weeks' food and dropped him on a balza at night time, at the mouth of the river Coroico, and left him to foot it to La Paz, 17 days' journey, which was the last that was heard of him, while Schmidt himself saddled up his mule, and pushed straight away up the Tipuani pass arriving three days afterwards at Sorata, where he took out an order against Aramayo for murdering his previous wife, which was a fact, as the brute when mad with drink knocked his wife on the ground and jumped on her several times, which caused her instant death, as he was a heavy man.

On returning by the same trail Schmidt met Aramayo's messenger on a similar mission, viz: — arrest or authority to shoot the man if he resists. As Schmidt had obtained the first order to arrest or shoot Aramayo, by doing the "Early worm racket," they returned together to Huanay, where the option was given to Aramayo to clear out and leave the entire freighting business to Schmidt or be imprisoned or shot, he elected to accept the first option which enabled friend Schmidt to lay by a few dollars, and no doubt he is now in a position to buy a new spring for his gramophone, instead of turning the discs round with his finger, as he did when entertaining me at his place.

The latest information regarding friend Myers, is sad, yet not unexpected, as often when footing it together, I said, "Why don't you chuck up the hold-up business! The hard life you are obliged to live in the mines, awaiting opportunities and obtaining necessary information does not compensate for a haul that is at once blown in during a few wild orgies, while it is a dead certainty, that you are wiped out before long," to which he replied, "What difference now, or in 10 years!"

In May, 1911, a Mr. Sanceau Director of the Mamoré Railway (then building) and agents for the Farquhar Syndicate who have been quietly buying up the interests in certain railways in Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil and the Antofagasta and Bolivian Railway, Chile (some 12,000 miles of railroad in all) passed through Valparaiso on his way from Pará, when I was able to obtain further information of Myers, who had evidently worked his way across the country from Beni to the Ma-

more where he obtained employment. After some short period it was brought to Sanceau's notice that Myers was there for the purpose of holding up the wages escort: he was called up and asked to vacate that part of the country. He agreed to do so but unfortunately, when sliding down the river bank his .44 (which arm the hold ups wear dangling in front of them between the legs, as being easy to hand) exploded a cartridge, the ball passing through his thigh. He was attended to and must no doubt, have recovered, and worked his way back to the higher rivers, presumably to Cochabamba, as the last scene in friend Meyers' life was enacted in the Alta Planice, where in company with some six others, they were holding up remittances, which were strongly guarded by soldiers, and after a pitched battle, in which numbers of the escort were shot, a final stand was made in a rancho, where the seven outlaws were shot to a man.

Thus Myers' (lasting some 2 1/2 years from the time I left him on the Rio Ka-Ka) finishing touches were no doubt given afterwards by the soldiers as I myself have seen the traces of the savage cruelty which Myers was previously subjected to, when he was finally landed in Oruro Carcel, after his .44 rifle had jammed, (which by the way, appears to be the defect of that excellent arm, the Winchester repeater).

Should there be such thing as a soul, I can honestly repeat "God rest" that of Myers, for he was a man with infinitely more admirable and good points in his character (notwithstanding he was a hold-up) than those possessed by the majority we are called upon to mix with in our so-called civilized walk in life, where lying, pilfering, selfishness, cowardly, pilfering, selfishness, cowardly appear to me, the principal ingredient in their composition.

THE FND.

LITTLE JOE

LOT OF YOUTHS DO
STEP INTO THEIR FATHER'S
SHOES—WHEN HE GETS
TIRED OF WEARING THEM



A COMPLIMENT FROM THE WORLD'S GREATEST INTERVIEWER



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April 8th 1925

Mr. John White,
The American Weekly,
B. Mitre 367,
Buenos Aires,

Dear Mr. White,

Before I leave Buenos Aires I hope you will permit me to thank you for the really admirable report that you made of my little talk before the American Club. It was one of the best pieces of reporting that I have known in a long time and it is on a par with the general conduct of your Magazine.

It has been a pleasure to meet you and I look forward to seeing you again. Meanwhile, with every good wish for the success of The American Weekly.

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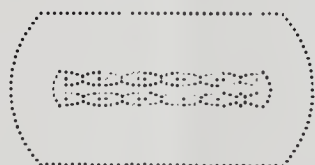
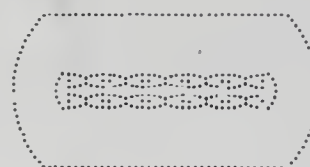
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THE BRIDGE



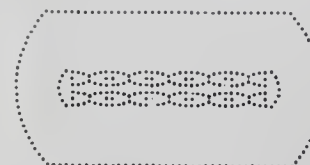
THE LAKE



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE LAKE



LOOKING ACROSS THE LAKE FROM THE
LANDING STAGE



Character in Your Handwriting

By Martha M. Allen

IN THE AMERICAN WEEKLY of March 21 an article appeared on "Character in Your Handwriting". At that time it was stated that I would be glad to receive samples of handwriting and that the results of the analyses would be published in the columns of THE AMERICAN WEEKLY. The following readings are given in response to requests which have been received in this office. Readers who care to submit samples of their handwriting or of that of their friends may be certain that the analyses will be published in these columns. Readers, however, are expected to enclose their cards as evidence of good faith. No attention will be paid to anonymous communications. It is necessary to sign a letter combined with a figure, in order for the reader to be absolutely sure which analysis is his, since it is impossible to publish names.

(S. I.). The writer apparently comes from a family of fine traditions. The script shows love of beauty, occasional moments of great optimism, a certain reverence for convention, and a contradictory streak of breaking away from it entirely. He has a strong, trained mind, and at times much tenacity. He likes to start things, will sometimes finish them well, and sometimes wants to run from the thing in hand, and never return to it. He has a consciousness of power, and constant uncertainty as to how he wishes to use it. He is silent, yet at moments he wants to talk without stopping; this is not often. He is secretive, but not always. Constantly he is torn between two roads, both of which he wishes to travel.

(B.). B. is a very popular girl, affectionate, liked by girls and men. I imagine she would fall in love easily. She makes most tolerant judgments in regard to other people. She is not always as optimistic as people think; in fact, when she wrote this letter, she was rather depressed. When she is most sad, she is likely to be the life of a crowd.

(C.). C. represses herself a great deal. She needs far more fun than she allows herself; soon she will not be able to really enjoy a good time if she does not mend her ways in that regard. C. would conceal the fact that she has an affectionate disposition from everyone in the world; she

needs affection, however, and feels bitter sometimes from sheer starvation. I would wager quite a bit of money that she has never married.

(G.). G. is unselfish, thoughtful of his family, and in poorer health than he may know. He should be careful of himself just now. He is careless of details. As a whole, the script does not give very much information about the man.

(F.). F. is difficult to read, also. Details rather overpower him sometimes, but he does faithfully what he has to do, and finishes better than he starts. He is tenacious, and eager to do well. I think he would be rather inclined to throw cold water on any daring, new idea.

(E. J.). You are a very strong individualist; you want many things from life, each one intensely at a given moment. You have nerve and great mental energy, yet you are deliberate and analytical. You are full of gaiety. You are fond of hard work yet in other moods it is almost impossible to drive yourself to it. You have great delicacy, doggedness, and through determination and a natural love of balance, you are temperate in all things. You have many moods and a thousand complex characteristics are reflected in your varied capital "I's."

(X²). You have much regard for your religious traditions, and for tradition in general. You hold to an idea with great firmness. You have a naturally cheerful disposition, and great sense of rhythm. You love music, and, if you dance, dance very well, for this sense of rhythm permeates you. You have a fine feeling for color, and an appreciation of pictures which is not usual.

(X1). You are very careful of details, and an excellent housekeeper. I am sure that labor-saving devices interest you less than most women. You are economical, generally cheerful, but subject to moments of discouragement which those whom you love most are not aware of. You are a very devoted wife.

(Y3). You are strongly individual in your feeling; you are altruistic broad in your judgments, but very restrained. Your thoughts are high. All your judgments are kind and generous as they affect others.

(Ger.). You have the beautiful faculty of making people happy around you, even when you are low-spirited yourself. For this reason, you are very popular with your friends, and are socially desired. You have much enthusiasm, and a naturally affectionate disposition. You can be absolutely trusted.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETY TO GIVE

BRIDGE TEA ON APRIL 28

There was a large attendance at the April meeting of the Patriotic Society of American Women in the hall of the American Church on Tuesday afternoon of this week. Mrs. Deffis presided and the meeting was opened, as usual, with prayer by Dr. Harper and the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner." The business session was devoted to the reading of reports from the secretary and treasurer and the standing committees and it was decided to give a bridge tea on April 28, the proceeds to be divided between the society's American Sanatorium Fund and the Emergency Relief Fund.

After the business meeting, Mrs. Rodriguez supplied a very talented musical program of piano selections, among which was one of her own compositions.

Miss Martha M. Allen, of the editorial staff of THE AMERICAN WEEKLY, then gave a very interesting talk on "Palmistry," a subject which she has studied thoroughly. After her address, she read the palms of a large number of ladies.

The bridge tea which is being planned for April 28 will be given at the beautiful home of Mrs. A. V. Edwards, Calle Pino, 3496, Belgrano, beginning at 2 o'clock. There will be tables for both bridge and mah jongg, with raffles and fortune telling as additional attractions. Tickets for tea and either bridge or mah jongg will be sold at five pesos, and tea alone will be served at three pesos. Miss Allen has agreed to supply the fortune telling entertainment by reading palms at so much per for the benefit of the two funds.

Mrs. John Happer is chairman of the committee on arrangements, the other members of the committee being Mrs. A. V. Edwards, Mrs. J. M. Hunter, Mrs. Charles Towne, Mrs. Roy C. Barnes, and Mrs. J. L. Sternfield.

Donations of cake or money for other refreshments will be gladly received by any member of the committee.

SALLY ANN'S SCRAP-BOOK



COATS for the autumn are long and straight, or flare toward the hem from below the hips. Both are equally modish. Those that flare are slightly shorter and often show an inch or two of the skirt worn underneath. Sleeves are set in and generally rather narrow so as to maintain the slim silhouette. Face cloth is largely used, also ottoman silk, for smart wear at present. Other popular materials are kasha and different kinds of velvet.

For country wear there are many check designs in tweeds and velours; a check pattern about 12 inches square is chic. Corduroy velours are smart, showing alternate ribs in dark and light tones, and is a new fabric this season.

Black coats predominate, and are likely to be most popular for winter wear. Black and white effects are again very general. A black coat showing the inside collar and the reverses trimmed with white wool embroidery, has a white lining; and a black velvet coat lined with blue, has two rows of silver and blue galleon outlining the reverses and the hem



New Type of Scarf

Here's a new type of scarf that has mucho to recommend it. It is shirred into a narrow band in the center so that it gives the effect of a choker when wound about the throat. The ends are left free and wide and may be as voluminous and floating as they like.



Rose on Hat and Dress

This is a season of subtlety in dress. Things seem to be accidental but they are carefully planned. Here for instance, we have one of the new hats with a crown made of roses. And the smart woman wears one on her shoulder that exactly matches the one on her hat — looking for all the world as if it had dropped there. It forms a bond of interest between the hat and frock, establishing that desirable quality known as style.

about four inches from the edge. For colored coats, viridian-green is the newest shade, and looks well trimmed with gray or black; and a cherry-colored velour is gay with dark brown trimming and buttons.

Most smart coats are shown with an under-dress to match. A pretty model of viridian-green velvet trimm-

ed with brown is worn over a gown of green and gold lace trimmed with velvet, showing three inches of velvet underskirt; and a coat of black ottoman silk is trimmed with stripes of black satin seamed in, and is worn over a dress of the same material trimmed with a bright purple leather waist band to match the lining.

Scarves and Capes

Scarves are still popular worn with coats; some have pockets, and are outlined with embroidery or other trimming. Often they are passed through a slot or belt to keep them in place.

Capes are chosen for evening. These look distinguished and are easy to wear. A graceful model is gauged from neck to waist and trimmed with brocade; others show a waistcoat effect. Capes are convenient for traveling and look well in a bold check design.



A Vest for Milady

Women borrowed the idea of a vest from men, but revised it into a very feminine sort of an article. Here is one that is a cross between a vest and suspenders. It is of white satin bordered with black ribbon. What it really does is to cover the awkward meeting of the blouse and skirt and keep the straight silhouette that is the rage. It is equally appropriate with a white pleated skirt or with the tailored suit.

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For a serviceable coat, pilot cloth is used, and makes up well in a double-breasted style with four or six buttons and large pointed revers. This style is adapted also to country coats made up in tweeds with an overcheck design, and may have two or four flap pockets. A straight coat of heather velour with a faint brown over-check is piped with gray-brown cloth and has a gray collar.

Milady's Slippers

Nothing is more important to a woman's appearance than being prettily shod. No one living in Buenos Aires is, or, indeed, can be indifferent to shoes, Argentine feet being beyond a doubt among the most lovely in the world. The beautiful designs of Argentine shoes are excelled only by Perugia, at whose feet and before whose fair slippers Paris and New York have knelt for the last two years. But there is one matter that troubles one after the first cursory glance at the pretty pumps; this is the astonishing prevalence of bunions on the woman who has turned thirty. Perhaps there are as many bunions at home, but here one notices quickly what seems to be the only blemish. The short vamp shoes very likely are the cause of this.

To avoid these highly undesirable disfigurements, a swelling on the joint should be painted with iodine the moment it appears. Then forthwith one should invest in a pair of shoes with the straightest last obtainable. A New York woman would go with all speed to a certain shoe store on 34th Street and, to make sure that the position of the bones was correct, have her feet X-rayed in a pair of remedial shoes, which she could wear with joy to her great good during her husband's business hours. Then she could fearlessly dance in the maddest and prettiest gold follies of the season.

There are American rubber foot appliances sold in many of the stores in town which are really effective, although the little one to be worn between the great toe and its smaller brother is of use only at night, when it cannot cause painful friction.

Feet on the Downward Path

Chiropodists say that the foot, both efficient and beautiful, is going back on us, that it has been gathering momentum for collapse for a long time, ever since it stopped clinging to tree-trunks, especially since it has been put into stiff shoes in the interests of civilization. And the trouble lies, according to them, in the fact that the foot is simply not given enough work

to keep its thirty-eight joints busy.

As a result, it is not so strong as it was formerly, which means that it falls into bad habits more easily. And chief among such habits is faulty posture. A well-known chiropodist says that three-fourths of all the foot troubles come from this condition. Also, the foot troubles come from this condition. Also, the foot will continue to grow weaker if it is not exercised: Given a combination of faulty posture and lack of exercise, no foot can combat it. Such a combination conquers all and brings in its wake fallen arches, contracted tendons, enlarged joints, burning feet—in fact, all the ills the pedal extremities are heir to. So it is plain that, if a woman would have feet that will serve her without protest, she must give attention to their posture and exercise.

For correct posture, there is just one thing to remember—keep the feet straight ahead when walking and sitting down. In general, the feet should be turned slightly in rather than out. Catch yourself in a favorite position, and find out what the feet are doing. You will be surprised to learn how many incorrect positions your feet take daily. You may put your weight on the inside of the foot, thus bringing undue pressure to bear upon the greater arch; you may rest on the ball of the foot, elevating the heel and putting strain on the lesser arch.

Or, perhaps, you wrap your foot around the leg or rung of your chair. Many of the most delightful positions are the worst possible for the feet. And the weaker the feet, the more easily they take these positions and are hurt by them. Twisted joints in a weak foot simply don't snap back the way they should. So, at intervals during the day, take your feet in hand. Every woman is the best reformatory for her own feet. She alone can keep them straight.

And now, about exercise. A certain amount of walking is absolutely essential. Feet that step only in and out of motors can not expect a very long or very happy life. In addition, there are three simple exercises that will do wonders for the feet. Two of them may be taken in bed. For the first, which strengthens the arch under the instep, bring in the toes from the ankle until they touch. Then bend the entire foot upward. In the second, which strengthens the arch in the ball of the foot, simply turn the feet up as far as they will go and then turn the toes down. The third exercise is taken out of bed and is

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for the benefit of the tendon at the back of the heel. Stand with the feet straight ahead. Bend the knees forward as far as possible. Do these exercises six or seven times a day to start, increasing them gradually to fifteen times. They exercise the whole foot.

The Groundwork of Beauty

Attention to posture and the above exercises will strengthen normal feet and greatly benefit them, but, for especially sensitive feet, feet that tire easily, or that burn, or that are given to excessive perspiration, additional measures are often necessary. The right bath for each of these troubles is essential. The feet should, of course, be bathed daily, but the daily use of soap is not advisable, especially if the feet perspire excessively or burn. Extremes of temperature should be avoided in all foot-baths.

A tepid sea-salt bath is soothing to tired feet. For burning or perspiring feet, add to the salt bath two handfuls of powdered alum or borax. Burning feet may be caused by poor circulation, and a warm foot-bath followed by a cold one is often found stimulating. Such a bath frequently helps swollen ankles, which may be caused by sluggish circulation. Also, such ankles are helped by massage of the ankle-bone with a greaseless cream, first rubbing outward with a rotary motion, then inward. A high shoe, even if worn only a part of the day, is of great aid in reducing the size of the ankle and strengthening it.

The stocking, too, has much to do with the way a foot feels. Short stockings are binding and exert constant, even if gentle, pressure upon the sensitive toes. Chiropodists recommend the cashmere stocking as the ideal one, as it is a combination of silk and wool and is porous, yet absorbent. However, the important thing is to have the stocking large enough. It will fit better if the nails are kept quite short, cut square across the top.

However, none of these faulty conditions of the foot can be permanently helped if one wears the wrong shoes. On the contrary, they are apt to be aggravated, even caused, by ill-fitting shoes. And such shoes, too, are responsible for the decrease in beauty in the foot. When they are too short, they force the joints out of place and ruin the shape of the toes. They are responsible for unsightly, as well as painful, corns and callouses. If they are tight, they interfere with the circulation and tire the foot. Tired feet affect the whole body.



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HILLSIDE AND GARDEN

By Inés E. Miller

(Continued from last week)

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In the autumn, we had many strange and beautiful callers who were migrating north or south, and who only rested with us for a day or two. Amongst these were the beautiful blue, orange and green "Principe," (a Troupial, I fancy;) the bee-catching "Gauchito de las Sierras," the burrowing parrots, (lorc barranquera) of red and green plumage, destructive, greedy and noisy, in huge bands; also snipe, wild duck and other game. All the year round we had tinamous (native partridges) and "Patagonian" hares. There were owls in plenty, and every night the peculiar hoot of the "caburé" could be heard fascinating his victims with his haunting cry. There were also a great many "uracas" (Guira cuckoos?) which are so stupid that they would sit on a fence, almost overbalancing when the wind caught their immense tails, while a hawk repeatedly struck at them on the head until one would fall in the grass with a dismal, monotonous cry, closely followed by the rest of the band.

By September the orchard was a mass of soft white blossom, the last daffodil hung its gentle head, surrounded as it was by dead and dying friends. The pansies were, however glorious. Crossed by the bees, they appeared annually in new and more beautiful colours, while soil and climate coupled with a carefully prepared bed, a thick layer of chemical bone and a judicious sprinkling of sulphur, enlarged their outlook on life with every succeeding generation.

By this time there were rows of purple or white iris and the Japanese variety of yellow, mauve and white together. The lilac bushes had never flowered as they did that spring after a short, sharp winter — their heavy scent attracted the bees from the blossom and the night-scented stocks.

The summer arrived imperceptibly and with it, a multitude of flowers. There were roses everywhere, of every shade in pink, white, yellow and red. The dahlias also were a mosaic of colouring and continued flowering all through the summer and late autumn, while clumps of Japanese anemones showed up like white stars in the borders. We boasted of about eight differently coloured *Aquilegiae* (Columbines) and pastel-hued asters, balsams and renunculae of all colours and shades.

By the beginning of February, in spite of a hot, dry summer, we were feasting on the first grapes of the season,—delicious fleshy purple lobes covered with bloom! We had peaches also but the apricots were over soon after the New Year. A late fall of rain revived the Caroline planes along the drive and they commenced budding again as though they had mistaken the season for another spring!

There were still a few roses and the dahlias were recovering their strength, while the giant clematis flowered exuberantly on the pergola. Asters and balsams were most persevering and the hollyhocks showed a brave front all through the heat, although the thermometer had registered as much as $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}\text{C}$. at mid-day for nearly a week. This, it might be mentioned, is a remarkable temperature in the High Hills. A field of new alfalfa dried up and for various reasons, we were threatened with a shortage of milk, but at this opportune moment, a calf and the rain arrived and saved the situation.

One day during the heat wave, I took a walk along the bank of the main acequia intending to follow it to the point where it left the river. I saw, lying in the water, the largest so-called "iguana" I have ever seen. This reptile is in reality a large teguezin lizard, a great killer of snakes which it slays by means of its powerful tail. It can also break a dog's leg with a whisk of this same tail. These lizards are much more common on the plains than in the Hills. The tail when cooked tastes like smoked salmon, but the natives preserve it as an ointment and salve. In the old estancia days, my younger brother loved to fire at an iguana with his air-gun just to see the bullet ricochet off its leathery hide, while the reptile continued to sleep, basking in the sun.

The parasitical "Garra-pata" (*Ixodes*) is unfortunately common in the Hills, and will attach itself, if unmolested, to any living thing, from snake to man. It infests cattle, sheep and dogs, poisoning the blood and developing "tristeza", a kind of fever, accompanied by nervous depression and shivering fits, or drives the animal mad by entering the ears.

This tick is seen in dry seasons on the tip of every blade of grass swaying in the breeze, and waiting for

some warm-blooded animal to brush against it. It then attaches itself immediately to the unfortunate animal, buries its three teeth under the skin and commences to suck the blood, raising a weal where it grasps the flesh with teeth and eight feet.

Within four days, the insect's abdomen has attained the size of a large rounded butter bean and is so tough that a cigarette will with difficulty burn through the leathery covering. When the insect finally drops off, it usually leaves three or four young ones on the raw spot.

Cattle and sheep must be dipped if they are to thrive at all, but few people take the trouble to wash their dogs regularly to rid them of these degraded spiders. Even this precaution will not always prevent an early death, as the present writer knows only too well, having lost her well-beloved Pekingese from weakness caused by the *Ixodes*, although she was brushed daily and had her bath regularly.

Fortunately, the *bête-rouge* (*bicho colorado*) is not very prevalent in the Hills. This parasite attacks domestic birds under the wing, and if chickens are allowed to run in shady places they will speedily succumb to the irritation. It attacks human beings around the ankles and particularly in the fleshy muscle behind the knee.

It is not, as is popularly believed microscopic; it can be easily seen in a good light running over the skin.

American salmon trout has been introduced into the Hill streams and makes excellent fishing, but as it is not indigenous it has very little interest for us. The most interesting fish to be found in the Hills is a small black and red fish, which is most beautifully coloured and marked and appears to be transparent as it darts here and there in the sunlit waters. On the lower levels, round about Cosquin, I have seen turtles basking on the rocks in the middle of the Rio Primero. They sometimes attain a great size and weight as witnessed by the fact that one was brought to the Plaza Hotel in Cordoba weighing 200 kilos.

It is curious to note instances of maternal instinct in animals, for the young of another species. A well-known Irish-Argentine estanciero once told me the following strange story. He had a married "colono" on his

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place who had one greatly-beloved child of some fourteen to sixteen months. He was, in fact, just able to toddle. One day this child disappeared and on advice being received at the estancia house, my friend set out with several neighbours and all the men on the estate, to search the vast "cardal" that surrounded the colono's home. No trace could be found, and finally on the third day, the search was abandoned by all but the distracted father who was determined to find his child, alive or dead, and solve the mystery of its disappearance. At sundown on the third day about two leagues from his "rancho," he found his small son contentedly sucking a large criolla sow, which was lying on the muddy edge of a "pantano" in a hollow of the ground suckling her foster-child instead of one of her own offspring, which she had in all probability lost at the crucial moment when the human baby started to toddle after her on her long pilgrimage to the cool mud. This is particularly astonishing when it is remembered that pigs have been known to attack and devour babies. On the other hand, all animals are, as a rule, tender and solicitous where babies are concerned, and this sow was like the mother-wolves in India which steal babies from the neighbouring village and bring them up in their lairs with their own cubs. Not many years ago, a "wolf-child" of 23 (approximately) was found in India. He ate raw flesh, howled like a wolf and sat on his haunches in preference to standing upright, but to all appearances he was still fed by friendly wolves.

When my younger brother was a baby, we lived in England for a few years, and stayed for some time at my uncle's farm. He had a particularly bad-tempered collie which would not allow anybody to touch it, save its own master. My brother, however, used to lie with him on the mat in front of the kitchen fire, put his fingers in his eyes, bite his ears and roughly pull his hair. The collie appeared to enjoy the fun and never attempted to snap at the unconsciously cruel baby.

A cow will seldom suckle a calf other than her own, unless the skin of her own dead offspring be laid upon it for a few days, but there are exceptions even to this rule, much depending upon the needs of babyless mother and motherless babe, combined with time and opportunity.


Before I end this story of wild life, I must mention the Hill pony, even though he may not properly belong to that category. He is small and inelegant. Like mountain cattle, his

fore legs are inclined to become shorter than those of his brethren on the plains and the muscles of his hind legs, to become over-developed, but he is sure-footed, patient, hardy and long-suffering, and surely no other quadruped will subsist so well on such scanty feed and care. Many city-dwellers, thoughtless but otherwise humane, forget when riding our hill-ponies up hill and down dale, that the effort required is much greater than that expended by horses on the level, and many a hill pony has fallen paralyzed by the wayside from constant galloping up-hill. At the end of the season, most of the horses in the locality are sore-backed, lame and emaciated, especially if they belong to men who earn their livelihood by hiring horses by the hour. If this should meet the eye of anyone intending to stay in the Hills, I shall be well satisfied if it serves no other purpose than to persuade him to remove the saddle and examine the back of the animal he has hired, before setting out for his ride.

Much might be written of the goat, which plays such an important role in the lives of the Serranos. It supplies milk, cheese, meat and covering to those isolated ranchos on the wind-swept uplands, and completes the pastoral scene.

Nothing has been said of the Mephitic skunk, but the writer feels that there is nothing to add to that already written about this malodorous creature. They are not very abundant in the Hills. There are, however, a great many opossums (*Didelphys Azarae*) which live in the trunks of old trees and haunt the grape-vines. Wild mountain cats (*gato montés*) are fairly common and do much damage in the chicken-run if able to penetrate therein. These cats are almost twice the size of the domestic cat, with spotted skin and barred, bushy tail.

At one time I kept some long-haired rabbits. A little boy let them out of the hutch one day, and as they were very tame and easily caught, I thought I would let them run loose until late afternoon. By tea-time, however, they had disappeared. I searched the whole garden and orchard for them in vain. About half-past five, setting out for a walk with my mother, we heard a rustle in the grass and presently espied a *gato montés* climbing up a high tree. We called our Sicilian gardener, who in great excitement, ran to his house for his old flint-lock and fired at the cat, spitting fiercely at us from its perch on the *espinillo*. The gardener fired at close range and the shot tore away the animal's insides. To my immense surprise, out tumbled quantities of



*La gente chic
fuma*
**Reina
Victoria**

dry, white hair—the only distinguishable remains of my poor white rabbits!

There are several snakes in the Hills, but with the exception of the rare rattle-snake, they are not venomous.

So-called tarantulas, or arañas peludas, (Mygale fusca) are fairly common on the hot, dusty roads and rocks about San Roque and Ascochinga, and at this latter place the more terrible barred Lycosa is said to be abundant, but in the Punilla valley we seldom saw even the Mygale fusca, except in thundery weather and I never heard of a case of a poisonous bite, such as was frequent news on the Cordoba plains.

Vizcachas inhabit flat, open spaces between San Esteban and the Marble Quarries of the Quinteros' family. These strange, semi-marsupials are interesting animals, and I have spent many an hour on the plains in childhood, listening to the signals of the sentinels seated at the mouth of the outer burrows of each colony, or merely conversing with the sound of the clanging of telegraph wires, when the ear is pressed against the pole.

This is a very incomplete catalogue of all the interesting features of wild life in the Hills, and there are many people living there now who could supplement these remarks with more interesting data, but until this is done perhaps the present observations will serve to awaken interest in an aspect of hill-life usually disregarded by visitor and resident alike.

TOMORROW'S SERVICES AT THE AMERICAN CHURCH

Easter Sunday will be observed at the American Church tomorrow with the usual special services, in addition to which two very notable American preachers will speak.

Bishop Francis O'Connell, who is regarded as one of the greatest preachers in the United States, will speak at the morning service.

The speaker at the evening service will be the Rev. Dr. Robert E. Sneer, chairman of the Committee on Religious Cooperation in Latin America and one of the most active leaders in the recent Montevideo conference.

Give her Time

Rastus—Ah wants a divorce. Dat woman jes' talk, talk, talk, night an' day. Ah cain't get no rest and dar talk am drivin' me crazy.

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FIELD Marshal von Hindenburg came out of his retirement at Hannover this week and accepted the invitation of the nationalist parties to run for president of the German republic. Before he accepted, the aged field marshal, who remains Germany's idol while the other war-makers are in disrepute, telegraphed to the former Kaiser and asked permission to make the race. Wilhelm granted the request by return telegraph, and there was great rejoicing in monarchist circles where the victory of Hindenburg at the polls may mean a step toward the restoration of the monarchy.

Allied capitals received the news that Hindenburg would mix in politics for the first time without alarm; London thought it would not matter much even if he were elected, and Paris was rather satisfied to have him in the field as an argument for the continued maintenance of the French army, which continues to far outnumber any other in the world.

Washington was said to have been "amazed" by Hindenburg's acceptance of the nomination by the "empire bloc" because he has frequently reiterated his loyalty to the Hohenzollerns, and so it is not seen how he can swear loyalty to the republic and at the same time retain his Kaiserlich allegiance.

However, it was felt on this side of the world that the Field Marshal would be defeated by the candidate of the republican parties, Herr Marx. The elections will be held April 26.

Monarchy versus Republic

Hindenburg's supporters say the question of the monarchy does not come up at the election, to which the republicans reply, in the words of the Berliner Tageblatt:

"The nomination is a sin against the German people and against Old General Hindenburg," and cites the Pan German statements a week ago in which they said it would be a shame to bring the old field marshal

into the whirlpool of politics.

Other papers say the candidacy is "a misuse of Hindenburg's name," while the communist newspaper the Rote Fahne says:

"Hindenburg is not a person but a program—a program of the Junkers the generals and the great industrialists—a program for a 12-hour day and a military dictatorship."

Recalling that Hindenburg is "representative of Wilhelm of Doorn" the socialist newspaper Vorwaerts says the issue now is flatly between the monarchy and the republic, and thinks Hindenburg's election would be a catastrophe.

The monarchist press says "the great leader of wartimes will again be our leader, bringing Germany into a new era of nationalism instead of internationalism."

General Ludendorff said "the best soldier of the old army brings a sacrifice to the Fatherland which should be an example to all of us and we should vote for him so that Germany again will be honorable."

Perú Complains

The Peruvian foreign office complains that Chilean soldiers and officials in the disputed provinces of Tacna and Arica, where a plebiscite is to be held following the arbitral award by President Coolidge, continue to chase all persons friendly to Perú out of the districts, and are robbing and clubbing others. Many are alleged to have been deported to Punta Arenas. A Spaniard is said to have been arrested and beaten for showing sympathy for Peruvians.

Chile explains the "migrations" as a movement from one region to another for "higher wages" owing to the pay being offered by nitrate producers.

Lima waited expectantly for an answer from the United States government to Peru's latest note demanding guarantees that the proposed plebiscite will be fair and that expulsions of Peruvians immediately cease.

There were reports that unless the United States granted the demands Perú would repudiate the award. It was said the presence of General Pershing and his staff in the district would not be sufficient guarantee of fair play because there were "too many loopholes" and the Yankees would not be able to see everything at once all the time.

Censorship prevents any unbiased information from getting out of Perú, while the Peruvian foreign office appears to have settled down to stiff propaganda campaign with the intention of nullifying the program for the plebiscite, on the ground that Perú could not win at the polls if all Peruvians previously have been chased out of the country.

Frenzied Finance

The French cabinet faced a near-defeat Wednesday and there was talk that Premier Herriot would have to resign on account of his government's financial program. The government has been borrowing from the Bank of France which has issued 4,000,000,000 francs more than the legal limit, while the cabinet still is in difficulty with the budget and is seeking more money by taxation, or "voluntary loans," in the form of a contribution by capital. The threat is made that unless the loans are forthcoming a capital levy of 10 per cent will be made in accordance with the demands of the socialists.

While the Finance Minister was forced to resign by the disclosures of the difficulties the nation is facing, the new minister, M. DeMonzie, was not able to satisfy all demands and finally the finance committee of the senate began consideration of the various projects for stabilization.

Fears were expressed that unless the situation was quickly resolved there would be an era of inflation, similar to the debacle of the German mark.

According to the explanation of the Minister of Finance, it has been

customary for all governments to borrow money from the Bank of France and he said this was not illegal, although the government's opponents charged that the Cabinet really had caused inflation and now was trying to cover up with a legal increase of the government's borrowing powers.

In its weekly statement Thursday the Bank of France for the first time admitted that 2,100,896,650 more francs than the legal limit had been issued.

Italian Troubles

The fascists of Italy again have been aroused; this time against unknown, but naturally suspected, socialists and communists, men who have been beating up the fascists. Three men were killed this week, two of them shot down on the street and the other clubbed to death at the club house of railroad workers in Faenza.

A number of men who perhaps had been forced to take castor oil in other days invaded the Faenza club house and wrecked it. They injured a large number of workmen. The police have started an investigation.

A "noted communist" is suspected of having shot the other fascists, and he is being sought.

An explosion occurred on board the Italian battleship Duilio while at target practice and killed eight men and injured thirty. The destruction of the ship was prevented by the action of the commander who immediately flooded the magazines.

Premier Mussolini was installed as Minister of War ad interim with proper pomp and ceremony, his desk being buried with flowers from his colleagues.

Donald MacMillan

Mr. Donald MacMillan, the famous explorer, expects to depart for the polar regions in June with naval aircraft pilots to search for "an unknown continent." The expedition will not be a government project, but is being supported by the National Geographic society, and President Coolidge has endorsed the plans.

An announcement by the Navy Department says it is believed the "unknown continent exists," the belief being based on tidal observations, ice phenomena and even the sight of land masses rising above the horizon, which were seen by Peary and which MacMillan later investigated but was unable to confirm.

"An interesting and important feature of the expedition will be the exploration of Norse ruins in Labra-

dor and Greenland," the announcement says. "The similarity between these ruins indicates that they are of identical origin and are remains of ancient Norse settlements established by Eric the Red. It is expected that the exploration of these ruins will shed a new light on the first chapter of American history."

Why Men Die

According to Dr. Gilbert Fitz Patrick of Chicago the business of dying is a result of the failure of the individual to take a physical inventory now and then and find out his strength and his weakness, determining what there is in the physical makeup to be guarded against.

The doctor thinks the expectancy of human life can be increased 20 years by 1975 if man puts into practice the knowledge he actually possesses relative to personal and community health. This would bring the average life up to between 78 and 80 years.

He thinks that it is not inconceivable that if the improvement of the race and the control or elimination of the germ and habit of diseases continue in the same ratio it will bring the average life up to the century mark. Such an increase in life cannot be realized, however, until our eyes are fully opened to the wastage of human life and the loss of precious years, the result of gross carelessness.

The progress that has been made toward lengthening life has been done largely through the control of germ diseases and better sanitation, as well as more intelligent handling of the infant, and pre-natal medical attention for mothers. The doctor says medical and sanitary progress during the last 40 years today are saving a million lives a year. In the 16th century the span of life was 20 years. When the thirteen colonies declared independence of Great Britain it had increased to only 27 years.

To go about living a long time the doctor recommends the division of the day into three equal parts: One for Work, one for play and one for sleep.

In play he recommends association with congenial people, and taking healthy exercises to keep the muscles in trim. Sleep, however, is of the most importance. A man will die of lack of sleep more quickly than he will of starvation.

A meal of meat, potatoes and bread is a sin; add to this plenty of fresh fruits and vegetables, milk and butter, to make a balanced ration. In

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The next sailings from Valparaiso are as follows:

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s. s. "SANTA ELISA"	"	29
s. s. "SANTA LUISA"	May	15
s. s. "SANTA TERESA"	"	27

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Abolishing Insanity

Senator Henry A. Williams, youngest member of the New Jersey senate, has secured the passage of a bill by that august body providing for sterilization of habitual criminals and insane persons. The senator declared that the state is paying \$10,000,000 a year for the mentally defective. Opponents of the measure argued that it is not always possible to determine the curability or incurability of recurrent insanity. The bill says:

"Any person who after a judicial inquiry as provided in this act shall have been determined to be afflicted with recurrent or chronic insanity or feeble-mindedness which can be transferred to his offspring, or to be an habitual criminal of defective mentality, which defective mentality can be transmitted to his offspring, may be eugenically sterilized."

Despite the use of the masculine pronoun the bill applies to women as well as to men.

The measure would empower the commissioner of institutions and agencies to determine the individuals upon whom the law shall be operative. Public hearings would be held and the defendant would have the right to a trial by jury.

Forest Week

President Coolidge has proclaimed the week of April 27 to May 3 Forest Week, and has urged the country to observe the day by taking a renewed interest in forest rehabilitation. The President regards the preservation of the nation's forests as one of the most important duties of his administration. In his proclamation he termed forest protection "a sacred responsibility to unborn generations."

"We have passed the pioneer stage and are no longer excusable for continuing the unwise dissipation of a great resource," the proclamation says, referring to the rapidly dwindling forests. "To the nation it means the lack of an elemental necessity and the waste or keeping idle or only partly productive of nearly one-fourth of our soil."

"Let us apply to this creative task the boundless energy and skill we have so long spent in harvesting the free gifts of nature. The forests of the future must be started today."

Jazz Age Passing

A referendum of 54,000 radio fans in the United States by the American

(Continued on page 40)

American Nations Rapidly Settling All Their Boundary Controversies

By Henry L. Sweinhart

(Special to THE AMERICAN WEEKLY)

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WASHINGTON. — When the owners of adjoining plots of land in the United States or elsewhere will quarrel for years over a few inches or a few square feet of ground, it is not to be wondered at that it has taken the nations of the western hemisphere almost a century to reach a settlement on most of their extensive and ill-defined boundary lines. When these republics gained their independence from Spain — the last battle having been fought at Ayacucho, Perú, on December 9, 1824 — they inherited territories whose exact bounds in most cases had never been definitely established.

Many of the disputes which later arose went back to the ancient days of Spanish viceroyalties, captaincy generals, intendencias and other subdivisions which Spain had made for military and other purposes in the administration of her vast, and largely unexplored, American provinces. The complications which arose as to boundary lines in South America were increased by numerous shifts which had been made through transfer of large areas from one administrative branch of provincial government to another by their common Spanish ruler.

Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century a fair beginning was made through treaties between a number of the South American countries, looking to definition of their boundaries; and since that time marked progress has been made until today only a few of these vexing problems remain to be solved. At least five such territorial differences were concluded, or well started on the road to final adjustment, through the activities of Secretary Hughes. An agreement on one of these questions — a triangular question between Perú, Brazil and Colombia — was reached on his last day in office through the signing of a proces verbal by him and the diplomatic representatives here of the three South American nations.

Few Frontier Problems Remain

Other Latin American boundary problems either settled, or well advanced toward settlement, during the

past four years through the cooperation or the good offices of the United States have been the following:

1. The historic Tacna-Arica controversy between Chile and Perú, not an inherited problem, but resulting from the war of 1879-83; and in which case President Coolidge as arbiter has decided that a plebiscite shall be held to determine final sovereignty of the territory.

2. That between Colombia and Panama, these two countries only a few months ago having adopted the boundary treaty which they had negotiated as a result of the good offices of the United States which, in its treaty with Colombia, had agreed in return for Colombia's recognition of the independence of the republic of Panama to recognize the boundary line as fixed between the provinces by the Colombian law of 1855.

3. Agreement by Guatemala and Honduras during the conference on Central American affairs to submit their boundary dispute to the arbitration of the President of the United States.

Peruvian-Ecuadorean Problem Most Difficult

The most difficult and complicated of the few remaining boundary problems anywhere in the Americas is that between Perú and Ecuador. These two countries also have agreed to submit any differences on which they cannot reach an agreement by direct negotiation to the arbitration of the President of the United States. They signed a protocol a few months ago by which they agreed to send delegates to Washington after the Tacna-Arica case had been disposed of, to undertake through direct negotiation to solve their long-pending boundary question. On any point on which they are unable to come to a mutual understanding, the President of the United States is to be called on to arbitrate.

The Peruvian-Ecuadorean frontier problem dates from the secession of the republic of Ecuador from the triple confederation of Colombia on August 14, 1830. This matter was arbitrated some years ago by the King

of Spain, the question having been submitted to him as the result of a treaty of August 1, 1887. Ecuador, however, on learning that the decision of the King of Spain was to be in favor of Perú, so it is asserted, withdrew from the arbitration. In the strained relations that followed, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, the United States and The Hague Tribunal offered their services as mediators, but Ecuador refused on the ground that in the treaty of 1829 lay the means for a settlement.

Hope for All Settlements Soon

As a result of the arbitration proceedings which have been initiated in this case, it is hoped that the next year or so will see a final adjustment of this difficult problem. At the same time it is believed that the few other remaining differences will also be solved in the near future, and that America will soon be able to say to the world that there is not a single territorial dispute unsolved.

With the establishment once more of constitutional government in Honduras and with the appointment to that post of a well-trained and experienced diplomat, it may safely be asserted that the United States will use its good counsel and advice to bring to a conclusion the boundary question between Honduras and Guatemala. Mr. George T. Summerlin who has been named American minister to Honduras, having been transferred from counselor of embassy at Rome, served as charge d'affaires of embassy in Mexico City during a difficult and trying period, and is well fitted by service and ability for the new work assigned to him.

Several other remaining boundary problems in Latin America are those between Honduras and Nicaragua over a strip of territory along their eastern boundary; one between Bolivia and Paraguay; and another between the Dominican Republic and Haiti which the two countries agreed in principle about a year ago to submit to the arbitration of the Pope, but the drafting of the protocol, defining exactly the powers of the arbiter, they have not been able as yet to reach an agreement.

With most of the big boundary questions in the Americas out of the way, and with a number more in process of negotiation or settlement, and only a few minor ones on which no present action is being taken, it may be said that the American republics have almost seen the end of their territorial controversies and that the next few years will see them with all these problems solved.

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Local Notes and Gossip

Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, Argentine Ambassador to the United States, sailed for New York by the S. S. American Legion this week after a leave of absence of several months.

The Minister of Marine gave a luncheon on Wednesday at the Navy Club in honor of Admiral Benheke and Professor Einstein.

Dr. Vicente Gallo, Minister of the Interior, is spending the week-end in Chile.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Señora Gallardo departed on Wednesday for a few days' holiday in Ascochinga.

The American Minister to Uruguay, Mr. Hoffman Philip, sailed by the American Legion this week for the United States on his way to his new post as Minister to Persia. Mr. Philip was entertained at a banquet last Sunday night by the Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Corps.

Mr. Emerson Bigelow has been appointed a sub-accountant of the Buenos Aires Branch of The First National Bank of Boston.

Mr. and Mrs. N. K. Fougner are planning to exhibit their prize St. Bernard at the next dog show.

Dr. Carlos Nye departed for the Santa Fe Chaco last Saturday night to spend the Easter holidays hunting big game. He is expected back next Monday.

The Rev. and Mrs. Ralph J. White returned to Buenos Aires on Monday of this week from Montevideo where they attended the Montevideo conference of missionaries.

Mr. J. M. Barker, manager of the Buenos Aires Branch of The First National Bank of Boston, departed by Wednesday's international train for Chile on his way to the United States to join his family for a leave of absence of six months.

Mr. Robert Martin is spending a few days at Alta Gracia.

The American Woman's Club of Belgrano will meet next Monday afternoon at the home of Mrs. Arthur Gordon, Calle Moldes, 1663. Mrs. Edson Finney will read the paper of the day on the Gaucho poetry of Argentina as exemplified by Estanislao del Campo, José Hernández, R. Obligado, M. Coronado, and C. Oyuela. Mrs. Robert Gieschen has kindly offered to sing several of the old Gaucho songs.

Mr. and Mrs. John Daniels, of Minnesota, sailed for Rio de Janeiro this week by the S. S. American Legion after

a short visit to Buenos Aires. They expect to remain in Brazil for about six weeks visiting this son who is Secretary to the American Embassy there.

Dr. Juan Lagos Mármol, Argentine Minister to Uruguay, accompanied by his wife and family, was in Buenos Aires this week for a two days' holiday.

Count Roberto van der Straten Ponthoz, Minister from Belgium, who has been ill for some time, is reported to be very much improved in health.

Rev. H. T. Hutchings and Mrs. Hutchings of Calle Pampa 3656, Belgrano, are receiving congratulations on the birth of a daughter on April third.

The Women's Diocesan Association is to hold its annual meeting next Wednesday at 2:30, in St. John's Church Hall.

Miss Estela C. Taylor and **Dr. Rafael Maldonado** are to be married on Thursday, April 30.

Dr. D. A. Morrison and **Mr. M. Candy** sailed for England last week on the S. S. Highland Laddie.

Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Puleston are on a holiday in Mar del Plata.

Dr. Sagarna, the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, is spending the Saster holidays in Paraná.

Mr. Earl Clyburn, of the Standard Oil Company, departed for Bolivia last Saturday.

The Minister of War has been absent from his duties for a few days because of illness.

The Minister of Public Works, Dr. Roberto Ortiz, has departed on a tour of inspection of the irrigation works in the territories of Rio Negro and Neuquen. The Director of the State Railways and a committee of technical men accompanied him, in order to inspect the railways in Chubut.

Mr. Raymond H. Geist, former American Vice Consul at Buenos Aires, and more recently Vice Consul at Alexandria, has been promoted to be a Foreign Service Officer of Class 9 under the new Rogers Law and has been assigned as Consul at Alexandria.

Mr. Sherwood H. Avery, Assistant U. S. Trade Commissioner, went over to Montevideo last Saturday night on official business.

Several well-known Americans went down to Mar del Plata to spend the Easter holidays. A special car attached to Wed-

nesday night's train carried the following party: Mr. John Backer, Dr. Homer Prettyman, Mr. F. D. Posey, Mr. E. C. Brown, Mr. A. E. Burns, Mr. R. W. Hartwell, Mr. W. F. Benkiser, Mr. Otto Benkiser, Mr. Lyman Irish, and Mr. Ross White.

Dr. Alejandro Lira, former Minister of Foreign Relations in Chile, arrived in Buenos Aires on the s.s. Zeelandia this week. Dr. Lira has been travelling in Europe for a year and a half.

Mr. O. S. Stevens, of the Boston Bank, is planning to leave Buenos Aires on April 23 for a six months vacation in the United States.

Mr. Richard Claghorn, of the Boston Bank, is planning to leave Buenos Aires the latter part of this month for a six months holiday in the United States.

Mrs. George S. Brady is spending the Easter holidays at Mar del Plata.

Christian Science Services will be conducted tomorrow at both the First Church, Calle Rivadavia, 755, and at the Society, Calle Tucumán 854, beginning at 10:15 o'clock. The subject for the day is "Are Sin, Disease, and Death Real?"

Señor Alberto D'Oliveira, diplomatic representative to Argentina from Portugal, expects to sail for Portugal next week on a holiday.

Mr. M. N. Stiles, Buenos Aires correspondent of The Associated Press, who has been reporting the Montevideo Conference of Christian Work, returned to town on Thursday morning.

Mr. George W. Hayes, general manager of Transradio Internacional, who with Mrs. Hayes accompanied General and Mrs. Harbord to Chile, returned to Buenos Aires Tuesday night from Mendoza where they stopped over on their return trip.

Miss Narcissa Snell, a Y. W. C. A. Secretary who has been visiting in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, departed on Wednesday for Montevideo, whence she will soon sail for the United States.

Miss Mary A. Hughes and Mr. Joseph McCormick's engagement is announced.

Mr. C. F. McCann, General Manager of the Smithfield and Argentine Meat Company, is expecting to sail for England and Australia next Tuesday on the s.s. Avon.

A Ladies' Doubles American Tournament for members of the Belgrano Athletic Club will be held next Friday at 2:00 p.m.

Mr. and Mrs. William A. Sholten are now in Boston, after having spent several weeks in England, according to letters just received here. They plan to

make their permanent home in Boston where Mr. Sholten is now attached to the home office of The First National Bank of Boston.

The Villa Devoto Lawn Tennis Club will hold a Cinderella Dance at the club house next Thursday.

The Anglican Church Congregation of Villa Devoto will hold its annual meeting in the church hall at 8:45 p.m. next Friday.

Miss Harriet M. Saunders and Mr. Hilton C. Renison were married at the American Church on Wednesday at 16:30 o'clock.

Miss Emma R. Chapin, General Secretary of the Buenos Aires Young Women's Association, returned from Montevideo on Wednesday morning.

R. H. Loughran, 46 Reconquista (Telephone U. T. 2597) has a furnished house to rent from May 1st.

The house is at San Isidro, Parque Aguirre, a few blocks from the Electric Station and is brand new, attractively furnished with large living room (with fireplace), hall, dining room (with fireplace) butler's pantry, kitchen, servants' rooms &c. downstairs; upstairs, four bedrooms, two bathroom, hall &c. Garage, garden, barge porch &c. Telephone installed.

To rent for about six months, possibly longer.

To see the house make arrangements with Mr. Loughran at his Office at the above address or phone his home, San Isidro 425.

Miss Elizabeth MacFarland, Executive Secretary for the Continental Committee of the Y. W. C. A. returned from Montevideo on Thursday morning.

Miss Clara Bischoff is planning to return to the United States in the near future.

Dr. W. W. Sweet, Head of the Department of History in De Pauw University, gave a most interesting address at the Wesley Guild on Wednesday night.

The Nandu Camp Fire Girls had a delightful picnic on Thursday at San Isidro

In honor of the birthday of Albert, King of the Belgians, His Majesty's subjects in Buenos Aires held a ball at the "Cercle Belge," Sarmiento 834 on Wednesday evening.

The Villa Devoto Lawn Tennis Club will give its monthly dance on April 16 at 21 o'clock.

The Reverend Sisters Mary Trinidad Quigley and Clementina Veglio sailed on the s.s. American Legion this week for the

United States. They expect to visit the homes of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States and to return to Argentina in August. Sister Mary Trinidad is General Governor of the Order of Sisters of Mercy in Argentina.

Mr. Fred C. Schultz, President of the Standard Oil Company of Bolivia, sailed on the s.s. American Legion for a business and pleasure trip in the United States.

Mr. Charles Palmer, president of the large importing firm of Donnell and Palmer, sailed with Mrs. Palmer on the s.s. American Legion for the United States.

Mr. Duncan Munro is spending a few days of vacation in Alta Gracia.

Señor Juan Gutierrez, Vice-Consul of the Argentine Republic in New Orleans, departed on the s.s. American Legion for the United States.

Señor Cesar Etcheverry, Argentine Police Commissioner, who is a delegate to the International Police Convention to be held in New York in May, sailed on the s.s. American Legion on Thursday, accompanied by his daughter.

Mrs. J. Larden is spending some weeks at Alta Gracia.

Colonel R. T. Harper, O.B.E., Secretary of the Great Southern Railway, departed with Mrs. Harper on Wednesday for Chile, whence they will sail for England.

Mr. H. O. Waller, General Manager for South America for William Cooper and Nephews, is expecting to sail for England on Friday on the s.s. Desna.

Mr. James A. Hoggsette, Assistant Manager of the National Paper and Type Company, departed on the s.s. American Legion for a six months' pleasure and business trip.

Miss Winifred Fargues and Mr. Alfred Little were married at the Lomas Methodist Church on Wednesday, at 20:45 o'clock.

Mr. and Mrs. H. Clifford Walton, together with Mrs. Walton's sister, Miss Dorothy Rodger, expect to sail by the Western World on May 7th, for a trip to the United States.

They expect to be away about three months, spending most of their time in New York and Chicago.

Mrs. Arthur J. Clayton left Buenos Aires on Saturday night for the Córdoba Hills.

Dr. George H. Newbery has arrived in town from his estancia at Nahuel Huapi Lake. His wife and son James will probably come later. Mrs. Francisco Lobos (formerly Dolly Newbery), who with her

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"Review of the River Plate" October 3rd 1924.

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husband and baby daughter Fanny, have
been visiting at Nahuel Huapi at the
paternal home, returned last week to their
home in Santiago, Chile, via the southern
pass of the Andes.

Mr. and Mrs. N. J. Wiener with Miss
Belle Eells went down to Mar del Plata
on Wednesday to spend the Easter holi-
days at the beautiful Argentine seaside
resort.

Mr. and Mrs. William Owsley George
have taken the Wheaton home at Lacar
4448, Villa Devoto, while the latter are
away in the United States. Mr. George
is a geologist associated with the Stan-
dard Oil Co. of Bolivia in Buenos Aires.

Mr. Russell P. Hastings, of the Stan-
dard Oil Company of California's local or-
ganization, is giving up the Woodward
house in Olivos and with his wife and
little daughter Fanny is planning to sail
for the United States in the first week
of May for a holiday at home. They
will make the trip by way of the West
Coast.

Mr. and Mrs. George Lindgren sailed
Thursday by the S. S. American Legion
for Rio de Janeiro. Their two little girls,
Mary Annette and Marcia, are remain-
ing in school in Olivos and are spending
the Easter holidays with the Cleveland
children. Mr. Lindgren is the South
American representative for the Overland
and Willys Knight automobiles and plans
to make a business trip through north-
ern Brazil before returning to Argentina.

The Columbia Club met on Wednesday
of this week with Mrs. Thomas J. Parker.
Mrs. J. J. Pratt's readings from the
works of William Locke were much ap-
preciated. Mrs. A. L. Parra gave a very
interesting current topic on "Immoral-
ity" as expounded by Basil King, which
led to a spirited discussion. The next
meeting will be at the home of Mrs. A.
E. Blanchard at "The Wayside" in San
Isidro on April 24th. Mrs. Parker will
then read a paper she is preparing on
"Mount Everest" and Mrs. Norman G.
Pratt will have the current topic.

New members of the Patriotic Society
are Miss Martha M. Allen, Mrs. Frank
L. Hough, Mrs. D. S. Birkett, Mrs. Glover
W. Kearly, and Mrs. Wm. Perry George.

The Buenos Aires Y. W. C. A. will give
a tea on Tuesday afternoon in honor of
Mrs. Robert E. Speer and Mrs. James
Cushman of New York. Mrs. Speer is
President of the National Board of the
Association, and Mrs. Cushman is Vice
President of the World's Committee of
the Y. W. C. A.

The Ladies' Aid and Orphanage Aid So-
cieties of the American Church will have
their next meeting in the Ladies' Parlor

of the church, Calle Corrientes 718, next
Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock. This is
to be called "Rally Day" and all mem-
bers are earnestly requested to attend.
The officers of the societies will be the
hostesses for the day. A new constitu-
tion is to be voted on which will unite
the two societies.

Mrs. L. D. Gardner and Miss Gardner
departed yesterday for La Plata, whence
they will sail for Rio on the s.s. Desna.

Colonel J. A. Smith, who has presided
over the South American Congress of the
Salvation Army as the representative of
General Booth, will speak at a farewell
meeting which will be held in the XX de
Septiembre Hall, Calle Alsina 2832, on
Tuesday evening at 20:30. Colonel Smith
intends to leave the following day for
Chile, Bolivia and Perú.

Mr. Fred MacMillan, Vice-President of
the Rock Island Railroad, arrived in Bue-
nos Aires from Montevideo on Wednesday
evening.

YOUNG AMERICAN of good
address; four years here; fluent
Spanish and French; travelled all
over Argentina, Uruguay, and
Chile; at present canvassing local
merchants; desires similar or any
other post worthy of trust. Local
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Weekly.

Mr. William Anderson departed this
week for a few days in Córdoba.

Mr. M. LeQuorne, general South Amer-
ican representative for the Beaver Pro-
ducts Company, manufacturers of Beaver
Board, expects to sail for New York by
the s.s. Van Dyck on Monday to be away
four or five months.

The Ladies' Committee of the San An-
drés Golf Club was elected last Sunday,
and is as follows: Mrs. Homer L. Pretty-
man, Mrs. Norman, Mrs. J. J. Rugeroni,
Mrs. Ross White, Mrs. Wallerstein. The
program has been drawn up tentatively,
and will be passed upon at a meeting
of the men of the club on April 17. The
club will open for serious golf on the
third of May.

Mr. J. J. Dowson, General Manager of
La Equatativa Insurance Company, is
sailing for England on April 24 by the
s. s. Demarara with his daughter, Miss
Inez Dowson.

Mr. E. M. Bowman, President of the
Bowman Milk Company of New York, of
New York, accompanied by Mrs. Bowman,
is visiting Buenos Aires.

The Rev. Dr. L. B. Wolf, Secretary of
Foreign Missions of the United American
Lutheran Church, with headquarters at

Baltimore, came over from Montevideo this week and is planning to depart tomorrow morning by the International train for Chile. He will stop over a day in Mendoza and then sail from Valparaiso for New York.

The Rev. Dr. W. D. Crowe, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, Mo., accompanied by Mrs. Crowe, sailed for home this week by the s.s. American Legion after a week's visit to Buenos Aires following their attendance at the Montevideo conference.

Mr. P. T. Gaughan departed for the oil fields of Plaza Huincal yesterday.

Consul-General Morgan has gone to Mar del Plata for the Easter holidays.

Lieut. Hector Mendez of the Argentine army was among the passengers who sailed by the s.s. American Legion for New York this week, leave of absence having been granted him to enable him to participate in the Pan American Boxing Tournament in New York next month.

At St. Saviour's, Belgrano, the following schedule of services will be followed tomorrow: 7.10, Holy Communion; 8.15, Holy Communion with music; 10.15, Festal Matins and Sermon; 11.30, Holy Communion; 3.30, Children's Service; 20.45, Evensong and Sermon.

Miss Alice E. Baner is spending the Easter holidays at Mar del Plata.

The Rev. Dr. E. Speer will preach at tomorrow morning's service at St. Andrew's Scots Presbyterian Church and the Rev. Dr. Egbert W. Smith will preach at the evening service.

At the Dr. Smith Memorial Hall, Belgrano, there will be a morning service tomorrow at 8.45 o'clock at which the Rev. Arch. Bell will be the preacher.

At Olivos there will be a Presbyterian service tomorrow night at 21 o'clock at which the Rev. Arch. Bell will preach.

Mr. Isaac F. Marcossou, wellknown writer in The Saturday Evening Post, sailed for Rio de Janeiro by the s.s. American Legion this week after having spent a busy month in Buenos Aires during which he interviewed more people, big and little, than have ever before been interviewed by one person in Argentina.

Relapse

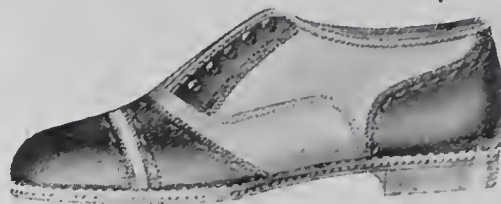
He—What do you say to a honeymoon in Europe?

She—But, dearest, you know how afraid I am of seasickness.

He—Yes, but you ought to know that love is the best remedy for that.

She—Perhaps—but—think of the return trip.—Korsaren, Christiania.

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SANTIAGO MASSI	Rivadavia 2714

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(Continued from page 34)



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from broadcasting stations. The most recent poll shows only 5 per cent preferring jazz music and a tremendously increased majority in favor of good music.

It is estimated that there are now 20,000,000 radio fans in the United States.

A plan is under way to hook up eighteen cities in broadcasting good music, all of them east of the Mississippi river.

Fat Men Wear Corsets

The great indoor sport of eating and trying to grow thin seems to be absorbing the United States just now, and it is reported that over-plump men are wearing "electric corsets" and braving the Turkish bathes and adopting diets in an effort to reduce their Arbuckle figures to Adonis lines.

Uncomfortably stout women are using the "unconscious massage," flexible girdles, and that standard weapon of domesticity, the rolling pin to eliminate double chins, pudgy hips and thigh-sized ankles.

Manufacturers of reducing contrivances are thriving with the aid of advertisements such as "wash your fat away" "roll your fat away" and "look thin while you grow thin."

Insurance companies are aiding this campaign by refusing to give fat folks policies, while Dr. Horace John Hawk of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is campaigning in favor of "over exercising and under eating," the reverse of which tends to fatness.

U. S. Armada

The combined Pacific and Atlantic Fleets of the United States Navy will sail for Hawaii April 15 and "fight" for the possession of the islands in the greatest naval maneuvers the United States sea forces have ever held. The navy and army chiefs want to know if Hawaii is the key to the Pacific, and if an enemy from the Far East could be held off, or whether California, Oregon and Washington are open to invasion.

According to Brigadier General William Mitchell, recently demoted for expressing a too frank opinion, Japan could take Hawaii in three days with her fleet and aircraft. He said there was lack of cooperation between the navy and army units at Hawaii, insufficient airplanes and anti-aircraft guns, and that virtually the United States has no defenses in the Pacific.

Every naval and military authority concedes that by capturing Hawaii an enemy would dominate the Pacific and the western coast of the United States, but most of them believe that maneuvers under way will show that the United States would be dominate in the event of a war in the Pacific.

Six weeks will be devoted to the test of attack and defense before the fleet at Hawaii divides on June 7, part to return to San Francisco and the remainder to continue on a cruise to Australia.

The attack on Hawaii will be carried out under conditions approximating war as nearly as possible. When ships are assumed to be put out of action by coast defenses they will hoist a special "sunk" flag and proceed to an "out of action" area. Coast defenses will likewise be silenced when they are outranged or their defenders outnumbered and judged overcome.

For the purposes of the test, it is assumed that the islands do not belong to the United States.

Science and Disease

Sir Alfred Rice-Oxley, physician to Princess Beatrice, announced in London the discovery of a serum for immunizing people against diphtheria, and said he was looking forward to the discovery of parallel serums for the prevention of other diseases.

"British scientists, by gradual stages, have evolved a prophylactic treatment for diphtheria, not simply to treat diphtheria when it has developed but to prevent its development.

"Administration of toxin anti-toxin, as it is called, will render people absolutely immune from diphtheria for a considerable time—perhaps even for several years, though it is impossible to make definite statements as to the duration of the effectiveness of any serum.

"Toxin anti-toxin is a great discovery and has tremendous possibilities. It is useful, of course, merely in preventing diphtheria, as other serums and vaccines prevent typhoid and smallpox. But there is no reason why in course of time scientists should not find parallel serums for immunizing people from such diseases as measles, whooping cough, mumps, infantile paralysis, encephalitis lethargica, influenza, and even common colds.

"One of the chief tasks of pathology and bacteriology is to find the invisible viruses that are the alien agents of disease. At present we have

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only indirect evidence of many of them."

Love and Respect

To be happy though married it is necessary to fall in respect with each other and not in love, according to Dr. T. A. Schofield, nerve specialist of London.

"After a long experience I have come to the conclusion that marriages founded on passionate love are not nearly so happy as those founded on mutual respect," he said in a lecture. "I prefer the Darby and Joan couple to Romeo and Juliet. The best age for marriage is from 28 to 35 years for men and from 21 to 28 years for women."

Dr. Schofield also presented the argument that wifehood is a profession, for which preparation is necessary.

"Any young woman engaged to be married, whether a princess or a pauper, should be educated for six months in the care of children, motherhood, attention to elementary diseases, and things an expectant mother should know.

"A woman has no right to rush into marriage as ignorant as on the day she was born."

LA NACION

BUENOS AIRES, VIERNES 13 DE MARZO DE 1925



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—Para una vista, el diputado don Justo Alvarez Hayes.

Fueron salvados del incendio los documentos del Banco de la Nación en Concepción

CONCEPCION, 12.—El fabricante de la caja del tesoro de la sucursal del Banco de la Nación, Sr. Sherer, llegó hoy de esa y procedió a abrir el tesoro, encontrándose todo en perfecto estado. Una caja de hierro sufrió desperfectos de importancia, habiendo sufrido los papeles, depositados en la misma, pequeños deterioros. Desde mañana funcionará la sucursal en un local alquilado provisionalmente. Se atribuye el origen del fuego a una imprudencia del ordenanza, que arrimó una lámpara encendida a la galería del edificio con el objeto de destruir un avisero. Coméntase elogiosamente la actitud del gerente, quien dispuso la noche del incendio que fueran salvados en primer término los libros, documentos y muebles de la institución, lo que se consiguió. En cambio se quemaron todos los muebles y ropas del gerente.

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The Documents of the Bank of the Nation in Concepcion Were Saved from the Fire.

CONCEPCION, 12.—The manufacturer of the vault of the Bank of the Nation, Sr. Sherer, arrived today from Buenos Aires and opened the vault, finding it in perfect condition. An iron safe was badly damaged, and the papers stored in it were spoiled.

Mr. LOUGHRAN APPOINTED EDITOR OF LEGAL REVIEW

Mr. Roger H. Loughran of the New York Bar who has been at Buenos Aires for several years has recently been appointed as Associate Editor of "American Maritime Cases", a monthly review published at Baltimore, Maryland. The work contains reports of the important Admiralty and Commercial cases decided by the American Courts and is cited generally by Lawyers in their briefs and Judges in their decisions.

The fact that a Department is devoted to South American cases indicates the growing importance of the business relations between the United States and the South American Republics. Mr. Loughran has contributed to the "A.M.C." for some time and various articles of his on Argentine Jurisprudence relating to his specialty have appeared from time to time in THE AMERICAN WEEKLY of Buenos Aires.

The other Associate Editors of "A.M.C." are engaged in Law practice in various cities of the United States.

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ROUND THE MARKETS

April 9

NOTE. The monetary system of the Argentine Republic is based on the peso oro, or gold peso of 1.6129 grams 910ths fine, established by National Law No. 1130, dated Nov. 5, 1881. It is sub-divided into 100 centavos.

The paper peso, equivalent to 44 gold centavos, the rate established by the Conversion Law, No. 3871 of November 4, 1899, is legal tender for all payments within the Republic, but in virtue of the Emergency Laws of August 9, and September 30, 1914, the right to claim delivery of gold in exchange for paper money is temporarily suspended.

Argentine Currency Position

Gold in Conversion Of-

fice \$451,782,984 gold

Gold in Arg. Legations 30,652,320 „

Total in Arg. gold

pesos \$482,435,304 „

Present circulation in Argentine paper pesos 1,389,462,559 m/n.

Sight Drawing

Rates on	April 2	April 8
New York . .	114.	114.50
London . . .	44	43 13/16
Paris	16.90	16.95
Belgium . . .	17.15	17.30
Italy	21.20	21.25
Spain	6.15	6.14
Switzerland .	4.55	4.52
Brazil	41:200	41:000
Uruguay . . .	9% prem.	13/4% prem
New York-		
London . . .	4.77 1/2	4.78 1/2

Exchange

Tables of quotations comparatively arranged ought, one would suppose, to be the best commentary on market movements, yet at times this apparently perfect method fails, and the above comparisons offer a striking case in point. It would appear that although exchange has moved a little against Argentine currency during the week, conditions on the whole show but small change in the general situation; an utterly false impression. For the Argentine peso, forced down to 43 5/16, \$115.50, and 16.35 for sterling, dollars and franc quotations, recovered with a sharpness that shows the underlying factors which make for permanent improvement to be more real than the many theoretical arguments proving the impossibility of rates being much better than they are, and the strong likelihood of still greater decline when the export season is over. Bills were offered by exporters more freely on Tuesday and Wednesday, with the result that rates went at a bound to 44d for sterling and something under 114 for dollars. The inevitable reaction leaves quotations over the holidays at the figures

given in the above table, but that before the end of April the present artificial order of things will be changed may now be emphatically insisted upon. Exports are very late, but the 2,000,000 tons of wheat and 1,000,000 tons of linseed still on hand are not a drag on the market. They are bound to go, and with the new maize coming in — the first official transaction was booked this week—it is evident that there will be no shortage of outward bills for a full three months. And during that time many other things favourable to an appreciation of Argentine currency can also happen — a foreign long-term loan for fifty million U.S. dollars, for instance! The situation as far as U.S. dollars and the pound sterling is concerned may therefore be considered to be clearing up, but with the Continental currencies matters are on an entirely different footing. There the course of Argentine exchange hangs on local events, and as both French and Italian business of importance is often arranged nowadays on a dollar or sterling basis, local quotations for francs and lire tend to become more and more a simple reflection of the views of the Paris and Milan bourse. Brazilian exchange fluctuates round about 41:000, with a tendency to improve, while Chilian pesos are nominally 335 to the 100 Argentine. That a definite improvement has been established may, however, be doubted.

The Money Market

Rates are steady at last week's quotations, namely 6—7 per cent per annum for good commercial paper and 8 per cent for single name advances, with but little doing under these figures and quite a fair amount of business transacted at higher rates. Yet although one may describe the market in all justice as decidedly firm, there is no nervousness. It is generally felt that Dr. Molina, who has shown himself a most able day-to-day financier, has the situation well in hand. The depositing of gold

abroad and in the Banco de la Nación have almost ceased, and that well before May, the date named in the decree. The local banking position is healthier where the smaller institutions are concerned; and there is, as far as one can see, no speculative position open anywhere. Apart from the vexed question of the national finances, in no worse state than they have been at any time during the last five years and rather tending towards an ordered rearrangement that should be the forerunner of improvement, the state of the local money market is satisfactory and stable, which from the standpoint of commerce is the main desideratum.

Stocks and Shares

A broken week limited dealing to some extent, nor was the situation improved by the exchange position until the mid-week, when all national bonds were firmer, and quoted, as will be gathered from the few ex-

amples listed below, at higher prices. The Cédulas of the National Mortgage Bank are being sold with considerable discretion by the Bank and are easily absorbed by investors, and though there is a little anxiety regarding the position of the older Crédito Argentino bonds in view of sales of the 1924 issue having been made at 95, they, too, cannot be regarded as anything but steady. Provincial loans are also firmer, including the Mendoza 5 0/0 bonds, again in some request on a report that the May coupon will be duly met, as well as past-due interest. Industrial shares are sought after, Fábrica Argentina de Alpargatas being 180, and the meat companies are better with Sansinena at 97 and Smithfields at \$4.20. Oil is dull, with Astras down to 60. Local banks are steady with Español at 65 and Galicia 74, while the whole tone of the market is one of confidence, anticipatory of better business all round. A few comparative prices are appended.

Name	Int.	Date	Rate	April 2	April 8
Cedula Hipotecaria Law 8172 . . .	Jan-Jul. . .	6%	98.20	98.60	
id id 11th Series . .	May-Nov . .	"	97	97.10	
id id 19th " . .	Feb-Aug. . .	"	95.20	96	
id id 21st " . .	Jan-Jul. . .	"	95.40	96	
id id 22nd " . .	Jan-Jul. . .	"	95.40	96.10	
Cred. Arg. Interno. Year 1905 . . .	Q'try . . .	5%	87.40	97.10	
id id 1923 . . .	" . . .	6%	95.10	95.80	
Munic. Loan City B. Aires Ser. A . .	" . . .	6 1/2%	95	95.10	
id id " B . .	Mar-Sept . .	"	94.20	94.20	
Cía. Sansinena shares	\$100 gold . .		96	97	
Astra, Cía. Arg. Petróleo . . id	50 paper . .		61	60	

Cereals

The slight recovery in Chicago prices reacted locally but the Wheat market is still uncertain and the speculative element, though liquidating fast, has not yet been thoroughly shaken out. Shippers have, therefore, been going slowly, and spot wheat is \$14.40 paper per 100 kilos in Buenos Aires, with \$14.90 for May and \$15.05 for June delivery. There is, however, more disposition on the part of growers and the smaller up-country consignees to part with their stocks. They have given up hope of making a "killing" and are now regretting that they did not close with earlier offers, so that prospects for steady business are better. Linseed has recovered a little from last week's low level, being quoted at \$21.55 spot and \$21.85 for May. Shipments are small, but chiefly to the United States and Belgium. Maize is decidedly weaker at \$9.30 spot, \$9.05 for May, and \$8.65 for June delivery. New

season's corn is now being marketed, but without cold dry weather for conditioning will not be ready for shipment yet awhile. Cultivators report soil in fine state for ploughing and general outlook excellent.

Wool

Stocks are moving off a little but prices are still downwards, the range for Coarse Crossbred wools being from \$13 to \$16 paper the 10 kilos. It does but reflect the general world situation in woollen textiles, and no immediate improvement is now looked for. Stocks in the Central Produce Warehouses are 10,631,249 kilos treble last years figures at the same date. Moreover, this takes no account of the large amount of wool held back in private storage, a considerable proportion of which is fine Rivers wool from the provinces of Corrientes and Entre Ríos where full half the clip has still to be disposed of.

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A Matter of Mechanics

Little Terror: "Father says, can he have some pills instead of these tablets?"

Chemist: "But the shape doesn't make any difference to them, sonny."

"Oh, doesn't it? Well, you try blowing a tablet through a pea-shooter!"

Not Me

A small boy strolled into an Arizona drug store and said, "Gimmie a nickel's worth of assafetity." The proprietor wrapped it up and passed it over.

"Charge it," said the boy.

"What name?" inquired the druggist.

"Hunnyfunkle," was the answer.

"Take it for nothin'," retorted the languid chemist. "I wouldn't write 'assafetida' and 'Hunnyfunkle' both for no nickel."

A Prize Winner

Casting manager of musical show (to fair aspirant): "Had any amateur experience?"

"No."

"Been to dramatic school?"

"No."

"Ever won a beauty contest?"

"Oh dear, no."

"Name your own salary."

At Your Own Risk

Fair Traveller: Conductor, will this train stop at the lake?

Conny: If it doesn't there will be a grand splashing.

Maybe One for Himself

The other Sunday, at a village church I attended the vicar announced that he was shortly leaving them to take up duties as chaplain to a prison.

Then, in absolute innocence, he gave out the text for his sermon, "I go to prepare a place for you."

Why Not on the Boards

"Why did Joseph's brothers put him in the pit?" barked the teacher.

"Because he had a coat of many colors," suggested one bright lad.

"And what has that got to do with it?" snapped back the master.

"Well," again ventured the bright lad, "if he had on a dress suit they might have put him in the stalls."

No Mere Car Could

Kriss: "Do you suppose that it will take long for your wife to learn how to drive the car?"

Kross: "It shouldn't! She had about ten years' practice driving me!"

FLAPPER FANNY says



Don't think a man is particularly bright because he keeps his cigaret lighted in the dark.

Installment Plan

Brown's doctor was a land speculator. When not making out prescriptions he was making out mortgages. It was when in a dual state of mind that he gave Brown the following instructions along with the prescription:

"One half down and the balance every six months, for four years."

Nothing to Exult Over

"My, but you will be glad when your time is up, won't you?" said a sweet nineteen-year-old miss to a prisoner in jail.

"I can't say I'm very keen about it, miss," was the answer. "I'm in for life."

One Less Reformer

"Friend of mine visited the prison lately."

"How did he find the conditions?"

"Shocking! In fact, he was electrocuted."

Give Him Time

Nice Young Thing: "Before he married me he said he'd move heaven and earth if I asked him to."

Another N. Y. T.: "And now?"

"Oh, now he's starting to raise hell."

Fast and Accurate

Atta: "What do you think of kissing?"

Boy: "I don't hesitate long enough to think about it!"

All Were Union Men

At a bricklayer's wedding recently, his comrades formed an archway of hods at the church door. An excellent photograph was taken of the incident as nobody spoiled the effect by moving.

With Saw Dust In Between

Detective: "Can you give me a good description of your cashier who vanished?"

Hotel Proprietor: "I believe he's about 5 ft.-5 in tall and about 7,000 short."

A Clear Track — Scalding

"We are all of us waited on hand foot by thousands of other people," says a statistician. We suppose it is because they get in each other's way that the soup so often arrives cold.

The Odds and the Evens

Counsel: "What happened after the prisoner gave you a blow?"

Witness: "He gave me a third one."

"You mean a second one?"

"No; I gave the second one!"

A Word to the Wise

Young Man—So Miss Daisy is your oldest sister? Who comes after her?

Small Brother—Nobody's come yet; but pa says the first fellow that comes can have her.

He who sitteth upon a Throne

Or in a Presidential Chair,

Hearing the complaints of the Multitude, Hath nothing on him Who sitteth behind the Wheel

Of the Family Car

With his Wife in the

Back Seat.

—Staley Journal.

Hardware Dealer (to boy applicant for job.)—"I suppose you know the difference between a foot and a yard."

Boy—"Yes, sir. A yard is usually covered with grass and a foot with dirt."

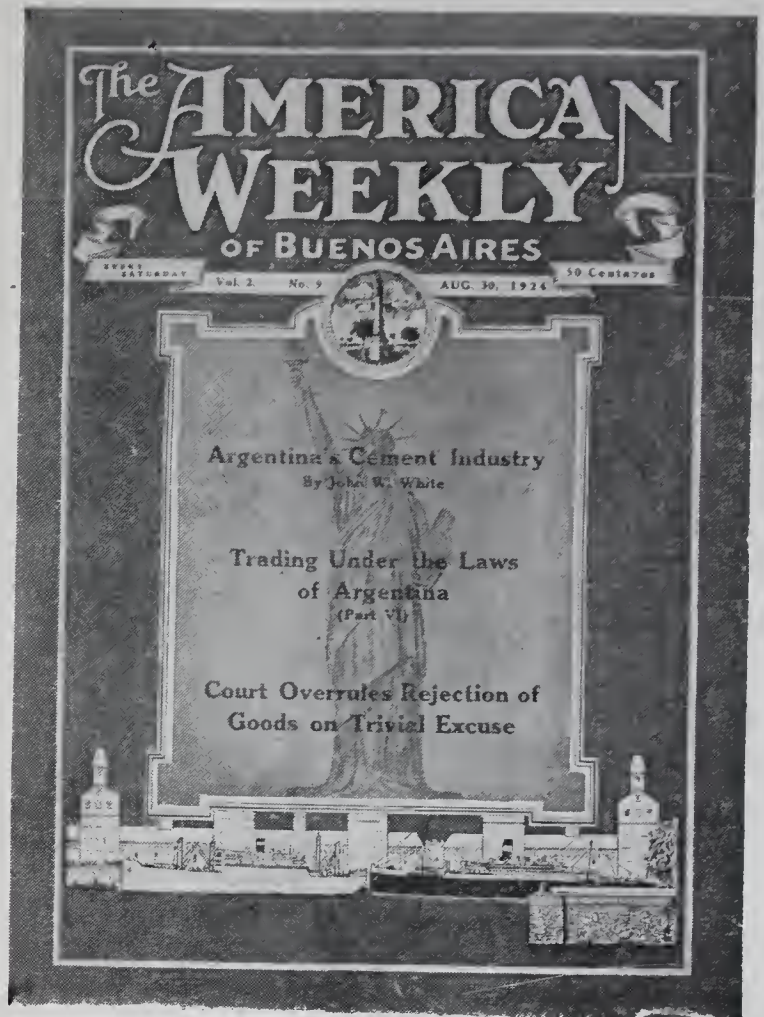
Janitor—"How did yor come ter lose yer job?"

Ex-Office Boy—"Mine and the boss's grandmother died on the same day."

James H. Birch, internationally known genius behind the success of the Circumnavigators Club, springs this one in the January issue of The Log:

He took her for his Mate, but she turned out to be the Skipper.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

Foundations.

Most impressive, and instructive to all who work for the coming of God's kingdom, are the words of the great apostle, in speaking of the matter of building. The foundation even Jesus Christ, has been laid, "but let each man take heed how he buildeth thereon. If any man buildeth on the foundation gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble; each man's work shall be manifest: for the day shall declare it." The dawn after the night of conflagration shall disclose the character of the work.

In the pressure of work, often in the lack of workmen we may be tempted to do second grade work, or use poor material. May God help us to remember on what foundation we build, that the building may comport with the character of the foundation. We are here in India to build the Church of God. Slowly, with great difficulty, surrounded by discouragements within, and by expressions of disdain without, we are to build the Indian church, nay, the church of God, a temple holy, impressive, the habitation of the Spirit. If we keep in view our object, if we remember the character of the foundation, we will refuse to use poor material, or to do slipshod work.

The Duke of Connaught.

Reuter informs us that it is officially stated that the King has approved the appointment of the Duke of Connaught as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in Canada. The Duke assumes office in September for two years, subject to extension. He will be accompanied by the Duchess. This appointment has been received by all parties with general approval all over the British Empire. On Monday last the Duke was present at the Guild Hall. *Reuter* tells us: The procession included nearly a thousand distinguished personages, among whom were the Lord Mayor and the Corporation, the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Mr. Asquith and members of the Cabinet, many ex-Ministers, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Admirals, Generals, Lords and Commoners, Judges representatives of the Church and of commerce, officers of the *Balmoral Castle*, the vessel which conveyed His Royal Highness to South Africa, and many prominent South Africans. The Lord Mayor received the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Princess Patricia and Prince Arthur of Connaught. The entrance of their Royal Highness was greeted with an ovation. The *cortege* then proceeded to the Library, headed by the City Marshal and trumpeters, and the usual ceremony took place. Their Royal Highnesses were presented with an address in a gold casket which bore appropriate inscriptions in connection with the Union of South Africa. The Duke, replying to the address, said it had given him great satisfaction to open the first Union Parliament, and he also expressed his sincere gratification that his tour in South Africa and the results of his mission had received the King's warm and gracious approval. It was a genuine pleasure to know that they were also so cordially appreciated by his fellow citizens of London. The procession was re-formed and marched to the historic Chamber. It was a regal scene and the eye was charmed with the soft brilliance of chrysanthemums and ferns which formed part of the scheme of decoration, while one was further impressed by the group of South African flags on the dim wall. At the banquet the Duke of Connaught, responding to the Lord Mayor's toast, said he was convinced that the inauguration of the Union marked an achievement of political and social regeneration which the future would recognize as unparalleled in the history of the civilized world. He would be cold and dull indeed who saw, unmoved, men gathered round the Throne who had so lately known the horrors of war. His friend General Botha, in the true Imperial spirit, had invited representatives of the Sister-Dominions. He (the Duke), had consequently enjoyed the additional pleasure of meeting Mr. Fisher, the Labour Premier of the Commonwealth; Mr. Lemieux, the eloquent statesman from Canada,

with which country it would soon be his pride to be closely associated; and also representatives of New Zealand. Mr. Harcourt proposed: 'The Union of South Africa,' and laid emphasis on the lasting and loving effect of the tour. He pointed out the rapidity with which events were moving in South Africa. General Hertzog himself had recently paid a tribute to the debt which Dutch and British alike owed to Britain. He further dwelt on the justification of the grant of self-Government to the leading Union. The foundations of South Africa were well and truly laid, and a great superstructure would now slowly but surely arise. Mr. Harcourt concluded by demonstrating the growing prosperity of South Africa as evidenced by the gold output and imports and exports."

Rev. C. F. Andrews and Keshub Chunder Sen.

In a recent number of *Unity and the Minister* the Rev. C. F. Andrews wrote: "There is a movement within Christendom to-day which is growing in spiritual intensity every year,—a movement which found wonderful expression in that World conference at Edinburgh last June. It is a movement towards religious unity,—a unity which will not necessarily obliterate difference, but rather transcend them in the passionate love of God and man which Christ left as His heritage to his church. Those who have come back from Edinburgh have told us how the spiritual longing for unity and brotherhood, amid outward differences, was so deep as to become an almost articulate cry running through the vast assembly, moved and swayed as it was by the Holy Spirit of God. They tell us that they will never be able to forget the power and intensity of that longing. To me that inarticulate cry of the soul for unity and fellowship is a harbinger of better days to come. It will mean, I fervently believe, a desire for closer union, not merely among those who are Christians, in the more defined use of the term, but with those who in the spirit of Keshub, are ready to express their sympathy with the noblest ethical teaching of the Christian faith. Many of my own dearest friends in India,—those with whom I have felt a kinship of spirit indescribably real and precious,—have been members of the Brahmo Somaj. On this anniversary of their great leader I am grateful indeed to them that they have asked me to contribute an appreciation of Keshub's message to the *Unity and the Minister*. I am conscious, painfully conscious, of the feeble and wholly inadequate way in which I have performed my task, dealing, as I have done, with one side of his message only. But if it is true that love can cover a multitude of shortcomings, then I would offer that love, which is my heart, as the only adequate offering to Keshub's own memory that I can give, and extend it with sincerity and good will to Keshub's followers, both known to me and unknown. May each anniversary, as it passes, draw us nearer together in the brotherhood of souls, and may we realise, each year, more and more, that deeper unity, which underlies the differences of sect and creed,—the unity which finds its ultimate expression, deeper than all thought or speculation, in love and love alone."

England and the United States.

The *Times* says, "It is reported from Washington that President Taft conferred last week with members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with a view to the amendment of the Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain. In writing on this matter our Washington Correspondent states:—

There has been an important development in the American policy concerning international arbitration. It is proposed to supplement the Court of Arbitral Justice, about the eventual establishment of which the Government is sanguine, by treaties of arbitration modelled after the abortive Olney-Pauncefote Treaty of 1897. The possibility of an effort to substitute some such agreement for the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty of 1908 has been clearly foreshadowed. The President in his speech before the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes last week expressed himself strongly in favour of the step. After alluding to what international arbitration has already done, he said:—

If now we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honour, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a Government.

It is generally believed that by "some great nation," the President meant Great Britain, and that in expressing himself as he did he gave the sanction of his Government to similar suggestions already let fall by Mr. Root and Mr. Carnegie.

At present Anglo-American relations are ruled by the Treaty of 1908. That Treaty is now thought to be inadequate. Its scope is narrow. It is by no means a Treaty of unconditional arbitration such as the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty, to a great extent, would have been, and as are the Treaties now in force between Argentina and Chile, Norway and Sweden, Belgium and Holland. Like most other arbitration treaties concluded since the last Hague Conference it merely provides that:—

Differences of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties. . . . shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of July, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honour of the two contracting States. . . .



The Olney-Pauncefote Treaty.

The *Times* continues: "It is beginning to be felt essential that, if the Arbitral Court be established, it should be endowed with better auxiliary machinery than The Hague Court at present has; and in no way, it is thought, can the building of that machinery be better initiated than by another such compact as the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty. Accepted by Great Britain, but defeated in the Senate in 1897 by a margin of only three votes, partly on account of Irish-American agitation, the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty provided for a comprehensive scheme of Anglo-American arbitration. It appointed a small Court of two nationals for the settlement of small legal matters, with appeal to a larger Court of four nationals. Both Courts were empowered to co-opt an umpire so as to secure finality. More important legal matters were to go straight to the larger Court. To deal with disputes affecting territory a Court of six nationals was contemplated. For final decision of such disputes a majority of five to one was necessary, unless it should by mutual consent be decided otherwise. Failing decision, mediation by a third Power was to be sought before hostilities.

Differences between the new Treaty and the old would, of course, be inevitable and necessary. Mediation by a third Power would be replaced by appeal to The Hague Tribunal or, when and if it is constituted, to the Arbitral Court. That, indeed, is the key to the scheme. It is felt that thus the two forms of international arbitration would be ideally combined. The purer principle of arbitration by neutrals, while sustained and fortified, would not be allowed to interfere with the principle of arbitration by nationals so successfully forwarded by the Anglo-Saxon races in recent years by the establishment of International Commissions for the settlement, for instance, of various Canadian questions—Commissioners which, as the recent Anglo-American Pecuniary Claims Agreement shows, may easily grow to be invested with judicial functions. It might also be necessary to modify the powers given to the Olney-Pauncefote Commissioners. It is possible, for instance, that the Senate might prefer a scheme by which the Commissioners should be instructed merely to report to their respective Governments. Thus the Senate would have an opportunity of asserting itself, if it saw good, and, by refusing to accept the report, of appealing the case. Such a plan would also disarm any opposition that there might be when it came to investing Commissioners of the two nations with general powers of arbitration.

Not that in practice there would be much difference between the two alternatives. In both cases countries would be given an opportunity of submitting, in the first instance, their disputes to nationals. Only important or especially controversial cases would be likely to be appealed to The Hague Tribunal or to the Court of Arbitral Justice. The advantages of such procedure are obvious. Time, money, and, in some cases, friction would be saved to the nations; dignity and leisure for important work would be assured to the higher tribunal. Small wonder, therefore, that the idea finds favour in many American quarters of resuscitating the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty, adapting it to the times, and of eventually weaving around it a net-work of similar treaties with other Powers."

Commander Sims Censured.

President Taft, in a letter made public on January 10, instructed Mr. Meyer, the Secretary for the Navy, to reprimand publicly Commander Sims for the extreme form that the Commander's expressions of friendship to Great Britain took in his speech at the Guildhall on the 3rd of last month. The President in his letter talks about the necessity for American officers to avoid in public utterances abroad 'invidious comparisons,' and to confine themselves to language 'that will not indicate a lack of friendship towards other countries.' The speech in question was made by Commander Sims in response to the Lord Mayor's speech of welcome at the luncheon given at the Guildhall on December 3 to the sailors of the First and Third Divisions of the United States Atlantic Fleet. It concluded with the words:—"If the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy, it is my opinion that you may count upon every man, every dollar, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the seas." This speech was resented in Germany and among the Irish and other anti-British elements in the United States, where it was maintained that Commander Sims had violated the naval regulation in publicly discussing foreign politics. Referring to this matter "An American Exile" writes to the *London Times*, I think it must be evident here as at home, that the President has inflicted upon Commander Sims just so much censure as he was strictly obliged to, and no more. Nobody doubts that this American naval officer, in pledging his last dollar and drop of blood should England want them, said more than any naval officer can properly say abroad. But, for all that, Commander Sims was the voice of the American Navy. Now that he has been rebuked for a technical irregularity, and all official properties reasserted, the service he did remains a real service. I was not at the Guildhall, but I was at what I suppose must have been a still more striking scene at a dinner of the St. George's Society in New York some years ago; a company half English, half American. There also a naval officer came to the front; I will not mention his name, nor does it matter. He was not the regular speaker, but a substitute, improvised at the last moment. He told us he had been in Manila when the Germans undertook to show Admiral Dewey how the port he had conquered ought to be governed. Things were near the breaking point when Admiral Chichester took his English Fleet over and dropped anchor alongside the American. "Nothing was said. No message was sent to the Germans. But everybody understood why the English had come and what they were ready to do, and it was this English Fleet which made it clear to the Germans that Dewey was master in Manila waters." Then he told a story of the landing of a party of American officers in a South American port where lay an English cruiser. The Americans were attacked by the Dagos on the wharf and fighting for their lives. Two armed boat's crews, one English, one American, each with orders not to land, lay off the pier-head. "The midshipman commanding the English boat stood it as long as he could, then he remarked to the American, 'I say, Jack, if you'll let your men go. I'll let mine.' And they went. So far, fact. Then a vision:—"I sometimes imagine a day may come when an English and an American Fleet may find themselves within hall of each other and some—I know not what—hostile fleets going to quarters not very far off. And across the little interval of ocean between the English and American I seem to hear again a call from one conning-tower to another:—"I say, Jack, if you'll let your men go, I'll let mine.'" You should have heard the cheers. I have some means of knowing what the feeling of American naval officers is like, and my belief is that it was truly expressed by Commander Sims at the Guildhall and by the American officer who spoke at the St. George's dinner in New York."

SPECIAL EVANGELISM.

The Commission on Aggressive Evangelism for Southern Asia has again set apart the month following the 15th of February for a special evangelistic campaign. So far as I have heard, the Annual Conferences have heartily accepted this plan and have pledged themselves to engage in the work involved. The time is now at hand. Leaders and people need to give themselves to earnest prayer and careful planning. We must needs see to it that the triune God has the place that belongs to Him in this work. We must reckon with and on Him or fail. Failure would be a great calamity. The fruitage that true prayer must bring can alone keep our hearts strong and courageous for service further on. There are conditions we must meet if we would see God's glory.

1. Let us see to it that there be a spirit of love and perfect unity among ourselves. Christian workers at variance keep the windows of heaven closed. God cannot pour out His blessings on divided Churches. Unmingled and undivided love must flow up to God and out to all His people. Children of God must be perfected into one if they would see the glory of their King. Prayer will bring grace to over-

come all unbrotherliness. This must be the initial victory. Let it be secured ere the month consecrated to special effort shall begin.

2. Let us see to it that in the greatest possible degree all our people be enlisted in this important work. In the family the little ones get a hearing. So they do before God. Let us see to it that they be stirred up to pray and help. Unlettered village and muhalla Christians are dear to God. Their broken requests are potent with the King. Let them by all possible means be set to praying. The rank and file of soldiers in victorious battle bear their part in the conflict, and a most important part it is.

3. Let careful planning be done in prosecuting this work. Adaptation to conditions will be needful. Plans must needs vary as conditions vary. Moses received the plans for the holy tabernacle from God on the mount of fellowship. He is not less ready to give plans now than when Moses talked face to face with Him. The holy mount is no longer hedged about and Moses-like access is possible to us all. The condition is a Moses-like spirit of elevation to God and His heritage in humanity. If our life object is the building of a spiritual dwelling place for Jehovah we shall not be left to draw the plans. Patterns from above and materials from around shall be placed at our service. We shall need to use all our powers however to understand and to follow God-given plans. The embodiment of the patterns in the sanctuary where God's glory dwelt required inspiration from above. Much more shall we need the Spirit's light and skill in moulding men into a holy temple in the Lord.

4. So far as possible we need to secure to our converts a series of services in prosecuting this enterprise. Time is a needful element in stirring up spiritual interest. Evangelistic campaigns that succeed usually cover weeks in Christian countries. We meet with unusual difficulties in our endeavour to give our people similar advantages, but difficulties are not necessarily the equivalent of impossibilities. Let us see that the best be done for our converts and enquirers that is possible under existing conditions. Bishop Taylor used to say: "God always does the best He can under the circumstances." We shall be safe if we imitate Him, only we need to live in such close touch with Him that He can show us what that best is that is to be fulfilled.

5. Special attention needs to be given to the women in this campaign. So far as possible women workers ought to go farther afield than is their wont in their ordinary work.

Their presence is a large asset indeed in helping the women in the more distant Christian communities. It will pay to spend more itinerating money on them during this special month than can be afforded throughout the year. Where Bible women cannot go it will be needful to see that without their presence the women of our communities be collected for the services. It is so easy for them to be left out, and as disastrous as easy. To leave the women unblessed is to leave our chariot with wheels on one side only. Such chariots would be of little service. Wheel-barrows are not worthy types of churches. Without saved, spiritual women we shall not have strong men in the Indian Church.

6. We will need to think and pray much over the kind of teaching and preaching that will be fitting and fruitful during this special campaign. Sin must be made to stand out in its true light. The curse of our whole field is the deception existing regarding the evil and end of sin. Sin unveiled would drive all classes to the Cross. Its hideousness and heinousness can only be borne when covered and hidden. Its mask of decency must be torn away. Our people must know its character and consequences. If it does not lead to the awful world of hell our fathers pictured it does create an inner hell not a whit less to be feared and dreaded. Their character and environments will surely harmonize when finality is reached. Repentance and faith alone prepare the way of the Lord and enable Him to grant forgiveness and to impart the Holy Spirit in Whose light and power His own human nature attained to maturity and perfection in the spiritual life. He will share His own guiltlessness and holiness with all who receive Him and in Him we shall attain unto the experience of inner harmony with the highest laws of the highest realm of the universe of God, the laws that find expression in the moral activities of Him Who is over all blessed forever. A greater gospel would not be possible from God Himself, and let it be embodied in its simplicity and sweetness and sweep in the teaching and preaching of this campaign. The results reported from last year's special efforts were usually most encouraging. Let prayer and work make this year's campaign far greater in blessing to many souls and a far richer revelation of the glory of our Christ.

P. M. BUCK.

Chairman of Commission on Evangelism in Southern Asia.

The Second General Conference on Missions to Moslems.

REPORTED BY THE REV. BRENTON T. BADLEY, M.A., LUCKNOW.

The first Conference on Missions to Moslems met at Cairo in 1906, and has been followed by the second which was in session in Lucknow from the 23rd to the 28th of January. It brought together almost three hundred missionaries and other workers, representing fifty-four organisations and Societies at work in all parts of the Eastern world where Christian missions to Moslems have been established.

That a Conference of this size and nature should have been in session for six days, is clear evidence of the great and growing interest which is being attached by the Christian Church to work in behalf of the large and widespread Muslim community. Its educational and inspirational value for the missionaries and workers present is beyond computation.

The Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D., of Bahrain, Arabia was elected Chairman, and addresses of welcome were made by the Bishop of Lucknow and Bishop Warne. Among the Committees appointed was one on Reference and Counsel to prepare the Resolutions to be presented. The opening address of the Chairman gave a luminous general survey of the whole Moslem world, the hope of the speaker being that the delegates might see the whole problem at the outset and recognise its unity, its opportunity, and the importance of the situation. The survey was a masterly handling of the problem involved, and no man in the wide field is better qualified to speak on this large problem than Dr. Zwemer. He considered the problem under the four following heads:—(1) Statistics (2) Political conditions and developments (3) Social and intellectual movements since the Cairo Conference (4). The Changed attitude toward the Moslem world and missions to Moslems in the Home Churches as a result of the Cairo Conference. We shall briefly summarise the address under these heads. 1. STATISTICS. The total population of the Moslem world has been variously estimated from 175 million to 259 million. Following the estimate of the Cairo Conference, we have 200 million distributed as follows:—India 62 million, Java 24 million, Russian Empire 20 million, Turkish Empire 14 million and China 5 to 10 million. Next come Persia, Morocco, Algeria, Arabia and Afghanistan, with populations varying from 4 million to 9 million. The most significant fact is that it is in almost every case a growing population. In India itself the Moslem population has increased during the last decade by over 9 per cent. In Tibet it is

estimated that there are 20,000 Moslems, and in South Africa they are now to be found all the way from the Cape to the Congo. In Abyssinia they are growing, and in the New World they now number 56,600, 8,000 of whom are to be found in the United States.

2.—POLITICAL. Under this head the speaker gave a general survey of the political changes in the Moslem world since the Cairo Conference five years ago. A few extracts will best serve to show these changes "More surprising and sudden than the transformations by Aladdin's lamp in the *Arabian Nights* have been, not the fictitious but the real and stupendous changes which God's Spirit and God's Providence have wrought in Western Asia." "Turkey, Persia and Arabia, the three great Moslem lands of the Nearer East, have experienced greater industrial, intellectual, social and religious changes within the past four years than befell them in the last four centuries. . . . Leaders of the Moslem world themselves realise that these changes have been so extraordinary that they indicate a new era for all Western Asia and North Africa." The political and national awakening has extended already to Russia, Egypt and Malaysia, while even in China there is a new Pan-Islamic activity. It is significant that to-day less than one-fifth of the Moslem community are living under direct Moslem rule, whereas once the Moslem Empire was co-extensive with the Moslem faith.

3.—SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS. The great problem of Turkey under the new regime is "How shall the new nationalism deal with the old religion?" "The political question in Persia, Turkey, Egypt and Algiers to-day," said Dr. Zwemer, "is simply whether the old Koran or the new democratic aspirations shall have the right of way." He went on to say, "It has yet to be proved, according to Lord Cromer, whether Islam can assimilate civilisation without succumbing in the process," and quoted the latter as saying that *Reformed Islam is Islam no longer*. Dr. Zwemer's opinion is that the conflict between the old and the Young Turkish party is "not only inevitable but irreconcilable."

Dr. Zwemer pointed out the prevalent clash of modern civilisation with the teachings of Islam, and in giving several striking illustrations asked the question. "If it is impossible as it seems, to change the curriculum of El Azhar University in Cairo without a riot, will that institution or Robert College control the future thought of Western Asia?" He re-

ferred to Mr Gairdner's address at the Edinburgh Conference which showed that "the modernist movement touches every Moslem who receives education on Western lines, whether in Java, India, Persia or Egypt, and compels him to adopt a new theology and a new philosophy and new social standards, or give up his religion altogether." The great increase in the realm of Moslem journalism and the Moslem Press, indicative of a spirit of unrest, was shown by the fact that no fewer than 747 newspapers and magazines had come into existence in Turkey since July 24th 1908. In Russia he said that the new Islam was rapidly producing a new literature by translations and adaptations. Among his concluding sentences on this subject were the following:—"The religious movements in Islam to-day are radically progressive or retrogressive. Islam to-day must meet a new crisis in its history. The disintegration of the whole system is rapidly proceeding and may result, as it already has, in the rise of new sects, or in an attempt to rejuvenate the system by abandoning much of that which was formerly considered essential.

4. THE CHANGED ATTITUDE IN THE HOME CHURCHES TOWARD THE MOSLEM WORLD. As a result of the Cairo Conference, the speaker claimed that the Christian world has been awakened as never before to the absolute need of taking in its sweep the activities of the Moslem world," and added that "the sin and shame of long neglect and ignorance have, in a marked degree, been acknowledged and put away." A new flood of literature on the subject has gone over Western lands, and mission study textbooks on Moslem lands sold by the thousand. Since the Cairo Conference over a score of books have been published by missionaries, setting forth special aspects of the problem and appealing to the Church to meet the needs of Moslem lands. Special attention was called to Marshall Broomhall's "Islam in China." The unprecedented activity of the secular press was also noted. In the religious world the greater attention paid to work among Mahomedans in Conferences, and the new plans put on foot to more adequately reach the Muslim peoples were also instanced as indicating a new and encouraging effort on the part of the Christian Church in Western lands. Redoubled efforts on the foreign field were also noted, and the increased volume of prayer for this particular work.

The address concluded with a fine characterisation of the various lands of the Moslem world, which is well worth quoting. "As our eyes sweep the horizon of all these lands dominated or imperilled by this great rival faith, each seems to stand out as typical of one of the factors in the great problem. Morocco is typical of the degradation of Islam; Persia of its disintegration; Arabia of its stagnation; Egypt of its attempted reformation; China shows the neglect of Islam; Java the conversion of Islam; India the opportunity to reach Islam; Equatorial Africa its peril. Each of these typical conditions is in itself an appeal. The supreme need of the Moslem world is Jesus Christ. He alone can give light to Morocco, unity to Persia, life to Arabia, re-birth to Egypt, reach the neglected in China, win Malaysia, meet the opportunity in India, and stop the aggressive peril in Africa."

The afternoon session of the first day was devoted to the subject.

The Pan-Islamic Movement; its genesis and objective; its methods and how they affect the problem of Moslem evangelisation.

IN TURKEY.

The paper on this subject was read by the Rev. W. S. Nelson, D.D., of Syria. In the course of his fine presentation of the subject as related to Turkey. Dr. Nelson said that Abdul Hamid had been himself one of the greatest promoters of Pan-Islamism, which stood not so much for devotion to Islam as for political unity. He emphasized the value of missionary educational work, and urged that we do our utmost to dispel false ideas concerning Christianity which are everywhere present among Moslems, and which are such an obstacle to the progress of Christianity. He thought that the chief difficulty we encounter in dealing with Islam is its solidarity, and urged that we oppose to this the attractive power of the love of Christ.

IN AFRICA.

The paper was written by Pastor F. Wurz of Basel, detained at home by illness. The writer said that Islam's most rapid progress in Africa was in the Southern portions and in Nigeria. He referred to the great influence of the *Haj* (pilgrimage) in the spread and strengthening of Islam. Along with this he noted the increased facilities for intercourse enjoyed by Mahomedans through the work of the Colonial Governments in that land. He noted that the missions established in the South are not working among Moslems. He called attention to and deplored the lack of unity among the various mission agencies at work in Africa.

A paper on this same subject with reference to Africa by Canon E. Sell of Madras was, on account of his unavoidable

absence, read for him by Dr. J. C. R. Ewing of Lahore. The paper indicated how Islam has grown in Africa during the past, and gave causes for recent growth. He pointed out how Mahomedanism in North Africa is steadily advancing across the Sahara, which is now known to be the home of many native tribes. He thought that there is reason for fearing that the whole of Abyssinia may become Mahomedan in a measurable time. "Uganda," said the writer "before many years pass will be either Mahomedan or Christian." Should it become Mahomedan, he thinks there will no longer be an open mind. He concluded by saying that if prompt measures are taken there is still time to meet the situation which confronts Christianity in Africa. He urged making a loud call to the Church in behalf of large parts of the Continent which are in danger of being irretrievably lost to the Church of Christ.

MALAYSIA AND THE FAR EAST.

The last paper of the session took up the same problem in Malaysia and the Far East. This was written by the Rev. G. Simon of Sumatra, but in his absence was read by Canon Weitbrecht of Simla. This paper is of great value, the writer being according to Dr. Zwemer's opinion, the greatest authority on the Moslem work in Malaysia and the East India islands. Pan-Islamism, said the writer, is impracticable without the influence of Mecca, which by attracting its thousands of pilgrims cements together the scattered people of Islam. The pilgrims return, after imbibing something of Islamic thought, to live and die for Pan-Islam. He thereafter looks upon the coming of Islam as the beginning of culture, and comes to look upon his own home "as a refuse heap." He is thenceforth inclined to undervalue everything which is purely indigenous in the social, mental and religious life, and, therefore, there can be for him no patriotism.

East Indian Animism and Islam are struggling for supremacy in the East Indies, and in addition to all the advantages which Islam has, it adds this that it makes concessions to the prejudices of the Pagans in such matters e.g., as the use of magic, which the writer characterized as "a back door for Islam." Pan-Islam represents in the islands "the hope of the brown races to get free from white Christianity." The crass ignorance of the islanders leads to false conceptions in regard to Christianity. The coming of missionaries has, however, shown Europeans to the islanders in a new light.

DISCUSSION.

These papers were followed by a general discussion, open to delegates and limited to seven minutes for each speaker. A brief summary of what was said in these speeches will here be given.

The Rev. S. V. R. Trowbridge of Aintab, Turkey, spoke first. He showed some copies of the official organ of Pan-Islam. One copy advocated the spread of Islam in America, and called for fifty volunteers to undertake the work. Another gives an account of the conversion to Islam of a prominent Japanese. Another has a lengthy criticism of the Edinburgh Conference, but concludes with this appreciation "One cannot but admire the firmness, the earnestness and the self-sacrifice of the Churches' representatives at the Edinburgh Conference. Would that we," it exclaims, "could do as well!"

Prof. R. S. McClenahan of Asyut, Egypt, pointed out the importance of Anglo-Indian Soudan, first because of the Anglo-Egyptian Army, whose soldiers are wielding an immense influence. Secondly, because of the possibility for good in the circulation of the right sort of newspapers, citing as an instance how a single Moslem often read a newspaper published at Cairo to hundreds of people in the villages. Lastly, he referred to the anomalous condition of Gordon College, which at present is doing much to help Islam by training teachers of Mahomedanism.

Dr. S. M. Zwemer followed, saying that the best test for ascertaining the condition or spirit of Islam in any place was to find out what newspaper has the largest subscribers and which books are the most popular. He indicated the "Tarjuman" as one of the most widely read of Islam's papers and referred to "Kalam-ul-Qadim"—a new version of the Koran intended to make it accessible to all. He also stated that the Koran has been rendered into Gujerati, and that there are editions of it issued by Muslims in five languages. Thus, said he, Pan-Islam is seeking to meet its own needs, and has practically its own "Bible Society."

The Rev. C. H. Patton, D.D., of Boston, Secretary of the American Board, expressed his opinion that the Young Turk party were not really religious. He cited the case of a young official of the new Government who on receiving a refusal from a missionary to some work on the Sabbath, remarked "I see you are more bound by the superstitions of your religion than we are by ours." "The Young Turks," said Dr. Patton, "will stand by the Constitution but the great mass of the people will stand by the *Shariat*."

SECOND DAY.

The subject for the morning session was

Political changes in the Moslem World; their relation to Islam and the outlook for Christian Missions.

IN PERSIA.

The paper on this subject with reference to Persia was written by the Rev. L. F. Esselstyn of Teheran, and was listened to with the closest attention. The paper began with a masterly review of the constitutional movement in Persia. He said that forty or fifty papers had sprung up since this modern movement, but that the number had decreased since. He felt that religious liberty was not to be expected of the new Parliament, a part of whose programme was "to execute the laws of the Koran." There was a general desire for education but none for Christianity. He thought that the recent political changes were "tending to break the fanatical power of Islam." He emphasized the need on the part of the present generation of missionaries of "great caution and discretion." A hopeful feature of the situation was the fact that the desire for modern education extended to girls as well as boys.

IN ARABIA.

The paper was by the Rev. J. C. Young, M.D., of Aden, who indicated the changes which have taken place in Arabia since the Turkish Revolution. In general things are peaceful, the administrators are striving to conciliate, taxes are only nominal, schools are being established, agricultural implements are being introduced, and roads being repaired at great expense. The religious test for the army has been abolished, and there are a good many soldiers from among Christians. All high officials are, without exception, Moslems, and it cannot be said that equality has in any sense been granted. But the writer felt that a beginning in this direction had been made. He concluded by indicating how doors which had been closed are open now.

IN INDIA.

The paper was read by the Rev. W. A. Wilson, D.D., Indore. He felt that the political changes under the British Government have affected the Moslems more than any other community. It is now possible for the whole Mahomedan population, through the All-India Moslem League, to take united action regarding any matter touching their interests. The question now is "Will they subordinate patriotism to their Faith?" He noticed among them a new self-consciousness of power. He dwelt on the foundation and growth of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, saying that the attendance had risen from 269 in 1904 to 800 in 1910. The speaker also pointed out the strengthening of the Press and the output of religious works mentioning the translation of the Koran into English, and the publishing of such books as "Hints from the Koran" and "Lessons from the Koran." He considered this as the first missionary effort of Moslems in a literary way. The first result of this new era, he thought might be to wholly absorb them and make them deaf to the claims of Christ. He referred to "an elation noticeable in public and press utterances," but felt that Mahomedans would some day approach the Gospel in a new spirit.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. Ahmad Shah of Hamirpur, rose to say that he was of opinion that religion was losing its hold on Moslems, who were absorbed in politics. He was impressed with the fact that they were chiefly busy in establishing Leagues and Branches of the All-India Moslem League.

Canon H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D., of Simla pointed out that the political activity of Moslems in India was due to the fact that the democratic tendencies of the new reform movement in India cause them grave apprehension since they form only one-fifth of the population, and they fear the danger of being overlooked or merged with the Hindu community. He quoted a blue-blooded Pathan who had said that he would become a Christian if Christianity was to become the religion of all India. "Once make it national," said this Moslem, "and I'd go in for it."

Dr. E. M. Wherry of Ludhiana expressed himself as most impressed with the desire for education among the Mahomedans. This he thought grew out not so much of a political advance, as out of the conference held some years ago in Medina, which met to consider the great question "What shall we do to again make Mahomedanism the great religion of the world?" The answer there given was, in part, that the purpose could best be attained by encouraging Western education. This explains the prevalent desire for English and Western science. A similar desire on the part of women, which is growing, is hopeful for Christianity. He felt that

the Koran is doomed when the Moslem community as a whole has entered upon a rational consideration of the fundamentals of religion.

Dr. J. C. R. Ewing of Lahore thought that Islam does not understand the object of the new reform movements projected by the British Government in India. The leaders of the present Mahomedan community, he thinks, are outwardly Mahomedan but not in spirit. The Koran, he is of opinion has lost hold on them.

IN TURKEY.

The paper dealing with political changes in Turkey was presented by Pro. J. Stewart Crawford of Beirut. It was a masterly treatment of the subject, and commanded the deepest attention. Japan's victory over Russia, called forth for the first time the admiration of the Moslem world for a heathen nation. The influence of Japan was especially strong in that she had demonstrated that an oriental nation could take on Western civilisation without adopting a Western religion, or in any way being disloyal to their own faith.

When Abdul Hamid gained his object of autocracy, through the introduction of Qanun-i-Humayuni, a version of new Code Napoleon, he weakened the theocratic rule, and unconsciously prepared the field for the new national life. When, however, he realised the situation which his own policy had brought about, he plotted to unite with the religious leaders to overthrow the Constitutional Party which had arisen.

The net moral result of all these changes, were summed up by Prof. Crawford. (1) The national spirit has been quickened among all classes, including Christians. (2) Non-Moslems and Moslems have been drawn closer together. (3) Moslem in all its aims though the new Party is, it will never favour the restoration of power to the religious leaders. "Never before," said the speaker, "has Islam been in a position to better understand the Gospel message of a Saviour who opens the way to salvation," and at the same time leads the way to the fullest development both of the national and individual life. The Turks doubtless are unconscious of their approach to Christ, and it is ours to make them conscious of Him and lead them to accept Him.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. W. S. Nelson of Syria referred to the danger in Turkey of Christians often being merely nominal. There are members of old Christian organisations who may never have heard of spiritual regeneration. If Christian recruits of this kind are found in the Army, we cannot expect them to be a leavening influence in behalf of Christianity. Another point concerning the Army is that no Christian soldiers are ever allowed to serve in Arabia, and hence the possibility of Christian influence through them in the "sacred" territory is cut off. Dr. Nelson gave instances illustrative of the nearer approach of Islam and Christianity in that region. Among other things he mentioned how he had heard a Turkish youth, speaking in public in a mission school, use words which Dr. Nelson had never before heard from any Moslem. "God is our Father," said this young Moslem, "as He is yours."

Dr. Trowbridge of Aintab, who-by-the-way-went through the Adana massacre, spoke of the new Constitution. He said that of the 119 Articles, 21 had already been amended. It had, in important respects, cut down the prerogative of the Sultan, while the Cabinet had been made responsible to the people rather than to the Sultan. This was the result of the Parliament. The new Code, he said, evades the question of religion, though its policy is to be neutral.

Prof. Crawford of Beirut said he felt very strongly that we should "learn to have the instinct of deep sympathy with any moral movement among the people whom we are seeking to reach—even with a movement of the kind which you cannot entirely approve of."

The second session of the day took up the subject—**Governmental attitudes towards Missions to Islam.**

MOSLEM GOVERNMENTS.

Three papers were read dealing with this important subject, the first being by the Rev. S. V. Trowbridge of Turkey. A few only of the interesting things of the paper can here be referred to. The writer said that there were 104 Moslems in attendance at the Syrian College at Beirut, and 50 at Robert College, Constantinople. Girls, who at first were prevented from attending school, are now allowed. Christian literature is insufficient, though the field is a good one, the large sales of Bibles indicating this.

Girls are being trained in Robert College for Christian service. With regard to the education of women, the Government is, on the whole, conservative. It has been stated that the new Government aims to prohibit foreign lady doctors from practising.

The next paper was by Mr. E. H. Glenny of London, who was absent, and his paper was read for him. He gave a brief history of the operations in Algeria. He stated that not much was being done in the line of education, and that while there was persecution of Christians, there was less than might be expected under a Moslem Government. Agriculture is where it was a thousand years ago, while moral conditions are utterly corrupt. He made the statement that a Moslem Government always tends to decay, but that under a Protestant Government Moslems make remarkable progress, and often appear to greater advantage than they themselves as a community should be credited with.

The next paper was by Col. G. Wingate, C.I.E., an honorary missionary of the Central Asia Pioneer Mission. In his absence the paper was read by Canon Weitbrecht. He urged that we dissociate our presentation of the claims of Christ from all national problems in order that we may thus secure a more ready hearing. He spoke of Afghanistan, indicating its importance by likening its influence in Eastern Asia to that of Constantinople in the Western part. He thought the Mohammedan eminently practical, and hence successful in dealing with other nations. In China, e.g., he adopts Chinese clothes, and seeks in every way to adapt himself to the people. When they are oppressed in the Russian Empire they seek a refuge in China where they are free from opposition.

DISCUSSION.

In the discussion of the Moslem attitude towards Missions, Dr. Dykstra of Basrah indicated signs of toleration and progress in Basrah, and gave in evidence the fact that the Sultan of Muscat sent his four sons to escort a departing missionary when he was to set sail.

Prof. Crawford of Beirut indicated the progressive attitude of the young Turk party. He related how on one occasion a Turkish official came to our College (attendance 850, of whom 250 are non-Christians) and in addressing the students said, "We have three religions represented here, that of Moses, Christ and Mohammed. I believe in religion in so far as it unites men and not when it separates them."

PAGAN GOVERNMENTS.

The paper on the attitude of Pagan Governments with regard to Christian missions to Islam, was written by the Rev. C. R. Watson, D.D. of Philadelphia, U.S.A. In his absence it was read for him. He began by asking whether there was any such thing as a Christian Government, and concluded that it would be more proper to speak of Western Governments. He pointed out that both China and Japan allow religious freedom, and that when China has interfered it has been due to the fact that religion has been entangled with politics. In the Dutch East Indies there is entire religious freedom. Tibet would probably oppose Islam as it had Christianity. He stated that the attitude of Pagan Governments in the matter would depend on the Head of the Government at the time, the form of government being patriarchal.

In Nigeria and the Soudan, Islam's slave trade has created hostility on the part of Pagans. And yet Islam is often preferred to Christianity because the latter condemns many things which the former allows. If missionaries had a choice as to working under Muslim or Pagan Governments, he thought the preference would be for Pagan rule. On the whole the displacement of Pagan by Christian Government has been to the advantage of Christian missions but also to that of Islam.

He concluded by pointing out the strong influence which the British Army in the Soudan is exercising in favour of Islam, telling how recruits were circumcised, made to rest on Fridays and work on Sundays, and were even taught by Mohammedan Mullahs.

CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENTS.

The paper prepared on this subject by the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner of Cairo, who could not be present, was read by Canon Weitbrecht. Only a brief summary of the paper can be given. The attitude of France was on the whole, still unfriendly and suspicious. Russia in effect promoted Mohammedan proselytising, largely through fear of the Moslem. While the Dutch are strictly neutral, the officials are friendly, and Christian missions are not now, as formerly, thwarted from fear of Islam. Germany was, he thought, learning from Holland to be neutral. Togo Land offered an exception, while on the East coast of Africa the attitude was "admirable." Great Britain, said the writer, as such has no attitude. Everything depends on the local Government. He held Britain responsible for the position of Copts in the public schools where the doctrines of Islam are taught and religious teaching to Christians is forbidden. In the Soudan the Government forbids the holding

of any Gospel meetings, while Gordon College has become an agency for propagating the faith of Islam.

Chancellor McCracken of New York University said that there were 250,000 Moslems in the Philippines, where the Government of the United States by its attitude of absolute neutrality is really "a John the Baptist, preparing the way of the Lord."

THIRD DAY.

The first session took up the following subject:—

Islam among Pagan races, and the Christian propaganda.

IN INDIA.

The paper was by the Rev. J. Takle, Brahmanbaria, E. Bengal. This was a remarkable paper, and should be read by every missionary in India. The writer gave a historical summary of the growth of Islam in India, due to many other causes than religious conviction.

In speaking of missionary measures the following points were made:—We cannot adopt Moslem methods. We should work proportionately and definitely for both Mohammedans and Hindus, and not follow the line of least resistance. We cannot either compromise or amalgamate, and hence there is an urgent need of Indian Christians to work among both Moslem and Hindu communities. Our preachers and workers should follow the example set by Moslem propagandists, who travel from village to village. In preaching, we should speak the message in terms of Moslem thought, and should be "more of the wooer than of the combatant." Greater effort should be put forth to provide an adequate literature, especially with a view to removing erroneous ideas. Books are also needed to convince and hold those who are already under the influence of Christianity. Western education should be pushed, and Rescue Homes and medical work should be increased. In conclusion, Mr. Takle emphasized the necessity of having some bond of unity among Christians in India whereby the Moslem could be kept constantly to the front.

Mr. Takle's statement that there is not a missionary in all Bengal (one-third of whose 70 million people are Mohammedans) who is set apart exclusively for work among Moslems, is not likely to be forgotten.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. W. Goldsack of Pubna, E. Bengal, emphasized some points of the paper, and said that in the hills around Darjeeling there was a Moslem advance, and that even Nepal and Tibet were being touched.

The Rev. G. J. Dann of Bankipore, said that the real difficulty lay in the fact that we did not have men enough to go round. He spoke of the need of specialists and of the necessity of arousing the Churches.

Mr. K. N. Basu of Calcutta called attention to the fact that there were 200 mosques in that city, and the Rev. J. R. Hill of Banda said, "there are more mosques in Bombay than in Mecca, and yet, the only mission for Moslems in that city has been withdrawn! He thought that the new missionary at the very outset of his career should choose between work among Moslems and Hindus and then stick to the choice to the end of his missionary life.

The Rev. Ahmad Shah of Hamirpur said the Mohammedans had 375 preachers in the United Provinces alone, who were itinerating among the villages, and that there were six Moslem institutions preparing workers. It was noticeable that they were teaching the Bible as well the Koran.

IN MALAYSIA.

The paper was by the Rev. J. Adriani of the Rhenish Mission, Celebes (absent). It showed how a Moslem community was usually established among the Pagan islanders. The extension of Dutch Colonial power among the islanders was to the distinct advantage of the Moslem element. The fact that the Moslems represent a brown rather than a white race, and offer a large brotherhood to converts, makes their propaganda comparatively easy. The testimony of fearless Christians was never more needed than now.

The Rev. J. Takle pointed out the rapid growth of Islam in Oceania, and especially in the Fiji islands where there are 35,000 coolies from India among whom Moslem teachers are busy. The islands are being deluged with literature, and the Koran is being translated into Fiji. In the West Indies there are 30,000 living converts to Christianity from Islam, the annual baptisms amounting to about 250.

IN AMERICA.

The paper by Prof. Karl Meinhof of Berlin was read next. He showed how the greater natural gulf between the

European and African than between the latter and Moslems helped in the spread of Islam. He likened Africa to the Ancient world, Islam to the Middle Ages and Christianity to modern times. Islam thus enjoys more in common with the natives, and to this adds the advantage of requiring no abrupt break in religion on the part of the Pagan convert. He felt that the Euro-African community should be educated and kept from deteriorating, and emphasized the value of scientific, technical and industrial work.

DISCUSSION.

In the discussion the importance of the Church in Egypt was indicated by Prof. McClenahan; the Bishop of Lahore spoke of conditions in Nigeria; Canon Weitbrecht made a strong plea on behalf of the Abyssinian Church; Mr. Young spoke of the value of colportage work; and the Chairman showed a ms. book written by a Chinese in Arabic, attempting to refute the deity of Christ.

IN CHINA.

A paper by Mr. F. H. Rhodes of the China Inland Mission was read for him in his absence. It gave an interesting summary of Islam's progress in that land, where they now number from five to ten million, and said that they deserved the place they had won. Opium is a scourge to them also, but they as a community do not add much to the class of beggars. The influence of the Chinese Mullahs is great, and in some cases their knowledge of Arabic good. Pilgrims are comparatively few. The conditions of Islam vary very widely in different parts of the country. Woman occupies a better place than elsewhere, and Islam is less fanatical there. The Koran's influence is not so great as in most Moslem lands, and there is great laxity in regard to worship and observance of rules. The Christian Church has undertaken no organised work and set apart no special workers for the Moslem community, but where work has been undertaken, blessing has rested upon it. The writer said there are 36 mosques in Peking.

The next paper was by the Rev. H. French Ridley, who in order to be present had had to spend 48 days in reaching the coast ere he could sail for India. He pointed out the interesting fact that the Moslem Chinese belong to other tribes than the regular Chinese, and are divided into an old and a new sect between whom exists a great hatred. He thought that Islam there was becoming tainted with idolatry and Buddhism. The Emperor's tablet was to be found in mosques, where obeisance was made to it. He said there were few Christian books and they were expensive. He pointed out the power of love and kindness in missionary work among the Moslems of that land.

IN RUSSIA.

A paper prepared by Miss Jennie Von Mayer of Moscow was read. It told of the conditions in the Russian Empire, indicating the nature of Christian work under both the Greek Orthodox and Protestant Churches. The State Church she thought feared united Islam and was not doing its duty. The Swedish Missionary Society is the only Protestant agency at work, though there are individuals working who represent other organisations.

After this general survey of the work thus far indicated, the Conference considered measures which the Christian Church as a whole should adopt in prosecuting Christian work in the various fields. This discussion, because of its length cannot be touched upon here.

The same evening there was a special session for the consideration of how to deal with individual Mohammedans. This was a most helpful meeting. This article will not permit of a detailed account of the discussion. The speakers were generally agreed that the great need was for a sympathetic attitude, a just appreciation of what was good in Islam, an emphasis on letting the Word of God itself bear its own message, the manifestation of a right spirit, and, above all, the life which is in touch with Christ and manifests Him everywhere. The Bishop of Lahore and Dr. Zwemer added valuable contributions to the discussion. The testimony of delegates who themselves were converts from Islam was of great interest and value. Dr. Zwemer reminded all of the great importance of distributing the Scriptures, giving as a principle to be observed "Every colporteur a missionary, and every missionary a colporteur." "When you leave the Gospel with a Mohammedan, you leave a piece of the eternal." The Gospel according to Mark was suggested as the best one in first presenting the Christian message to a Moslem.

FOURTH DAY.

The morning session took up the most interesting and important subject of

The Training of Missionaries for Work among Moslems.

Intellectual and spiritual qualifications were discussed in a paper by Prof. McClenahan of Egypt; the Course of Study at Home was discussed by Dr. A. H. Ewing of

Allahabad; and on the subject "The Course of Study on the Field" there were two papers, one by the Rev. Ahmad Shah of Hamirpur and one by the Rev. C. G. Mylrea of Lucknow. It is quite impossible to sum up the valuable material presented in these admirable papers. A delegate who had come from Syria, said that this one session had repaid him for his long journey. No missionary who has work among Moslems in any part of the world should be satisfied until he has read and pondered these papers and the suggestion made in the addresses which followed. These will be found in the printed Report of the Conference, which should be obtained by those who are desirous of having the fullest and most up-to-date treatment of the whole question.

Literature for Workers and Moslem Readers. Was the subject to which the afternoon session was devoted. The paper on the Urdu language was given by Dr. E. M. Wherry of Ludhiana. Canon Ali Bakhsh of Lahore read one on "Literature for Moslem Readers—What is Wanted." There were two papers covering the Arabic, one by Dr. Nelson of Syria, and the other by A. J. Upson of the Nile Mission Press, Cairo. A paper by the Rev. W. A. Rice of Julfa, Persia dealt with the needs in that field, and paper by the Rev. W. G. Shelabear, of Perak told of what had been done and what remained to be done in this direction in the Far East. These papers are invaluable to all missionaries and workers in Moslem fields, and will be made available when the printed report is out. For obvious reasons, this article cannot undertake to reproduce the vast store of interesting information contained in them.

FIFTH DAY.

Reform Movements, Doctrinal and Social. Was the first subject taken up, being ably treated from the point of view of India by the Rev. Cannon Weitbrecht, D.D. of Simla, and with reference to Mediterranean Lands by the Rev. John Gifford of Cairo. Canon Weitbrecht's paper was a most clear and luminous survey of the situation in India, and was listened to with the deepest attention and greatest profit. It should be read by every missionary in this land. In the present article, intended chiefly for Indian missionaries and workers, it will not be of advantage to try to give any summary of the paper, whose value for this field lies not in any general remarks that may be made about its contents but depends on a careful reading of the whole paper.

The paper on Mediterranean Lands brought out many interesting facts. The atmosphere it was said is "surcharged with reform," and there is everywhere noticeable a loosening of the orthodox Islamic grip. The author doubted if the Pan-Islamic movement could be considered a reform movement. The old style of commentaries on the Koran were being set aside, and the call is for a new sort of literature dealing with political and social reform. "The new woman" is beginning to be everywhere talked of, schools are springing up, and numbers of emigrations to America are in evidence. But all this is the result of influences purely from without Islam, and much of it is attributable to missionary educational work.

Social and Educational Developments among Moslem Women was the next subject on the programme. The treatment of this subject from the viewpoint of India, in the paper by Miss A. de Selincourt Hampstead, England, is another which cannot be summarised for readers in India to any great advantage. It should be read in full by all who are engaged in seeking to understand the problem, or are engaged in helping to lift Indian womanhood up to the high plane she is destined to occupy in and through Christianity. The best thing of the paper was a plea for a "ministry of friendship" in this great work, commenting on which the Bishop of Lahore said the next day, that if nothing else were accomplished by the Conference than a widespread inauguration of such a ministry, the Conference would be well worth while.

The developments in Egypt, Turkey and Persia were indicated by Miss A. Van Sommer. Dr. Zwemer took occasion to remark of her that she had "done more to arouse prayer for Moslem women than any one else." The paper showed how a new era was beginning in all that region.

The remainder of this session was devoted to a Business Meeting which considered and passed the Resolutions which incorporate the practical conclusions of the Conference. These were presented by the Bishop of Lahore, the Chairman of the Committee, the meeting being presided over by Bishop Robinson. The Resolutions are of the utmost importance to every worker in the world-wide field, and constitute an appeal to the Home Church in view of the situation throughout the field under consideration. They cannot be reproduced in this article.

Work Among Women.

This subject next claimed the attention of the Conference, and was dealt with in a series of papers of the highest order and greatest practical value.

REFORM MOVEMENTS were considered in three papers. The first was by Miss Holiday of Tabriz, Persia; the second by Miss Thompson of Egypt, and the third by Miss Patrick of Constantinople. These must go without further comment in this article than to say that they are invaluable to all who are seeking to understand the situation, and will be awaited with interest in the Report of the Conference.

EDUCATIONAL WORK was discussed by Miss Buchanan of Egypt, and LITERATURE was the subject of the paper by Miss Trotter of Algiers. This last-named paper, calling for a new adjustment to the changed conditions in this branch of work among Moslem women, was of great practical value, and needs to be read and lived up to by all who are at work in this interesting and difficult field of missionary operations.

MEDICAL WORK was discussed by Miss Stuart of Ispahan, Persia, and Miss Eddy of Beirut, Syria.

WOMEN CONVERTS was the title of a paper by Mrs. Wherry of Ludhiana, while SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS were discussed by Miss Anderson of Sarghoda, Punjab. The remaining paper on Women's work was by Miss Cay of Cairo on the subject TEACHING MOSLEM WOMEN IN MEDICAL MISSIONS.

These papers, it will be seen at a glance, very thoroughly cover the whole field of operations among Moslem women as carried on by the Christian Church. The information conveyed by them, supplemented by most valuable suggestions from the floor of the Conference, will prove of the utmost value not only on the field but in the Home lands where so much is done to shape the policy of the work carried out on the field. Co-operation between the work for men and that for women is the keynote of the conclusions arrived at by the Conference in considering woman's work in Christian missions.

CONCLUDING SESSION.

The last session of the Conference on the sixth day was of the most thrilling interest, and contained some of the most valuable things of the whole Conference. First came a paper written by Dr. Robert E. Speer of New York for the Conference. Though the writer could not be present, the paper was of such value as to command the most attentive hearing. Its subject was "The Attitude of the Evangelist towards the Moslem and His Religion." This paper, characterised by the Bishop of Lahore as so "well balanced," cannot but suffer in any attempt on the part of the present writer to give its thought in such space as is at his disposal. It must be read to be appreciated, and be lived in order to be of the value which it deserves.

No one took a keener interest in the proceedings of the Conference from first to last than did the Right Reverend Dr. Lefroy, Bishop of Lahore, and it was both fitting and fortunate that the Conference should have been addressed by him at its closing session. He gave a summary of what seemed to him the important points of the Conference, speaking under the following heads:—The relation of missionaries to Government, the attitude and approach of missionaries towards Muslims, the relation between highly trained workers or those who might be considered as specialists and workers with ordinary training, the splendour of the opportunity before the Christian Church, and, lastly, a call to a prayer life. This address, both because of the personality and position of the speaker and the sterling worth of his words, was one of the most valuable addresses of the Conference, and will have a lasting influence on the work of every one who heard it.

In speaking of the attitude of missionaries towards Moslems, the Bishop gathered up in one sentence the very thought of the Conference, expressed in many different ways and by many speakers during the preceding days when he said with the deepest earnestness—"Let the uppermost feeling left in the mind of your Moslem hearer or reader be such as to indicate not an attack on Mohammedanism but an earnest longing to help the Mohammedan." The Bishop emphasized most impressively the "ministry of friendship," and the part which the heart must play in all this great work. He felt, nevertheless, that there was a call for the highest possible training in the work of evangelising the Moslem community, and urged not only a mastery of Arabic but a perfect familiarity with every religious book of the Moslem faith. He felt that this, so far from being impossible to the missionary, is "such a manageable task," calling attention to the few books of which such a knowledge would be required in the effort.

"No words," said the Bishop, "can really express the splendour of the opportunity before us." How may we hope to meet this opportunity? he asked, and then answered the question in words that perfectly represent one of the deepest convictions formed at this great Lucknow Conference—"ONLY, ONLY, ONLY IN PROPORTION TO THE DEPTH TO WHICH OUR LIVES ARE HID WITH CHRIST IN GOD."

The final message of the Conference was fittingly spoken by Dr. Zwemer, who as Chairman during the Conference, and as one of the chief promoters of the Conference in all the arduous work which preceded it, gave himself unstintingly to the great task, and was to such a large extent responsible for the magnificent success which crowned the efforts. His words were a clarion call to renewed zeal and consecration, and to a "re-adjustment" of lives as related to the Christian work among Moslems. He referred in closing to the prayer printed on a small card and early in the session distributed among the members—"O God, to Whom the Moslem world bows in homage five times daily, look in mercy upon its peoples, and reveal to them Thy Christ." Then he called attention to the three words on the other side of the card as a reminder that we are to live a life of prayer, and in prayer find our greatest help and hope,—"**REMEMBER LUCKNOW, 1911.**"



THE CALCUTTA BIBLE SOCIETY.

A CENTENNIAL SURVEY.

IV.

The year 1883 marks another starting point in the history of the Calcutta Bible Society. The renewal of the Company's Charter in revised form, opening India to foreigners, led to the advent of the American and German missions, whose work has grown to such large dimensions. This, and the general development of the older missions, caused a rapid increase in the demand for Scriptures. New translations were undertaken, older ones revised, and fresh editions printed. The Society in fact was led into a larger expenditure than its income could meet; but the generosity of the Home Committee,—always referred to with affectionate consistency as "the Parent Society,"—was unbounded. When the finances of the Calcutta Auxiliary were further embarrassed by the loss of Rs. 3,000 through the failure of their bankers, £1,000 was sent from London, followed a little later by £1,200, £300 worth of paper and the intimation that much more money could be had for the asking. At the same time, steps were taken to popularise the Auxiliary. The annual meetings began to be held in the evening instead of the forenoon. The amount of annual subscription that was necessary to constitute anyone a member of the Society was reduced from R. 50 to Rs. 16, and of the Committee, from Rs. 200 to Rs. 50. Later a rule was passed that every subscriber was a member and eligible for the Committee. Well-known names appear in the missionary correspondence,—Newton of Ludhiana, one of the American pioneers; Weitbrecht of Burdwan; Sandys of Calcutta; Thomas of the Baptist Press; Duff with his colleagues, Ewart and Mackay, and his distinguished convert, K. M. Banerjee; Lacroix of the L.M.S.; Bateman of the C.M.S.; and many others. Mr. C. E. Trevelyan appears as a member of Committee, specially interested in revision work.

In 1835 Mr. C. W. Smith, H. C. C. S., was elected President, and the Society bade a regretful farewell to Archdeacon Corrie, the last of the "five chaplains" who left Calcutta to become the first Bishop of Madras. This year some subscriptions were sent home towards the fund for placing a Bible in the hands of every emancipated slave in the West Indies who could read it. A missionary this year reports that he was invited by the Maharaja Ranjit Singh to visit Lahore, where he presented a Punjabi Pentateuch to His Highness in open durbar, and gave another to the Prime Minister and a third to the leading chief, the Sardar of Jullundar.

COCOANUTS FOR BIBLES.

About this time negotiations were entered into with a view to the Auxiliary publishing a Bengali New Testament of its own. The Baptists had been the pioneers in Bengali work, and the best versions belonged to them. There were two Testaments in circulation, one by Carey, said to be the more accurate rendering of the original, and another by Yates, in more idiomatic Bengali. The latter was preferred for popular use, but neither was regarded as final. A difficulty had to be faced, in Bengal as elsewhere, in the fact that the Baptist translated the Greek verb *Baptizein* the vernacular word meaning "to immerse," while the policy of the Bible Society and of most other translators has been to follow the English example by transliterating the Greek word and leaving the interpretation thereof to the commentator and preacher. The Baptist missionaries in the end generously consented to the Bible Society publishing their versions "with such alterations as the Committee may deem needful in the disputed word for baptism." In the report for 1836, the Rev. Mr. Hill of Ber-

hampore relates that when camping near Chinsurah he left his tent one morning, telling his children not to give away tracts or Gospels in his absence, as he feared those who were already supplied might ask the children to give them more. When he returned he found a heap of cocoanuts in front of the tent. He found that the people had brought the nuts to barter for books and tracts, and a regular tariff was established of a single cocoanut for a tract, and six, afterwards raised to twelve, for a Gospel. This is one of the early indications of a change in the Society's policy. Hitherto the Scriptures had, for the most part, been distributed gratuitously, sales being the exception. This was gradually reversed, till free distribution became the exception and sales the rule. Even now the price charged for a Gospel is sometimes less than that of the paper, but it is sufficient, in a poor country like India, to ensure that the purchaser appreciates the book and that he will keep it more carefully than he would if he had got it for nothing. The introduction of selling led to a reduction in prices, until in 1838 the Society congratulated itself that a large octavo Testament in any language into which it had been translated could be bought for one rupee, and the Gospels or other portions at three annas each. Another innovation about the same time was the appointment, as the first "whole-time" Secretary, of the Rev. D. Haeberlin, of the C.M.S. The death of Dr. Marshman in 1837 deprived the Society of one of its most valued Secretaries, who represented the close association of the Society in its early days with the Baptist Mission. New versions projected about this time included those for various tribes in Assam,—the Khamtis or Shans, the Singhos Abors, and Mishnis,—and it is about this time that the first mention of a Roman-Urdu version occurs. Javanese and Marwari were also added to the stock. In 1840 there seemed to be a prospect of Afghanistan being added to the Society's fields, but this was not fulfilled. An officer in Kabul sent for a supply of Persian Scriptures, but the consignment cannot be traced beyond Peshawar. A curious fact mentioned in the report for the same year is that a Hindu Testament was found to have been issued in which the binder had carefully omitted two chapters—Act XVII and 1 Cor. VIII—in which idolatry is condemned.

AN INTERESTING TOUR.

It is interesting to follow Dr. Haeberlin in an extensive tour he undertook in 1842. Starting by boat from Calcutta, he had a pinnace for himself and family, a cook boat, and four country barges,—heavily laden with 60,000 volumes in 15 different tongues. By way of Krishnagar and Murshidabad, they reached the Ganges, and sailed past Rajmehal to Bhagalpur. The geographical limits to the language areas fixed by Dr. Haeberlin have not been greatly modified. He found that a line drawn through Purneah and Rajmehal was the western limit of Bengali. West of that, although Hindi was the printed language, it was the ancient Magadhi that was spoken, and the Kaithi character was more used than the Nagri as far west as Allahabad. After touching at Patna, Chupra, Buxar and Chunar, they arrived at Allahabad. There they left the boats to undertake a land journey of 700 miles, right up beyond Simla to Kanun, the chief seat of Buddhist learning in Kanawar, and the great trading centre with Tibet. Reports of work more near at hand are by no means devoid of interest. A missionary visiting the hospital meets "an aged but very intelligent looking Scotchman, of very expressive countenance, carpenter to the vessel *Sir Robert Peel*, who asked for a Bible 'with a clean ground and clear print,' to take with him on Board." The Rev. J. Long, of *Nil Durpan* fame,—said, by the way, to be the original of Sir William Hunter's "Old Missionary," explains that he gave away the historical portions of the Bible first, as he found that the imaginative minds of the Hindus were better pleased with history and biography than with ethics. Students often asked him for Bibles in order to understand Milton. Dr. Duff also refers to the value of the Bible as literature. "In spite of the exclusive system of the merely secular educationalists," he writes, "young men themselves gradually discover that European History and the noblest portions of English Literature are really unintelligible without an acquaintance with the Bible." Mr. Avdall, Rector of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy, mentions having given 12 Armenian Testaments to inmates of the Armenian Almshouse. Of these, three were natives of Omri, five Julpha in Ispahan, one from Erzeroom, one from Mush, one from Gwalior, and one from Sardana. Many instances are given of individuals who had been led to embrace Christianity through reading the Bible. Pitambar Singh may be quoted as an example. When travelling in the Sunderbuns he was shown a Bengali Testament by a man who received it from Mr. Ward. He told the man to throw it away, as the English could not possibly know the true religion. During the night his conscience smote him for having rejected the book simply from prejudice. In the morning he sent for the man, borrowed the book, and on reading it became so deeply interested that

he made his way to Serampore and put himself under the instruction of the missionaries there. He was baptised, and became a consistent, zealous Christian, whose *Life in Bengali* was one of the early publications of the Calcutta Tract Society. Another case was that of a European soldier who became a changed man by reading a Bible that was his only companion during a term of imprisonment. He became a missionary, and laboured for many years at Dacca.

FIRST BENARES AUXILIARY.

In 1845 an Auxiliary was formed at Benares, which in the following year was merged in the North India Auxiliary, first located at Agra, but afterwards removed to Allahabad. This contracted the Calcutta Society's field to its present limits. The first patron of the Agra Branch was the Hon. J. Thomason, a son of the old Calcutta Secretary,—one of the many instances of hereditary interest in and connection with the Bible Society. Calcutta despatched 42,200 volumes from its stock by boat to Agra. In the same year, the Rev. T. Jones of Cherrapunji submitted a translation of Matthew into the Khasi language and this was printed to be followed by other portions till the Bible was completed. The Welsh missionaries had not only been the first to reduce this language to written form, but taking a local dialect spoken in the Cherrapunji neighbourhood they caused it to be adopted as a *lingua franca* throughout the Khasi hills. A year later a Lepcha translation of Matthew, by the Rev. Mr. Start of Darjeeling, was also adopted. Dr. Haeberlin resigned the Secretaryship in 1846 and died in 1849. During the 50 years that followed the secretarial work was generally done by various missionaries in addition to their ordinary duties.

A MOULVIES CHALLENGE.

Translation, revision and circulation have always constituted the triple activities of the Bible Society, but at different times one or another of these duties seemed to be specially urgent. At the period we have now reached, the Committee was chiefly impressed with desirability of getting their accumulated stores into the hands of the people. Missionaries were commissioned to make extensive tours, by road and river, mainly for the purpose of Bible distribution. In 1852 nine distinct itineraries were mapped out, and allotted to as many missionaries, and when the question arose, how the Jubilee of the Parent Society was to be celebrated in India, the Calcutta Auxiliary asked for £500 for the extension of this agency. With characteristic generosity, the London Committee sent double the sum asked for, and signified its readiness to give still more if the Auxiliary could see its way to extend its work by introducing the system of colportage into Bengal. The records of the missionaries' tours are rich in incident. They not only went forth bearing precious seed, but they now had the privilege of reaping the fruit of other men's labours. Here and there devout souls were found, isolated from other Christian influences, but feeding the flame of devotion upon the Word of God. Serious opposition was seldom encountered, but discussions with Hindu pundits and Mohammedan moulvies were often animated and prolonged. One missionary tells how a moulvie made a challenge,—was it not in the spirit of Elijah, confronted by the priests of Baal?—to his catechist. The moulvie and the catechist were to throw the Koran and the Bible into the fire together, and the book that resisted the flames longest was to be accepted by both as the true Word of God. The catechist replied that it would be more reasonable to settle the respective merits of the books before committing either of them to the flames. On the whole the reader of these tours is struck with the similarity of the experiences of missionaries on tour in Bengal 50 or 60 years ago to those of their successors who are doing the same work to-day. Village life seems to have changed wonderfully little in the interval, and human nature is much the same.

WORK OF COLPORTEURS.

Steps were taken to carry out the suggestion about colporteurs. The difficulty was to find suitable men. Only Indian Christians could be employed, and the best of them were already in the service of the various missions. But a start was made, seven men being engaged, five of them working directly under the Society and two under the supervision of the Church Mission at Burdwan. These two reported that in a month they had visited 25 places containing 55,300 inhabitants, of whom only 1,295 could read, and had given away 84 Scripture portions and sold 25. The society framed rules, one of them being that the books were to be sold at fixed prices and not given away gratis while at the same time the prices were reduced to 8 annas for a Testament and one anna for a Gospel. It was point-

(Continued on page 18.)

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C. H. S. Koch, 11, Creek Row, Cal-
cutta, who acts as local news editor,
in the absence of the Editor from the
city. Such notes will be received up
to nine o'clock of Monday in each
week.

The Bengal Conference.

The Bengal Conference concluded its
sessions on Wednesday morning when
the appointments for the ensuing year
were read. The Conference was a sea-
son of fellowship and helpfulness. The
presidency of Bishops McDowell and
Warne was most helpful. The Bengal
Conference was glad to make the ac-
quaintance of Bishop McDowell and
to hear his inspiring messages.

The Conference gave a cordial wel-
come to the Rev. B. T. Badley, as
general secretary of the Epworth
League in India, and were delighted to
have him present. The rally and meet-
ing in connection with the League were
most enthusiastic.

There are only a few changes in the
appointments. The Rev. F. M. Perrill
goes from Mozafarpur to Arrah to fill
the place vacated by the Rev. A. L.
Grey, transferred to Ajmere; the Rev.
W. T. Ward goes to Mozafarpur. In
the Woman's Conference, Miss Swan
and Miss Bennett go on furlough. Miss
Moyer, returning from furlough, goes
to Pakur; Miss Norberg is transferred
from Asansol to Calcutta; Miss Hunt
goes to Darjeeling; Miss Perrill to the
Indiana Girls' School, Mozafarpur;
Miss Aaronson to Cawnpore; Dr. and
Mrs. Price to Allahabad.

Action was taken looking to a pos-
sible readjustment of Conference
boundaries for language reasons. The
session of the Conference was one of
great profit.

ASANSOL DISTRICT:—G. S. Hender-
son, District Superintendent, (P. O.
46 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta).—
Asansol Circuit, W. P. Byers; Bengali
Church, K. C. Mullick; Boys' School,
W. P. Byers, Principal; Leper Asylum,
Supplied; Bolpur Circuit, Gottlieb
Schaenzlin; Sainthia, Supplied by P.
C. Dass, Local Elder; Pakur Circuit,
H. M. Swan; Pakur Church, S. M.
Mondol; Dhulian, to be supplied;
Rajipur, to be supplied; Santhali
Work, Rasik Lal Saren; Rampur Hat,
L. C. Sircar.

CALCUTTA ENGLISH CIRCUIT:—R. C.
Grose, District Superintendent, (P.O.
151, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta).—
Asansol English Church, J. P. Meik;
Calcutta Boys' School, J. W. Simmons,
Principal; Calcutta Industrial Home,
Secretary, C. J. A. Pritchard, Esq;
Kidderpore Circuit and Seaman's Mis-
sion, John Byork; Thoburn Church, R.
C. Grose; Methodist Publishing House,
G. S. Henderson and Joseph Culshaw,
Agents; Editor INDIAN WITNESS,
Joseph Culshaw; Darjeeling, Joseph
Culshaw.

CALCUTTA VERNACULAR CIRCUIT:—D.
H. Manley, District Superintendent,
(P.O. 52, Tangra Road, Calcutta).—
Balliaghata Bengali Circuit, D. H. Lee;
Balliaghata Boys' Orphanage, Supplied
by H. G. Hastings; Balliaghata Church,
Supplied; Collins Institute, D. H. Man-
ley Principal, C. H. S. Koch, Head-
master; Bible Training School, D. H.
Manley, S. C. Biswas, Member Dharam-
tala Bengali Quarterly Conference, S.
C. Gupta, Member East Calcutta Quar-
terly Conference; Dharamtala Bengali
Church, D. H. Lee; East Calcutta Cir-
cuit, D. H. Manley, M. K. Chucker-
butty; Hindustani Circuit, D. H. Lee;
Tamluk, D. H. Manley. On leave to
attend school, O. W. Hankins.

DIAMOND HARBOUR DISTRICT:—B. M.
Mozumdar, District Superintendent,
(P.O. Diamond Harbour).—Diamond
Harbour Circuit, B. M. Mozumdar;
Jhanjra, Supplied by C. L. Das, Local
Deacon; Kulpi, to be supplied; Nihati,
Supplied by M. M. Sapui; Sundar
Bands, to be supplied.

TIRHOOT DISTRICT:—J. O. Denning,
District Superintendent, (P.O. Muzaf-
farpur).—Arrah Circuit, F. M. Perrill,
D. P. Sahae; Ballia Circuit, H. J.
Schutz; Chapra Circuit, Charles Dowing;
Darbhanga Circuit, W. T. Ward;
Muzaffarpur Circuit, J. O. Denning;
Samastipur Circuit, W. T. Ward; Sita-
marhi Circuit, Supplied by Dilawar
Singh; Columbia Boys' School, W. T.
Ward, Principal; Henry Jackson,
Superannuate, in America.

To preach Conference sermon, R. C.
Grose, Alternate Joseph Culshaw, mis-
sionary Sermon Gottlieb Schaezlin.

Woman's Work.

ASANSOL DISTRICT:—Asansol Girls'
Boarding and Training School, Miss
Carr; Boys' School, Mrs. Byers; Evan-
gelistic Work, Mrs. Byers; Church
Work, Mrs. Mullick; Pakur Widows'
Home, Miss Grandstrand; Medical
Work, Mr. Swan; Girls' School, Miss
Moyer; Church, Mrs. Mondol; Pakur
and Rampur Hat Evangelistic Work,
Miss Grandstrand; Rampur Hat, Mrs.
Sircar. On leave to America, Miss
Swan.

CALCUTTA ENGLISH DISTRICT:—Asan-
sol English Church, Mrs. Meik; Cal-
cutta Anglo-Indian Orphanage, Miss
Norberg; Calcutta Boys' School and
Orphanage, Mrs. Simmons; Calcutta
Girls' School, Miss Stahl, Principal,
Miss Wood, Vice Principal; Miss
Storrs, Deaconess Home and Visi-
tation of Homes, Miss Maxey,
Superintendent; Hospital Visitation
and Finance, Miss Pritchard; Kid-

derpore Seaman's Mission and Hin-
dustani Work, Mrs. Byork; Thoburn
Church, Mrs. Grose; Darjeeling Church,
Mrs. Culshaw; Queen's Hill School,
Miss Knowles, Principal, Miss Wisner,
Vice-Principal, Miss Hunt. On leave
to America, Miss Henkle, Miss Bennet.
Miss Aaronson transferred to North-
west India.

CALCUTTA VERNACULAR DISTRICT:—
Balliaghata, Mrs. Hastings; Collins'
Institute, Mrs. Koch; Collins Institute
Hostel, Mrs. Manley; East Calcutta,
Mrs. Manley; Hindustani Work, Miss
Reeve; Tamluk, Miss Blair, Miss Matti-
son; District Work, Mrs. Manley; Lee
Memorial Mission, Mrs. D. H. Lee, Mis-
sionary-in-charge; Lee Memorial Train-
ing School, Mrs. Lee, Principal; Nor-
mal Department, Miss Carpenter, Miss
Reiser; Kindergarten and Day Schools,
Miss Lee; Evangelistic and School
Work, Miss Kinsley; On leave to
America, Miss Eddy.

DIAMOND HARBOUR DISTRICT:—Dis-
trict Work, Mrs. Mozumdar; School
and Zenana Work, Mrs. Lee.

TIRHOOT DISTRICT:—District Work
and Day Schools, Mrs. Denning; Ballia
Circuit, Mrs. Schutz; Chapra Circuit,
Mrs. Dowing; Medical Work, To be
supplied; Muzaffarpur Zenana Work,
Miss Voigt; Indiana Girls' School, Miss
Perrill; Samastipur Circuit, Supplied
by Mrs. Bhola Singh; Sitamari Circuit,
Supplied by Mrs. Dilawar Singh; On
leave to America, Miss Peters.

The Association Work in Calcutta.

The Annual Meeting of the Young
Men's Christian Association was held
at 25, Chowringhee, on Thursday night
the 2nd February at 9-15. There was a
very large and representative gather-
ing present upon the occasion. The
Hon. Mr. W. R. Gourlay, President of
the Association, took the chair and
after a Hymn, and Prayer by the Rev.
F. B. Hadow, Mr. B. R. Barber, the
General Secretary, was called upon to
give a short digest of the Annual Re-
port, some account of which is given
below.

The retiring Treasurer Mr. James F.
Parker made a full statement with re-
gard to the financial position of the As-
sociation. The Report was accepted
and the Accounts passed. The Chair-
man then took occasion to speak of the
retirement of the Hon. Mr. W. C. Mac-
pherson who for the past two years
had been President of the Association
and who is shortly leaving India. Mr.
Gourlay spoke of the excellent work
done by Mr. Macpherson and of his
high stirring qualities and the way in
which he had helped many young men
in their lives. The Chairman paid a
strong personal tribute to Mr. Macpher-
son and then, on behalf of the Board
of Directors presented him with a Life
Membership in the Association beau-
tifully printed in vellum bound in moroc-
co and mounted with the silver crest
of the Association. The signatures of
all members of the Board of Directors
and various Committees of Manage-
ment had also been secured. In reply
Mr. Macpherson thanked Mr. Gourlay
for his kind words, expressed his plea-
sure at having had the privilege of ser-
ving the Association and his hope that
if he should return to India later to
again connect himself with the Asso-
ciation. Mr. W. H. Connell then in his
very clear mellow voice sang "When
Summer's Sweet flowers appear," after
which the Chairman introduced Bishop
W. F. McDowell of the Methodist
Episcopal Church, Chicago, who gave
the address of the evening on the
"Bible and Life." Though the hour
was late the Bishop entered into his

task with delight and with a number of humorous stories and witty remarks soon woke the audience to the feeling that something good was coming. The address was stirring, stimulating and instructive and hinged upon two propositions of a great writer (1) that all literature is an expression of life and (2) that literature re-acts upon life. This was illustrated from English history, from American history and from Jewish history and the thought driven home that the Bible was in its turn an expression of life and could never have been written had there not been just such life to portray as the Bible speaks about. One of the finest thoughts in the address and perhaps the culmination was that there would never be a better book than the Bible written until there was a better life lived than that of Jesus Christ. Bishop McDowell spoke for fifty minutes but it seemed only a few minutes. After a vote of thanks by Mr. Percy Brown and the benediction the meeting adjourned.

DIGEST OF THE ANNUAL REPORT.

The Young Men's Christian Association recognise the great responsibility laid upon them as a body of men in assisting the Church in her task of reaching and holding for the Kingdom of God the young men of a great Oriental City. Various agencies are employed by the Association in helping these men, but we believe that all of them have the higher end in view. Nor do we forget that through the confidence of the public we have been entrusted with buildings and funds with which to carry on this large work, and we hope that in no way have we betrayed that trust.

Before proceeding to speak of the work of the different branches in detail, certain general facts must be mentioned in order to get a comprehensive view of the whole Association activities. There are six regularly organised branches with the usual departments and membership:—Central, Wellington, College, Boys, Entally and Sibpur; then there are four other centres where definite work is carried on but the organisation is different—the Medical Military, Fort, Bow Bazar and Wellington House. The latter is really only residential, though Bible classes and an occasional meeting are held. In the first group the membership is 980. In the second, the number of men influenced weekly is about 222.

The membership includes a great many denominations; the largest number of course is Anglican. Not a few Roman Catholics have taken membership in the Association and we welcome this class, who are eligible to membership. As the Association is an agency of the Church and controlled by communicant members of the Christian Church its duty is to help the Church in every way possible.

There are five residential departments with accommodation for 136 men and boys. The usual average number in residence has been about 95. The Central Branch will accommodate 30 to 40 men according as the men share a room or not. The following particulars regarding the Central Branch will serve to show that these quarters are meeting the need of men of every class. At one time recently eleven men employed in various business concerns monthly paid an average of Rs. 86 for board, lodging, light and fan. Ten men engaged in professions and offices paid an average of Rs. 113, and six others Government employes, engineers and religious workers—paid an average of Rs. 102. We are aware that the way in which our residential quarters is

managed is the subject of criticism. Some would have prices reduced, some would have them increased. Some firms who have contributed money feel that there should always be a room waiting for them when an assistant comes out, forgetting that rooms for 30 to 35 men do not go very far to accommodate all who do come, and that vacant rooms mean a loss to the Association. The main purpose of the Association in establishing these quarters is never lost sight of, viz: to provide a home for new comers to Calcutta.

The management strive always to keep the cheaper rooms for smaller salaried men and when possible put two men into each room, nor do they allow men to stay on indefinitely, but residents are urged after becoming acquainted with the city to find rooms elsewhere, so as to leave accommodation for new comers. Perhaps this latter point will be better understood when we say that of the 61 men who have resided in the building in the year, two only have been there for more than two years, four others a few days over a year, while the remainder (55) have lived there less than one year. The best fellowship has prevailed among the residents.

During the year the Committee came to the conclusion that there was not so great a need for residential quarters for the better salaried men of the domiciled community as they at first had supposed, though there was and still is a need for a place for apprentices, young men just from school seeking employment, and men on small salaries. The latter work is continued and permanent provision will be made for it, but the more expensive boarding establishment has been given up. This decision having been arrived at the Committee were in a position to secure a less expensive building in which to carry on its work. As the five-year lease on 144, Dharamtala, had expired, this was made possible and a smaller building, though furnishing as much space for institutional work as the old one, was secured at 135, Dharamtala Street, for Rs. 225 a month, less than half of what was formerly paid. As mentioned above in this report the Board hope soon to attempt to secure money for a building and property of its own for the young men of the domiciled community, believing that until this is obtained the work must necessarily be limited.

THE WELLINGTON HOUSE of 85, Lower Circular Road, has now been in operation for two years and seven months. The plan has been (1) to take in younger men who receive small salaries and (2) to make it practically self-supporting. In both of these directions the Committee have not been successful. A sufficient number of younger men have not applied and many older ones have, so by force of circumstances the tone of the place altered. Board and lodgings have been furnished for Rs. 20 to Rs. 35 a month and in a few cases even for Rs. 20. Had every man paid his bills promptly, little difficulty would have been experienced. As a matter of fact, a deficit of Rs. 2,126 has been accumulated. Frequent changes in the management have also been unfortunate. A comparison with a similar work in a neighbouring city will be helpful to show that we have a difficult problem in the housing of young men. In that city in an Apprentices' Home for 25 men, the bungalow costs Rs. 120 a month, the Government give a grant of Rs. 5,000 a year and they estimate to make a loss of Rs. 45 a month. Where a lad's salary is too small to pay all expenses, it is supplemented from the amount received from Government. There is no

chance of losing from bad debts as the employers (in most cases the Government telegraph or Customs) deduct the charges from the income and pay it to the Association.

In Calcutta we pay Rs. 300 monthly for a house, have a heavy establishment, bazar prices are higher, we have no grant from Government, but a subsidy of Rs. 50 monthly from the Board of Directors and run the chance of losing from bad bills. A real difficulty does exist here. However, much good has been accomplished and many men helped. Lads have been restrained from evil living. There is some social life, books and papers are provided as well as simple games; Bible classes are held, and above all the influence of a Christian Superintendent is always at hand. For this kind of work there is a great need and it is most important. It is better though with reference to character building to be a formative agency rather than a reformatory, and therefore the aim will be more and more to get young lads rather than older men and to plan so as to meet the financial difficulties which this policy must accentuate.

The Association has been quietly conducting an Employment Bureau for several years and a large number of men interviewed the secretaries each month with reference to finding positions. The General Secretary interviews an average of 3 or 4 men a day with reference to employment. In the past few years some 300 or 400 men have secured employment through the agency of the Association. No charge is made for this service. Employers have shown their appreciation of our effort to get positions for young men and of our supplying first class men for vacancies. Prominent business men have written showing their cordial sympathy and willingness to support the scheme. The purpose of the department is not to recommend a man who has no worth but if one unknown to the secretaries is in search of employment it is sometimes possible to give him a letter of introduction.

The total receipts of all branches, (this includes the charges for rooms but not for board in all residential quarters) have been about Rs. 69,000. The amount received from subscriptions of firms and individuals was Rs. 14,105; membership fees amounted to Rs. 6,487 and shop rentals to Rs. 11,639. The total liabilities of the Association at the close of the year are as follows:—

Central Branch deficit	Rs. 5,909	10	1
Wellington Branch deficit	„ 7,752	4	6
Wellington House deficit	„ 2,126	7	9
Entally Branch deficit	„ 150	0	0
Total	Rs. 15,938	6	4

As the Central Branch has not had thorough repairs for eight years, these will be necessary at once; the cost will be not less than Rs. 4,000. Thus in the coming year, a sum of Rs. 20,000 is needed, in addition to the usual current expenses. The Wellington Branch for five years lived in rented quarters costing Rs. 495 a month (in addition to Wellington House costing Rs. 300) but has now moved into a building costing Rs. 225. The heavy rentals have been partly responsible for the above deficit. As much economy as possible is being exercised in all expenditure. Many Indian gentlemen have shown their appreciation of our work and are contributing quite largely to it, as will be noticed from the financial statements in the printed report to be had upon application.

The three greatest needs of the Association at the present time are: a Bengali Secretary each for the College and Boys' Branches sufficient money to meet the existing deficit, and a new building for the Wellington Branch. The latter would not only give young men of this district a club of their own, but free from the heavy burden of Rs. 800 monthly rental, a more effective work could be done. It is believed that for Rs. 150,000 a suitable site could be purchased, and a building erected, which would enable the institutional and residential work for the domiciled community to be done under one roof. Practically half that amount is at present in sight, so that such a building is not beyond the reach of possibility in the immediate future.

Among Indian students the year has been one of quiet, steady work; no great excitement outside, no stirring events inside. The increased interest of students in the social condition of the country and in other matters outside their class-work gives enlarged opportunities for work. There is cause for great gratitude for God's faithfulness in the work.

The Ladies' Auxiliary generously gave Rs. 3,000 with which substantial alterations to the building were made, vastly improving the appearance of the Entrance, providing a bright attractive Reception Hall, a new Public Office, a room for Secretary's Office and Bible class work combined, and a new Committee and Prayer room in a portion of Overtoun Hall.

The fee was increased to Rs. 2, to Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 during the year, which partly explains the drop in membership though the prolonged alterations would furnish a further explanation for this decrease as well as for a decrease in the attendances at Bible classes. Among non-Christians, besides regular weekly Bible classes two events are worthy of mention. The Annual Distribution of Scriptures to successful University candidates made by the Bible Society, to 600 applicants, more than in any previous year; and the Bible Prize Examination held in six centres of Bengal for twenty-five candidates. Two classes for Christians were held regularly, one for Indian Christians in the building and one for Burmese Christians in their mess. The Prayer meetings conducted largely by the members themselves have been most promising. The Student Camp at Bankura had a good effect and seven Indian delegates attended the Bombay Convention. The attendance at the weekly Religious meetings for non-Christians has shown a distinct advance. There seems to have been closer attention than usual and less distraction by people coming in and going out during the addresses. Several helpful series of subjects were arranged such as "God, our Righteousness," "The Teachings of Jesus," and "Jesus Christ,—What He is and What He will be." Religious discussions were tried with some success and several times most remarkable testimonies to the powerful influence of Christ's character and teaching upon the minds of educated men have been given. Private interviews and talks with inquiries are the encouraging results of these meetings. Even though no definite decisions and baptisms are recorded we cannot but feel encouraged to continue to lay stress on this part of the work.

THE BOYS' DEPARTMENT has a closer grip upon its members than perhaps any other branch of the Association. Boys can be commanded while men cannot, and they show themselves subject to discipline and the secretaries are always careful that discipline shall be

of the right sort. One new feature of the year has been a Hostel for school boys opened in July in the secretary's quarters at the top of Boys' buildings and has now seven members with accommodation for eleven. It is hoped this will grow steadily and become a valued feature of the work.

Two years ago the experiment was made by the Association of bringing out from America a capable Physical Director trained on the lines of the larger Associations at home. Dr. Gray a graduate of one of the finest schools in America and of the Association Training School for Physical Science in Massachusetts, is the Physical Director. His time is not limited to the Young Men's Christian Association only but includes three outside groups as follows: Government work, work among schools and colleges, and work among other athletic organisations.

The work for Government under the Department of Public Instruction has consisted of (1) Training two groups of drill masters from other centres in Bengal during a course of six weeks each, attended by 25 men in all. They worked faithfully and made good progress in the short time allotted to them; (2) Giving advice when required to such institutions as Presidency College and Calcutta Madrasa; (3) Taking an active part in conducting athletic sports in the Hare and Hindu schools, and (4) Visiting and inspecting the work in many of the Government schools in the Presidency Division. The work of inspecting these schools will be continued during the coming year, after which it is hoped Dr. Gray will be in a position to render much more efficient help and advice to Government in matters relating to Physical training. The Physical Director was asked to write a paper on Hygiene for the Senior Teachers' Manual which is now finished and accepted.

Work has been carried on in two schools in Calcutta under the Director's personal supervision—in the South Suburban Boys' School and the L. M. S. Institution. Much progress was made in the former, and an annual sports meeting has been instituted with many boys taking part; the drill class has done much better work than formerly and a daily class room work has been begun by the teachers, and is of great benefit to the pupils. Two classes each week are conducted in the Licentiate Teachers' class of the L. M. S. Institution. This was seriously interrupted by the absence of the Director from Calcutta but is now being continued.

The Calcutta Sports and the Bengal Presidency Sports take a good deal of time. Dr. Gray is Honorary Secretary of the latter and the management of the Annual Meeting is a stupendous task, but it is worth while in many ways. It takes about three months of his time each year in hours which could not well be devoted to regular work.

In reporting on the activities of the Young Men's Christian Association, mention will be made of the physical work of all branches and not only those parts which the Physical Director carries on personally. Four branches have a physical Department—Central, Wellington, College and Boys'. In these there are five teams in cricket, six in football, five in hockey, and two to five in basket-ball, nine classes in the gymnasium, two in boxing, one in fencing and two in First Aid to the Injured. Four branches have facilities for tennis and badminton but only the Central and the Boys' branches do anything definite.

In each of the above activities we appeal to a different group of men and in that way fulfil our mission by meeting the needs of all. Much of this work has been carried on by volunteer leadership. Our greatest need is play-ground space, if we had this the work could be doubled. The gymnasium, while fairly well equipped with apparatus, in no sense meets the needs of the climate or of the type of work we are anxious to promote. If we are to popularise the work we must provide places both convenient and comfortable in their appointments. The Association should have much more to offer, and could in so doing teach the public at large through its membership much that is urgently needed in matters relating to health. The Director has been called upon to lead too many varieties of work himself with the result that in some directions the whole has suffered. It is now planned to intensify and specialise on Indian work as far as possible. The trend of the work has been to show a steady advance and a gathering momentum that points to lasting results and an enlarged scope for the future. Loyal support has been continued by the Government and by many Indian gentlemen and for such we are very grateful indeed.

The Religious work of the Association by no means the least important; rather is it the most important because all other agencies are subsidiary and are really means to an end, all throwing about young men influences of the proper sort. The religious activities consist in Gospel meetings and prayer meetings, the conducting of Bible classes both inside and outside of the building, prayer meetings in different institutions where help is required and religious lantern lectures. Perhaps the most important feature of the religious work of the Association has been the quiet personal work or in other words the religious conversation held by the different secretaries and other workers with those who come seeking advice or with any who wish to talk about such matters. In this way the greatest help is given. Men will open up all these subjects when alone and so many a one is kept from drifting and has been given higher purposes.

A good deal of work has been done in the Fort William among the men of the Second Battalion Rifle Brigade. Twenty-five religious meetings averaging 125 each, three concerts attended by over 300 each and Bible classes constituted the nature of the work.

It is an impossible task for the Board to try to express its thanks to everyone who has helped in this work for young men, both by money, sympathy and prayers, as well as by taking an active share in counsel and responsibility upon committees. That such help has been continuously received only goes to prove that the work is by young men for young men, and the Board is deeply grateful to all.

B. R. BARBER.

—The *Bombay Guardian* says: A Mela for Christian Beels was held at Christmas at Nandurbar, Khandesh, a station of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, at which seventeen were baptised. Another Mela, which closed last Sunday, was held at Dhanora. One afternoon the whole company went down to the river where ninety-two were baptised; of this number a majority were children of Christians. The scene was very impressive; songs of victory were sung. A day-school is about to be organised in the place.

—Two of the most interesting meetings that Bishop McDowell addressed in Calcutta were held in Overtoun Hall under the auspices of the College Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, on Wednesday and Thursday, February 1st and 2nd. On each occasion Bishop McDowell was greeted by an attentive audience of Indian students who followed his addresses with genuine interest and who manifested their approval at several intervals by applause. The scholarly dignity and warm personality of Bishop McDowell made a strong appeal to the students.

The first meeting had for its presiding officer Rev. B. A. Nag, Chairman of the Committee of Management of the College Branch. After an opening prayer by Dr. Grose, Mr. Nag in a very effective speech introduced Bishop McDowell to the audience which consisted of about 225 students. For 40 minutes the address on "The Interpretation of Life" held the attention of the audience which followed with intelligent and sympathetic attitude the four main ideas, namely, that life should be interpreted in the light of one's highest nature; that it should be interpreted in the face of the world's greatest need, which is character; that man should give his attention to it in the aspect of its greatest possible value to others; and that its interpretation should be made upon the basis that God is God.

The Thursday evening meeting was opened with prayer by Bishop Warne and the 200 men present listened with even more attention than on Wednesday night to Bishop McDowell's address on "Personality." As he traced the development of personality, beginning with consciousness of self, "I am," through consciousness of power, "I can," to consciousness of obligation, "I ought," his whole audience had caught before he uttered it, his fourth point of the determination to fulfill the obligation, "I will." Then followed a brief discussion of the two characteristics of self-assertion and self-surrender as being complementary elements of the complete personality. The closing effect was especially impressive as the Bishop in courteous and sincere words expressed his conviction that in Jesus Christ is to be found the finest example and also the finest motive power to a complete personality. At the close of the meeting a considerable number of students came to express to Bishop McDowell their very hearty and sincere appreciation of the words he had spoken to them.

—The Rev. J. Stainer Wilkinson, with Mrs. Wilkinson, sail for England by the "City of Calcutta" on the 16th instant. For five years Mr. Wilkinson has laboured earnestly and loyally at Sudder Street. He now returns to England to again take up ministerial work in England. We wish for him and Mrs. Wilkinson the highest success in the home land. The Rev. H. and Mrs. Kirby, of Barrackpur, sail by the same steamer on furlough. Mr. and Mrs. Kirby hope to return within a year.

—The Bengal Conference cordially and unanimously endorsed the request made by all the Indian Conferences that Bishop McDowell might be permitted to return to India, at some future time to deliver a series of lectures to the educated life of India. His lectures at Overtoun Hall last Wednesday and Thursday amply demonstrated his unusual fitness for this important work. We trust the way may open for Bishop McDowell's return.

—The Rev. Hedley Sutton, of the Victoria Baptist Missionary Society is being kept very busy in Australia addressing missionary and other gatherings. He is arousing much interest in missionary work. The Editor of *Our Bond* feels he is being worked too hard. "It is not fair," he says, and continues: "Every missionary should be given at least six months' clear rest during the first part of the furlough," which is good sense.

—We regret to hear that Mrs. Burges, wife of the General Secretary of the India Sunday School Union, Jubulpore, is in poor health, and obliged to go to Bombay for a month for medical treatment. It is hoped that this will completely restore her to health.

—Rev. and Mrs. E. A. Hensley, of the C. M. S. Mission, Jubulpore, leave on furlough on the S.S. *Arcadia*, March 22nd. They expect to be out of the country about eighteen months. Rev. W. G. Proctor, for a long time the C. M. S. Missionary in Muttra, has been transferred to the Central Provinces, and will be located at Mandla.

—The Rev. J. A. Macdonald, who has for some years been a missionary of the Church of Scotland in their mission to the Mills on the Hooghly hopes to go on furlough at the beginning of April next. His place will be taken by the Rev. Berry Preston, B.D., who at present is Assistant in Stevenston Parish, Ayrshire, Scotland.

—We regret to learn of the illness of the Rev. Dr. George Howells, the Principal of Serampore College. He has been ordered to leave India for a time and has sailed by the Pacific route for America. He hopes to return to India by the end of the year. Every well-wisher of Serampore will hope that this journey may be helpful to Dr. Howells' health.

—The Rev. H. Halliwell, secretary of the Christian Endeavour Society writes us, dated December 27, 1910: "My wife and I sail to-morrow from Birkenhead to Calcutta by S.S. 'City of Calcutta,' and we are due at Calcutta on or about January 25. As soon as possible we move on C. E. Office to our new Head-quarters at Bangalore. During the last nine months I have been much cheered as I have toured Great Britain in the interests of missionary work in India. 90 towns visited and 11 districts of London is the record of my restful furlough!" The many friends and members of Christian Endeavour will rejoice in Mr. Halliwell's return to India. His settlement at new headquarters should mean new life for Christian Endeavour in the great Southland.

—Every readers of THE WITNESS will be distressed to learn that Miriam, the second daughter of the Rev. J. W. and Mrs. Robinson, of Lucknow, is seriously ill with dysentery. Many will pray that their daughter may soon be restored to health again.

—Bishop and Mrs. W. F. McDowell, Bishop F. W. Warne, and Rev. R. C. Grose left Calcutta on Sunday morning for Burma. After dinner at the Lee Memorial Mission on Saturday night, the Calcutta missionaries bade the Bishop and Mrs. McDowell a reluctant good-bye. Their stay though short, has given them a shrine in our hearts, and our prayers go with them.

—The Calcutta Missionary Conference met last night at 41, Lower Circular Road. The subject for the evening was a resume of Volume I of the Edinburgh Report, presented by the Rev. Herbert Anderson.

—Though brief, the visit of Bishop Robinson to his old Conference was thoroughly enjoyed. He spent two days in Calcutta and returned at once to Bombay. Where he will be welcomed to the leadership of varied religious activity.

—Three are many who remember Rev. R. Dewar, who worked so long and successfully in connection with the Mills and Steamers Mission of Calcutta. Mr. Dewar is now minister at Blackridge in Scotland. Recently a bazar was held in behalf of his church. On the first day Sir Andrew Fraser opened the bazar. In opening it he said that the dared say that as they were reasonable, sensible people, the first question that would occur to them was—Why is this man here? What sort of interest has he in Blackridge, and why is it that he has come to declare this bazar open? Well, it was a very reasonable question to ask, and it was a very simple question to which to reply. The answer was that he was there because Mr. Dewar told him to come. He did not know if they had fully realised yet the capacity of Mr. Dewar for getting people to work. One reason why Mr. Dewar was able to get people to work was that he worked himself. He remembered when he was going upon one occasion, as a young officer, to take charge of an expedition to certain villages that were affected with cholera, he enquired of the sanitary officer, a fine Irish medical officer, whether he had any special bit of advice he would like to give? He said a good number of things about which he need not tell them, but he added as his closing advice which he would give them. "See to your men in the first place; let them understand that you and they are doing the same work. Never ask your men to do work which you yourself are not prepared to do yourself." That was like Mr. Dewar. He went wherever he wanted other people to go. He never asked people to do work that he was not ready to help in doing himself. They would say—How did he know? He learned it when he was Mr. Dewar's assistant. He was assistant when Mr. Dewar was the Mill and Steamer Missionary. And Mr. Dewar would come to him and say—"I want you to go early on Sunday morning to speak to the people." That was his way of giving the King's shilling. He was his bound slave. The higher position he filled Mr. Dewar claimed from him more homage and, such was the man's earnest hard work qualities, he always obtained it. Often Mr. Dewar was to be seen flying along on his bicycle in India, and it was certainly not the most comfortable way of getting about there, engaged on ding good work. Often too he, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Dewar, went attending meetings, conveyed to various points by a steam launch, and there he and Mr. Dewar addressed the meetings, and Mrs. Dewar played the accompaniments. Mr. Dewar knew everybody, and he was always received with open arms. Mr. Dewar loved the people and the people loved him. It was the most satisfactory work that he had ever taken part in. He had done great and lasting work among the people on the banks of the River Hooghly, and if he got his will there would be a lot of people in Blackridge helping him in working for Christ's Kingdom on earth. If they would work along with Mr. Dewar they would be all a great deal happier in the years to come."

THE QUIET HOUR.

HE DIDN'T PAY FOR IT.

A collier came to me at the close of one of my services and said: "I would like to be a Christian, but I cannot receive what you said to-night."

I asked him why not.

He replied: "I would give anything to believe that God would forgive my sins, but I cannot believe that he will forgive them if I just turn to him. It is too cheap."

I looked at him and said: "My dear friend, have you been working to-day?"

He looked at me slightly astonished and said: "Yes, I was down in the pit, as usual."

"How did you get out of the pit?" I asked.

"The way I usually do. I got into the cage and was pulled to the top."

"How much did you pay to come out of the pit?"

He looked at me astonished, and said: "Pay? Of course, I didn't pay anything."

I asked him: "Were you not afraid to trust yourself in the cage? Was it not too cheap?"

"O, no!" he said. "It was cheap for me, but it cost the company a lot of money to sink that shaft."

And without another word the truth of that admission broke in upon him, and he saw if he could have salvation without money and without price, it had cost the infinite God a great price to sink that shaft and rescue lost men.—"Campbell Morgan, in British Weekly."

WELL-DOING.

The true, plain path is here—well-doing. Not brilliant doing, but well doing. Doing the work of life with a willing mind, a loving heart, with both hands, earnestly—diligence in getting good, being good, doing good. In this world all the grand prizes go to a few brilliant people. But what a blessing it is to us, the dim million, to know that God recognizes patient merit, and that the grandest prizes of all are not kept for the brilliant, but for the faithful. Let us be content with our place and work, however coarse and common. It is not in brilliance that we shall be saved, but by pegging away in simple, honest work. But let us feed our souls with high beliefs and hopes. Let us talk to ourselves all the day long about glory, honor, immortality, eternal life; so shall our path of life, however lonely, be a royal pathway, brighter and brighter to a perfect day.—W. L. Walkinson, D.D.

BOYS MUST PLAY.

Play is the boy's world. There he comes into touch with the other members of his little world. He learns to struggle for his rights and to yield to the rights of others. A man gets much of his strength mentally and physically from his contact in combination or in competition with his fellows, so the child gets his early training for the same struggles in his games. We cannot afford to ignore the important part that play has in the development of the child.—Wm. H. Hatch.

BLACKING SATAN'S EYE.

There died recently in the State of Maryland a man who for thirty-five years had been a faithful minister of the gospel. A giant in build, before his entering the ministry he was a pugilist of no mean account. After he had won distinction in the prize ring his admirers were planning to back him against a champion, when he startled them by saying: "Well, boys, it's no go, the Lord has called, and I must save all my power to fight the devil." He entered the ministry and gave his Satanic majesty many a black eye. The devil is an enemy whom it takes all our moral and physical force to fight. If a man does not give Satan a black eye, it will not be long before Satan will close both of his. Some of the best witnesses for the saving power of the gospel to-day have been called from the prize ring, the

base-ball field, and the race track. Happy the man who listens to the call of conscience. Men who follow the prize ring for a living find their greatest fights are not with the fists but with conscience.—Selected.

WHAT MY FAITH MEANS TO ME.

What does my faith mean to me? Hope first; hope unquenchable for my Father's children. However they have strayed, however stricken in mind and body and soul by ignorance, poverty and the slum, or by the curse of grasping greed and selfishness, his children they are still, his image is in them. Hard though be the crust that covers it, the gentlest touch may break it. My little girl stands by the window and watches the sunset glow in the western sky, and when the last golden shaft has pierced the clouds, she turns with a little sigh—"God can paint good, mamma." She brings me armfuls of daisies to take "to the poor," and in the city's streets the little ones leave their fights and their play, and cry wildly for the "posies." And out of the child's pity there grows a great work which will carry hope and cheer to thousands long after earth's last sunset has been painted for her. The child's sigh and the hunger of those other little ones for the innocent flower were both instinctive worship which bore witness to the image of their Master, and the miracle they wrought was his answer. Do I not see it day by day in places where our little faith did not seek it? Susie Rocco, who carries her doll baby to the pawnshop, the last thing left in the house and the one that to her is beyond price, to keep her sick mother out of the hospital; the thief from Battle Row who serves eleven years in Sing Sing to shield a guilty brother whom his aged mother loved, and is freed only by his death-bed confession; the tenement-house mother who in helpless poverty surrenders her babe to the trench in the Potter's Field, and, working her fingers to the bone to save the small sum that shall buy a grave for it within the year of grace, watches her little hoard grow again and again near the mark, only to find it claimed three times by some neighbor "poorer than she"—what else are these but God's children showing us his image, which the slum had no power to crush?

Service next. If these be his children, how can I let them perish in their slum? Am I not their brother? How can I let the image of my Father and theirs be trodden in dirt and darkness, if I can help it? And I can help it, for as there is nothing so little and nothing so big that it is not his concern, and as I conceive it to be his way to have his work done by human hands—somewhere I have read it: "God employs no hired men; his work is done by his sons"—why, it is my business to do what I can. Where my efforts fail, he will find other and stronger hands. He has material enough to choose from. "The earth is his, and the fullness thereof." As for me, I am glad and proud to have him use me where he can, while I can. There was once in our church an old deacon who had done his full share in a hard field. Sometimes in prayer-meeting he grew reminiscent, and talked with the Lord about it; and then his trembling voice rose as he turned to us youngsters, and cried: "Then me and God we took hold, and things came out right." We laughed a little at his way of putting it, but I thought then, and I think now, that the good old man said it the way we all need to have it said. There is entirely too much of this "leaving things to the Lord." Do your share and THEN leave the rest to him. He will take care of it. What if you can not see the end of it? Do the next thing, and do it with your might. I was once a carpenter, and I framed many a piece of timber I did not know the use or place of. I could not tell where it fitted in. But there was one who could, who knew the plans, because he had drawn them. And this much I knew, that if I did my little part faithfully and my neighbor his, it would all come out right in the end. When the house was built, there they were, all the little beams with the big, and each fitted in its own place, and none of them was wasted. Life is not aimless, haphazard—God knows it all.—The Circle.

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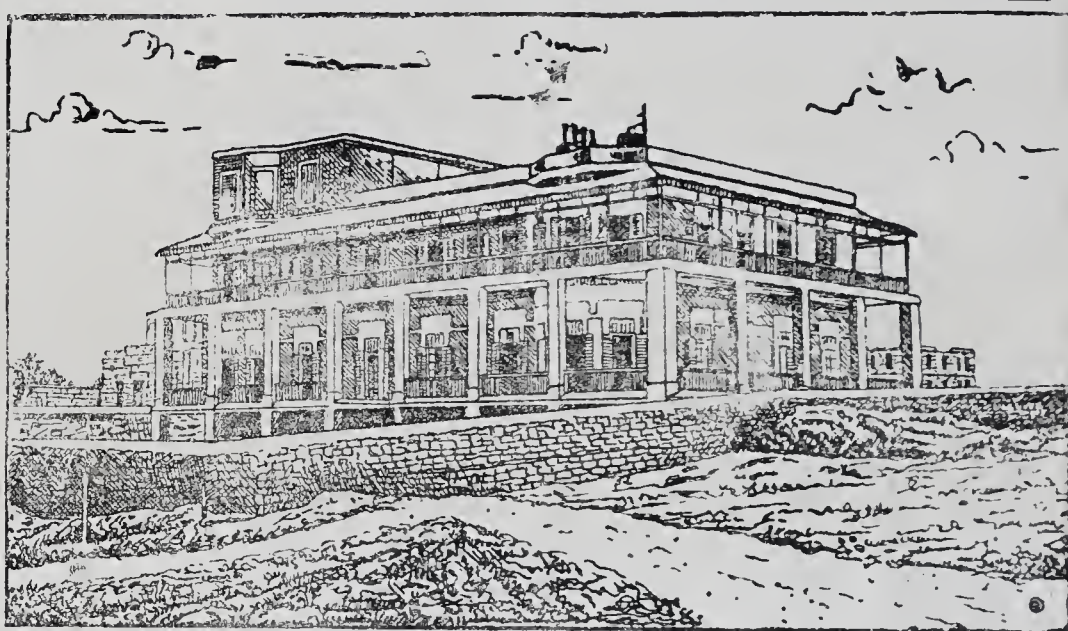
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Feb. 19th.—Making the world acquainted with God. 11
Cor. 3: 3. Rom. 12: 1-2.

In the last century few persons thought of the world at large in any aspect, but to-day the man is considered intolerably narrow who limits his vision to his own country. Hence the Christian Church plans for the evangelisation of the world in this generation, and the Epworth League studies how to make the world acquainted with God.

Isabella Thoburn said, not long before her death:—"To know God and to make Him known is all our business here. We cannot make Him known until we first know Him. The need for preachers and teachers in India was never greater than at present, but God never needs a man for His work who is not living a clean, straight life.

"What you are, speaks so loud,
I cannot hear what you say."—Emerson.

These words of Emerson are worth pondering. You may get the ear of the world, but you can never reach its heart without being in your life the kind of man that the world needs.

The world becomes acquainted with God through "reading" the lives of His children, yours and mine. Even worldly people are very quick to "take knowledge" that we have been with Jesus, and if we have not been there, they will take no notice of us. Note that Paul says these *epistles* are written by the Spirit of God. "There is a certain compulsory impressiveness of character which attaches to profound spirituality, and which is commandingly present in those who walk in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost."

The non-Christian world forms its conception of the Christian's God from the life the Christian lives. This must be a terrible thought for those who, bearing the name of Christ, are nevertheless living lives which they consciously realise are dishonouring him. If such people could be converted in India, it would not take long to bring in a new day for Christ's Kingdom here.

The great work of the disciple is to make known his Master. We ought always to be introducing men to Christ. The trouble is, we cannot do it if we do not know Him ourselves, and if we are not living in accordance with His will, we are embarrassed in this matter. Some Christians are even afraid to hand a copy of the Bible to a non-Christian, lest the man should ask why the giver's life is so different from that of the Man whose religion he professes and whose name he bears.

Would that we could get India to cry out "**We will go with you for we have heard that God is with you.**" This is the most needed kind of missionary work, and precisely the kind that all can do—both lay and clerical. As Christ revealed the Father, so we are to have the privilege of revealing God to the world. In one sense, we too can "show" the world the Father. Only by intimate companionship with the Son of God can we give to the world the right conception of the Character of God.

"The Christian filled with the knowledge of eternal love is not to dream but to serve." There is not so much danger of *dreaming* as there is of merely *talking* about the matter, and really accomplishing little or nothing. Let every member of your chapter consider the following words of Ion Keith-Falconer:—

"While vast continents are shrouded in almost utter darkness, and hundreds of millions suffer the horrors of heathenism—the burden of proof rests on you to show that the circumstances in which God has placed you were meant by Him to keep you out of the foreign field." For the last three words substitute "direct missionary work," and then see whether or not you can satisfy your conscience and your God that you are doing what you ought to be under the circumstances.

CELEBRATING BISHOP THOBURN'S BIRTHDAY.

Doubtless every missionary of our Church in this field knows by this time that the Epworth League, both in America and India, is going to celebrate Bishop Thoburn's seventy-fifth birthday on the 5th of March. What your General Secretary is anxious about is that all our missionaries should help our young people to get hold of the facts connected with Bishop Thoburn's life so as to make a good programme possible. For this reason,

Look out for the "INDIAN WITNESS," which, about the third issue of this month (February) is to be a Bishop Thoburn number. It will contain very valuable material on the life of this "Modern Missionary Prophet," and every missionary should seek to make this material available for the Epworth League meeting during the first week of March.

Write now, and arrange to get an extra copy or two of that special number, and put them into the hands of those who can use them and will be looking for material. Remember also, that Bishop Thoburn's autobiography is to appear in the "Western Christian Advocate," beginning with the first number in January.

THE CONFERENCE ON MOSLEM WORK.

The General Secretary of the Epworth League had the pleasure of attending the meetings of the Moslem Conference throughout its sessions, and the privilege of presenting before it the matters of literatures for young people. This subject might have been given a place on the programme, but seeing it was not, the attention of the Conference was called to it in a short speech. When the Church is planning a great campaign of the kind under contemplation, it is a fatal mistake to leave out of account that which will equip the young people of the Church for the struggle. Missionary statementship, whether in dealing with the Moslem problem or the world-wide problem of bringing all men to Christ, will never overlook the giving of the best possible training to the hosts of young people in the Church who to-morrow will be the leaders in the fight. We should seek, therefore, while our boys and girls are in school, to bring them in touch with the best Mission Study text-books, give them a familiarity with the wide field as well as their own country and its missionary problems and inspire them in their early years with a burning desire to go out and be of value of winning the world to Christ. This sounds common place enough, but until the Church is doing it, there is necessity to keep indicating the need.

Look on this page next week for a suggested programme to be used on the occasion of celebrating Bishop Thoburn's seventy-fifth birthday anniversary.

BENGAL NOTES.

The Epworth League Rally in connection with the Bengal Annual Conference was a great success. The indications of an increased interest throughout the Conference in the work among young people was unmistakable and is very gratifying to the General Secretary. The presence of Bishop Warne, the President of the League in Southern Asia was of much benefit, and his address was listened to with great pleasure. Bishop McDowell's address on the occasion of the evening Rally was also much appreciated. This was the fourth annual Conference in India at which Bishop McDowell favoured the Epworth League and its friends with stirring messages, and the General Secretary wishes to publicly acknowledge the great help which his words have brought, and to thank him for the kindly interest which he has taken in our Epworth League.

The thanks of the Epworth League throughout the Bengal Conference are due to Miss Blair of Tamluk and Mr. M. K. Chuckerbutty of Calcutta for the excellent work which has been done by them in translating League literature into the Bengali. Many of the booklets and leaflets were translated by the latter, while Miss Blair has been at work on some of the larger pieces. She is at present engaged on the Manual. All that is ready in Bengali may be had from the Methodist Publishing House, Calcutta.

Mr. C. S. H. Koch is the newly elected Conference President of the Epworth League for Bengal. Mr. Koch is already very heavily loaded with work, but has consented to do what he can to help the work of the League. Miss Wood of the Calcutta Girls' School has been re-elected Secretary for the Conference.

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(Continued from page 9.)

ed out that the weight of the vernacular books and the heat of the sun made colportage a much more laborious task in India than in Europe and allowance had to be made for these and other disadvantages in comparing results. Mr. C. Vernieux, an East Indian, was also employed as a colporteur and did good work for many years.

The Mutiny had not much effect on the work in Bengal, beyond reducing the colportage sales for a few months, and the presence of an unusually large number of soldiers and sailors afforded additional opportunities for English work. Public attention, too, was powerfully directed to India, and the Parent Society raised a special fund, from which £1,000 was set aside towards a fund for erecting suitable premises for the Calcutta Auxiliary. It was in the Mutiny year that the good Bishop Wilson died, having given willing help to the Society since his arrival in Calcutta 25 years before.

The Jubilee of the Auxiliary in 1861 furnished a natural occasion for reviewing the work from the beginning. It was found that over a million books had been circulated—1,041,910 in all. During the first 25 years the annual average had been 10,000, and during the second, 32,000, in spite of selling instead of giving being made the rule. What impressed the Committee, however, above all else, was the little that had been accomplished, compared with the extent and the needs of the field. Beginning with all Asia as its parish, it now found that Bengal alone was more than enough to tax all its energies. An incident in the Jubilee year was the issue for the first time of the entire Bengali Bible bound in one volume. At the same time the twelfth revision of the Bengali New Testament was completed.—*Statesman*.

THE FAMILY CIRCLE.

FILIPINO RIDDLES.

The appearance of a book of riddles transports us back to the time when the hoop-skirt was in blossom and the question, "O, Mr. Jones, are you good at riddles?" was quite the thing. These blessings of the dear dead days have been replaced by bridge-whist, the hobble-skirt and other athletic sports. But in a land where fashions have little restraint on freedom, either of mind or of body, riddles are altogether au fait wherever young people get together; they are much in vogue when a young Filipino gentleman calls upon his sweetheart, and among Tagals and Pampangans, we are told, the chief occasion for giving bugtong is when a little group is watching at night beside a corpse.

A large number of these riddles have been collected and edited by Mr. Frederick Starr in a series of Philippine studies (World Book Company, Yonkers, N.Y.). Many of them are, of course, involved in native customs and plays on native words, and many are quite as stupid as some civilized humor. A few are really worth quoting for American readers:

The mother says, "Let us stand up," but the children say "Let us lie across."—A ladder.

At night they come without being fetched and by day they are lost without being stolen.—The stars.

Here he comes with glowing charcoal on his head.—Cock.

Come up and let us go, go down and here we stay.—Anchor.

Two stores are open at the same time.—Eyes.

There is a small brook filled with shells.—Mouth.

A slender tree which bears only one leaf.—Lighted candle.

His words are audible but difficult to understand; when you look at his face you will understand what he says.—Clock.

I saw two boats: only one person was aboard.—Shoes.

A sweet lady among thorns.—Pineapple.

"Here, here!" he says, but has no mouth.—Forefinger.

The letter C becomes O, O becomes C.—The moon.

He pulled out a stick and it was followed by a snake.—Needle and thread.

When held it goes; when let loose it lies down.—Pen. I throw the eggs, they crow immediately.—Firecracker (Torpedo).

When pulled it is a cane, when pushed it is a tent.—An umbrella.

If he sits down he is high, if he stands up he is low.—Dog.

There are two princesses who live on the two sides of a mountain; when one cries, both cry.—The eyes.

I sowed maize grains; in the morning they were swept away.—Stars.

If you chop it, it heals at once.—Water.—Literary Digest.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

LESSON FOR FEBRUARY 12, 1911.

LESSON VII.—ELIJAH'S VICTORY OVER THE PROPHETS OF BAAL.

1 Kings 18. 1, 2, 17—40.

Golden Text.—Choose you this day whom ye will serve. Josh. 24. 15.

Home Readings

Mon.—The summons of Elijah unto Ahab. 1 Kings 18. 1—19.

Tues.—"The God that answereth by fire," 1 Kings 18. 20—24.

Wed.—The failure of the prophets of Baal. 1 Kings 18. 25—29.

Thur.—The fire of the Lord fell, 1 Kings 18. 30—40.

Fri.—Cloud of light fighting for Israel, Exod. 14. 10—31.

Sat.—There went up fire out of the rock, Judg. 6. 1—24.

Sun.—The angel ascended in the flame, Judg. 13. 2—20.

A God on Trial

The scene on Mount Carmel is one of the most impressive in all the Old Testament. There stood the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal in all their gorgeous robes, and there stood the rough and wild-looking Elijah, seemingly the only representative of Jehovah. All around on the sides of the mountain were gathered thousands and thousands of the people, watching to see what would happen. Then Elijah called upon the people to make a definite choice as to whether they would worship Jehovah or Baal. When they would not answer, he proposed a test. Two bulls were to be chosen. One was to be given to Baal's prophets, and one to him. Then each bull was to be killed and put upon an altar, without any fire under it. The god who sent fire to consume the sacrifice was to be the God of Israel. The people agreed to this test.

Baal's prophets were given the first chance. They killed their bull and put it upon the altar. This was a fair test for Baal, for he was supposed to be the sun god, and surely the sun god ought to be able to send fire. And so the prophets began to cry, "O Baal, hear us! O Baal, hear us!" All the morning, and all through the blazing heat of the noon-day they cried in vain. Louder and wider grew the cries, and then the prophets began to dance around the altar and to cut themselves with knives. All the afternoon they kept this up, but still no fire came.

Finally, as the blazing sun, that had shone unclouded every day for three years, was sinking toward the Great Sea, Elijah motioned the frantic prophets away. Then he came forward and with his own hands built an altar and killed the other bull and put it upon it. Then he dug a ditch around the altar, and, from a never-failing spring on the mountainside, he had the people bring twelve barrells of water and pour it over the sacrifice, until it was drenched and the ditch was filled with water. Then in a brief prayer he called upon the Lord Jehovah to show himself as the God of Israel. Immediately the lightning flashed out of a cloudless sky and burned up the sacrifice and the after itself, and dried up all the water in the ditch. The astonished people could only fall on their faces on the ground and shout "Jehovah, he is God! Jehovah, he is God!" The prophets of Baal were taken to the foot of the mountain, and there were slain.

Test Questions

Whom did Elijah meet when he returned from Zarephath?

Whom did he send for?

What did he tell Ahab to do when Ahab came to meet him?

Who assembled on Mount Carmel the next day?

Where was Mount Carmel?

What choice did Elijah call upon the people to make?

What test did he propose?

What success did the prophets of Baal have?

How did Elijah prepare to meet the test?

What simple prayer did he make?

What was the answer to his prayer?

What effect had it upon the people?

Home Work Suggestions

Indicate Mount Carmel on the outline map.

Write down what seems to you the greatest part of the scene on Mount Carmel.

Read 1 Kings 18I. 41-46 and find out how the long draught came to an end.

Living It Out

Have we made the Great Choice? Every one of us is called upon to decide whether or no we will choose the Lord as our God, just as the old Israelites were called upon to choose on Mount Carmel. Boys and girls, let us think much of this choice this week. Some of us have already chosen the Lord. Let those resolve to follow him more closely. Let those of us who have not so chosen resolve to take Jesus as our Saviour here and now.

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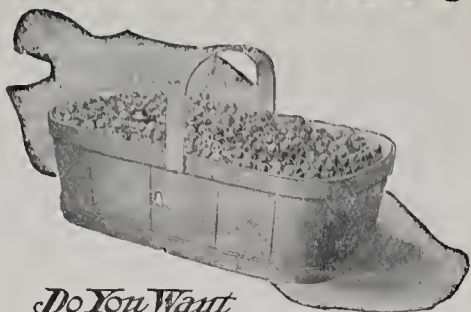
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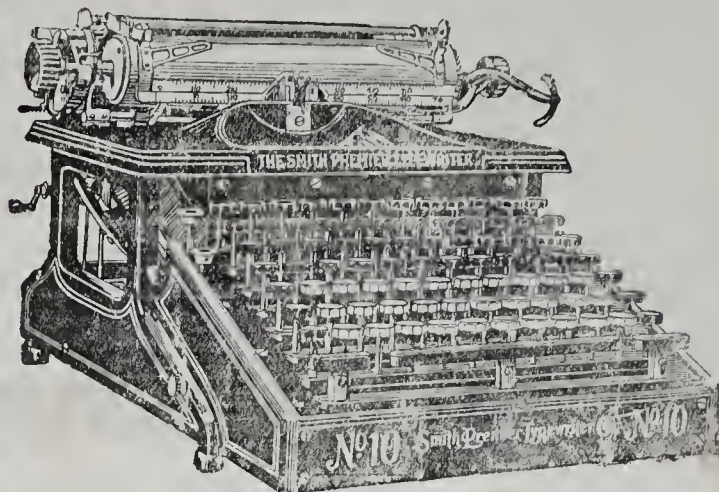
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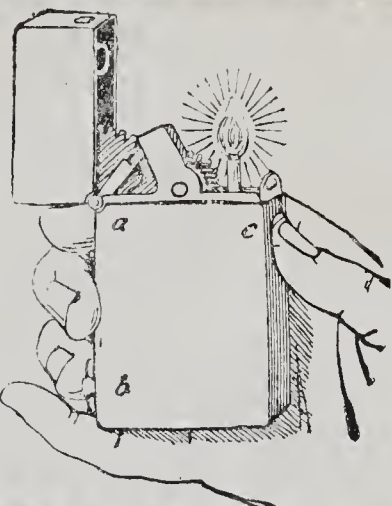
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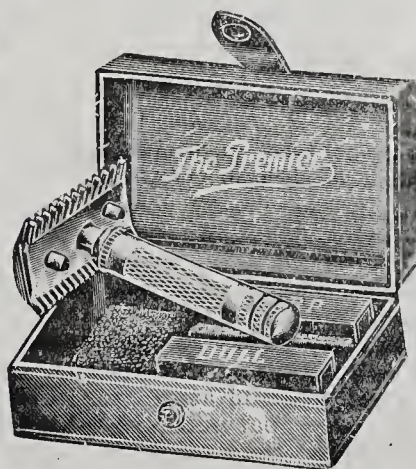
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On the other hand, the difficulties presented as practically insurmountable obstacles in the way of the spread of Christianity, while worthy of careful study, will not daunt any one who believes in its truth. The "creed difficulty" resolves itself into the question whether the truth must fall simply because unacceptable; nor is there any sufficient evidence that the Christ ideal is, as alleged, unacceptable to the Hindu. The "social disruption difficulty" is a real one, but in spite of Mr. Townsend's laborious argument to the contrary, it seems to apply with almost as much force against Islam as against Christianity. The "imperfect method difficulty" is divided into two parts, the second of which is thus stated, "Christian proselytism fails in India because it strives to make of its converts English middle-class men." Mr. Townsend is surely mistaken. He has generalized from observation of exceptional cases. There is no greater desire on the part of the vast majority of missionaries, next to the desire for the saving of their souls, than that their converts should remain thoroughly Indian in everything that is not morally wrong. Imitation of the ruling race is an almost irresistible impulse, and in spite of the missionaries it affects many of the converts. In the matter of the reproduction of home ecclesiastical differences, missionaries have been sinners, but there is every sign of a better day in this regard.

The other part of Mr. Townsend's third difficulty is undeniable: no man who at all knows the situation in India will question the correctness of his contention that the missionaries are far too few. But, thank God, this difficulty is not irremediable! And if Mr. Townsend's book helps in any sense to arouse Church to an adequate sense of the magnitude of the task presented in India, and of the utter inadequacy of her present efforts, he will have done much toward securing the failure of his own predictions.

SELF-SUPPORT AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Our attention has been called to the above subject by Mr. Waugh in a paper recently circulated by him, extracts from which appeared in the *Indian Standard* of Sept. 16th. Self-support and self-government are indeed objects greatly to be desired in the Indian Church, and they are undoubtedly closely connected with each other, so that where we find the one, we naturally look for and desire the other, but as to whether the two are absolutely inseparable so that the one never can and never should exist without the other, as to whether self-support must necessarily precede self-government or stand related to the latter as cause to effect, is, I think, open to question.

I cannot agree with those who think that we must refuse self-government to the Indian Church until it is entirely self-supporting, or that self-support should be made a condition of self-government. The churches in Jerusalem and Judæa in Apostolic times were aided by the Gentile Churches in Asia and Greece, but they were not on that account deprived of self-government. The relation of the church in India to the churches in Western lands, is not so very different from the relation existing between these churches in Apostolic times,

Many of the churches in the Western States of America are aided for 10, 15, 20 years at a time by the Home Mission Board, which receives most of its income from the churches in the east, yet these aided churches are allowed, yea required, to form their own Presbyteries, to manage all their funds, and enjoy complete self-government. The Church in India is not rich, like many of the churches in the West, it is situated in the midst of a large hostile non-Christian population, who are still to be evangelised, and in order to do this, it has need of a large number of missionaries, evangelists, Bible-readers, colporteurs, whom it is unable to maintain without help from the stronger Churches in the West. In these circumstances can it be wise or right to insist upon immediate and entire self-support, and to deny the privilege of self-government to the Indian Church until that object is realised?

I think it is possible to make too much of self-support, and that we over estimate its importance when we are ready to sacrifice everything else to it, Presbyterian union as well as self-government, yea the very possibility of an organised Church itself. To make self-support a condition of self-government in all cases at the present time, would be nothing less than suicidal: it would kill both self-government and self-support, and make the existence of a united Church impossible. Let us consider for a moment what the effect of introducing such a principle in the United Church which it is proposed to establish would be.

"Churches" it is maintained, "should be required to be self-supporting from the first." But how many of our churches are, at present, self-supporting? In the Presbytery of which I am a member, there is not, so far as I know, a single church which entirely supports its own pastor. In an adjoining Presbytery there are three or four churches entirely self-supporting, all the rest are not self-supporting. The majority of our churches would, therefore, cease to be represented in the Presbyteries to which they belong. Then consider what would be the composition of the Presbyteries thus organised. In one Presbytery the Indian element would be entirely excluded. We are told, "all foreign ministers and elders are to be members of Presbytery." We should thus have the strange anomaly of an Indian Church wholly, or, at least, very largely controlled and governed by a body of foreign ministers and elders. To call this self-government would be a misnomer. In reality, we should have an Indian Church under foreign government.

Moreover, amongst those excluded from representation in the Church, we should find the oldest, the wisest, and most experienced of our pastors and ordained ministers, and we should thus weaken the Church most terribly. The men that are able to judge for themselves, those best qualified by education and experience to serve the Church, and guide it in matters of doctrine, discipline, and Christian activity, of many of these we should deprive ourselves to our own injury and loss.

Again, the distinction which is made between foreign and Indian ministers, is, it seems to me, an invidious distinction. All foreign ministers and chaplains, it is

maintained are to sit as members of Presbytery. Indian ministers, supported wholly, or in part, by foreign funds, are excluded. "Presbytery shall be composed of all ordained foreign ministers with their elders, and of self-supported Indian ordained *pastors*, with a *limited* number of their elders." Why Indian pastors only, excluding ordained evangelists and ordained teachers in Schools and Colleges? And why a *limited* number of the elders of such Churches? Is not the lay element in the Church small enough? And why limit the number in the case of Indian elders, when it is not limited in the case of foreign elders? Is it because we are afraid of being out-voted by the Indian element? Would that the time were near when that could happen, but it will not happen yet for a good many years. And how can it be right first to make self-support a condition of self-government, and then to adopt measures which will keep the self-supporting Churches for an indefinite time under the control of foreign ministers and elders?

In my own opinion the wiser and better course is to deal with the questions of self-support and self-government separately. It seems to me a great mistake, which will bring upon the Church evils worse than those we are endeavouring to remove, to mix the two together, and to refuse to have either the one or the other, unless we can have both at once, and have them in their perfection. We are asked to consider the injury which is likely to be inflicted upon the Indian Churches by allowing self-government to come before self-support. But what of the injury likely to follow from the opposite course which we are urged to adopt? And is not the injury to which the former course is supposed to lead, more theoretical than real? In most Indian Presbyteries that I am acquainted with a certain measure of self-government has been given to the Indian Churches from the very beginning, and no restriction whatsoever has been placed upon the representation of Indian ordained ministers and elders. I am not aware that this system has inflicted any injury upon the Church; on the contrary, I am confident, it has done good. Neither, do I believe, can it be shown that the self-government thus granted has been a hindrance to self-support, rather, I believe, the churches that have granted the largest measure of self-government are also most advanced in the matter of self-support. True, self-government will be much more real and effectual once it is accompanied by entire self-support. But because we cannot give to the Church self-government in its perfection are we therefore to refuse to give it at all? Or, if we must wait for self-support, must we also wait for self-government? I do not think so. Rather let us give the Church as full and complete self-government, as it is possible under existing circumstances to give. Then we shall be able to urge the privilege thus granted as a reason upon the Indian Churches for securing self-support. "The way to strengthen the Church is to get it to bear its own burden." This is certainly true, but we may also add, the way to get a Church to bear its own burden is not by withholding self-government but by granting it, by making it, as far as possible, independent and self-governing.

That this is the wise and true way of dealing with this difficult question appears also from the fact that want of self-support in the Indian Church has its own causes, and that many of the hindrances to self-support are not affected either by withholding self-government, or by granting it. Many of these hindrances it is in our own power to remove, and we ought not to punish our Indian ministers because of hindrances or evils for which we ourselves are largely responsible. The attempt to introduce Western methods into the organisation and government of the Church is undoubtedly one of these hindrances. Thus, for example, we generally insist that a minister or pastor should refrain from taking part in any secular occupation, for the purpose of supplementing his income, or gaining his livelihood thereby. We have no Scriptural authority for such a rule, in fact the example of Paul points in the other direction, proves that it is entirely a matter of expediency and prudence, as to whether a minister may, or may not, engage in trade or business for the purpose of thereby maintaining himself and his family. Our friends, the Brahmos, are wiser in this respect, than ourselves; for they allow those who minister to them spiritually to engage in secular work, and the result is that their communities are self-supporting. May we not profit from their example.

Nor are our unhappy and unnecessary divisions a less formidable hindrance to self-support, and these are wholly Western in their origin. We are responsible for them, and it is in our power to remove or, at least, lessen them. In one and the same place we have two, three, or four different churches, organised by different missionary societies, each too weak to support its own pastor, while, if they all combined together, which so far as the Indian Christians themselves are concerned, they could and would do, the difficulty of self-support would be considerably lessened, if not removed. The proposal for a United Self-governing Church is a step in this direction, and to postpone taking this step is to postpone not only self-government, but also self-support.

Of course, these are only some of the many hindrances to self-support. This is not the place to consider others. What I wish to insist upon in this connection is that self-support and self-government should be dealt with separately, that the one question need not be mixed up with the other, that self-support can be secured in other ways than that of making it a condition of self-government. Since writing the above, I have read Mr. Hannum's letter on this subject in the last issue of the *Indian Standard*. He has shown in this letter how this difficulty which has perplexed some of our brethren of the Church of Scotland, may be met and overcome in another way than by denying self-government to the Indian Church. The principle to which he refers is in use also in the bodies with which I am connected, and has been found equally successful. But whatever the remedy may be, I feel that it would be a great pity to delay the consummation of a United self-governing Church because of the fear which is entertained of the possible effect that the granting of self-government will have upon self-support.

THE SYNOD OF INDIA OF THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The triennial session of the American Presbyterian Synod of India, including the Presbyteries of Lahore, Lodiana, Farukhabad, Allahabad and Kolahpur, was held at Lodiana Nov. 15th to 21st. In the absence of the retiring Moderator (Rev. J. C. R. Ewing, D. D.) the opening Sermon was preached by Rev. C. B. Newton, D. D., on John xvii. 2 after which Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D. D., was elected Moderator and Revs. H. Forman and Joel David, English Clerk and Urdu Clerk respectively. The proceedings were in Hindustani, though the record was kept in both languages.

Many important questions came up for settlements among which the following may be noted :

Baptism of Polygamous Converts. After long and earnest discussion an Overture to the General Assembly was adopted—with only eight dissenting votes—asking it to reconsider its position, defined in 1875, of absolute prohibition of the baptism of polygamous converts, and to relegate the question, so far as relating to heathen lands to the highest Church Court (Presbytery or Synod) of the respective countries. A protest against this action was presented by the dissentients, and an able reply was brought in by the committee appointed for the purpose. We hope to be able to present in full in our next issue the action, protest and reply.

A Commentary on the entire Bible. The Synod adopted a scheme looking to the preparation of a series of commentaries in Roman Urdu on all the books of the Bible. Such a work if done well must of course take many years; but it is hoped that the Synod will keep the project steadily before it until the work is accomplished. An editorial committee was appointed consisting of Rev S. H. Kellogg, D. D., L.L.D., Rev. W. F. Johnson, D.D., and Rev. K. C. Chatterjee. The duties of this committee are: 1. To determine what commentaries are first needed, taking into account those already published. 2. To invite and appoint those who are to prepare the commentaries; to review their work and decide whether or not it is to be printed. 3. To secure the necessary funds—from Tract Societies, Mission Boards or individuals, as they may be able; and to arrange all other details of the work.

The text of the Bible is to be printed along with the commentary. The language used is to be clear and simple.

Ordination. The question as to requirements for ordination received considerable attention. The following resolution was adopted:—

Inasmuch as "The form of government of the Presbyterian Church" fixes a high standard of secular education for ordination and licensure; and whereas a reasonable equality in educational qualifications—on the principle that all education in the last analysis is a training of the judgment—is absolutely necessary to the integrity of the Presbyterian system, which assumes equality in the ministry; Therefore: Resolved that in the opinion of the Synod, the Presbyteries should not, without special and urgent reasons, ordain men who have not received a thorough education.

It was a noteworthy fact that almost all of the Hindustani members of Synod voted for the above resolution.

Licensure. The Synod and its Presbyteries have followed a system of licensure different in its workings from that of the Home Church. There the license is but a step to ordination. Here it has been found that in many cases it is desirable to license, that is to give the Church's sanction and permission to preach the gospel, where it is

not wise to confer all the authority of ordained ministers in the Church. The principle involved in this system of licensing to preach, without any necessary reference to subsequent ordination was definitely approved by this Synod.

It was further resolved that the Presbyteries be directed to constantly oversee the work of their licentiates, to hear reports from them, and after every two years to answer concerning each licentiate the question: Shall this license be renewed?

Debts of Native Christians.

An overture came up from Farukhabad Presbytery, asking what should be done by Session or Presbytery in the case of complaints of non-payment of debts made against members of the Church or of Presbytery. In answer it was decided that it is the right and duty of Sessions and Presbyteries to try such cases, provided the complainant be a member of our Church (or the Judicatory itself may become complainant) and to give orders in reference to them. Furthermore, the Synod urged on its Presbyteries and their Sessions to be watchful for the purity of the church in these matters.

Cheap Burial.

The question of cheap burial was discussed at considerable length. The speakers were almost unanimous as to the desirability of reducing funeral expenses, and most of them favoured dispensing with the wooden coffin,—though it was pointed out that the coffin was an insignificant item of expenditure as compared with pakka (cemented) graves and costly monuments. Emphasis was placed by one or two on the desirability of instituting at the same time a crusade against the perhaps greater evil of expensive weddings. In the end a committee, consisting of Revs. J. J. Lucas, D. D., F. J. Newton, M. D., and Ralla Ram, was appointed to promote the interests of burial reform.

The New Hymn Book. The Committee on the new "Zabūr aur Git" reported that the edition with music was going through the press and would probably be completed within three or four months. The committee was instructed to add to the musical edition—and to prepare without music for addition to the previous edition—a supplement made up for the most part of hymns of the general style of those in "Songs and Solos."

Conference.

The Synod was preceded by two days of conference and prayer. Practical themes, almost all of them touching upon the question of the work of the Holy Spirit were earnestly discussed. Much prayer was offered, and there were many evidences that the Holy Spirit was present to bless. Among other speakers was Mr. Robert P. Wilder, who gave his addresses in English, the summary being given in Hindustani at the conclusion.

Meetings of the Missions.

The meetings of the Lodiana and Farukhabad Missions took place immediately after Synod, as also a meeting of the joint missions. A large force from home was welcomed: Rev. and Mrs. R. Thackwell, Rev. and Mrs. H. C. Vette and Mrs. John Newton, returning; and Rev. and Mrs. H. C. Bandy, Rev. and Mrs. A. G. McGaw and Miss Allen, M.D., and Miss Cauldwell, M. D.

Among other questions of interest, the joint meeting of the missions adopted a resolution asking the Board at home to appropriate £100 toward the initial expenses of the new undenominational Medical School for Women, now starting at Lodiana, and to make an annual grant to the institution of £100. The Farukhabad mission further showed its appreciation of the enterprise by lending to it for eight months the medical ladies named above, who will aid in the instruction while pursuing their language study.

if amidst his more public duties he found time to do any pastoral visitation. "Yes," he said, "I do, otherwise I would not know how to preach to the heart."

Bábú Bolai Chandar Dass, a Clerk in the Bank of Bengal, and ex-student of the Duff College and Free Church Institution, was on Monday, Oct. 28th, after many years of hesitation, we understand, baptised in the Free Mission Church, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, in the presence of a large congregation.

Dr. J. W. Scudder
returning to the Arcot
Mission.

We learn from *Dnyanodaya* that Rev. J. W. Scudder, D. D., in company with his wife and daughter, expected to sail from New York on the 29th August, and after a brief sojourn in Germany for the benefit of Mrs. Scudder's health, hoped to reach India in November. Dr. Scudder takes the Principalship of the Theological Seminary made vacant by the retirement of his brother Dr. W. M. Scudder.

An Interesting Baptism
and petty Persecutions in
the Canadian Presb.
Mission.

At a service in the Mission Church, Mhow, on Oct. 3rd, a Brahmin from Bajghar, near Mhow, together with his wife and child, was received into the Christian Church. He heard the truth in the bazaar during the preaching services held there every week, and he was further led by the reading of Christian books to see that Christianity was of God. Convinced of this truth that salvation is to had *only* in Jesus Christ, he determined to forsake Hinduism and follow Christ. His neighbours and friends opposed him very bitterly and even went so far as to persecute him. He felt that he would be stronger if he were baptised, and in order to support himself while he was studying at the mission he consented to do coolie labor. His wife, who was at first opposed, he finally won over to be baptised along with him.

The Christians at Barwai and in the surrounding villages have had their water supply cut off by the other village people, and are not allowed to draw water from the wells. We hear a great deal about the liberality of Hindus, but such unneighbourly and fanatical cruelty is not a very good illustration of it. *Gyan Patrika*.

The Canadian Pres. Mis-
sion's Christian Mela.

The Annual Christian Mela or gathering of Missionaries and Indian Christians in the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, Malwa, was held in Rutlam during the Dewali holidays, October 27th to 30th. The meetings were held in a large shamiana furnished by the Diwan. There was a large representation from the several stations. Topics bearing on spiritual life, methods of work, and the progress of the kingdom were earnestly and profitably discussed. Among the subjects considered was, "The expediency of a change in the mode of burial of Indian Christians." The reader of the paper pled vigorously for a simpler and less expensive method, but of the native brethren who took part in the discussion none supported him.

In connection with the mela, a Sabbath School Convention was held, to which additional interest was given by the presence of Dr. Phillips, the Secretary of the India S. S. Union. A branch of the India S. S. Union was formed with Lieut. Thompson as President, and Rev. N. H. Russell as Secretary.

Scotch U. P. Mission. The winter conference of the U. P. Church of Scotland Mission labouring in Rajputana was held in Ajmere on the 7, 8, and 9th November. Most of the members were on hand by the 5th, when we had the

great pleasure of meeting Dr. Phillips the indefatigable, and enthusiastic secretary of the India Sunday School Union, in conference in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The afternoon was devoted to the consideration of the best methods and the growing needs of the work. The discussion was opened by addresses from the Revs. Messrs. Lyon and Mair followed by a telling address by Dr. Phillips, after which the meeting was thrown open for the discussion of points raised. In the evening, the large Presbyterian Church was well filled by an appreciative English audience to hear addresses on the claims of Sunday Schools, by the Revs. Mr. Biggs (Episcopal) DeSouza (Methodist) and Dr. Phillips, the Rev. Dr. Shoolbred, Beawar, in the chair. On Wednesday evening again, though speaking through an interpreter—or *interrupter*, as he jocularly remarked, the good doctor was again doing valiant work in rousing the interest of the Native Church in this most hopeful of all mission labour. No man has a wider outlook on the great mission problem of India, for he claims the whole land as his diocese, from far Burmah in the east and Ceylon in the south to the Himalayas of the north. Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian, casting aside all differences, were at one in this great cause; for children win all hearts. We trust that such friendly conventions may be more frequent in the future. "A little child shall lead them."

It was our further pleasure to receive and honour as a guest the Rev. T. S. Wynkoop, of the North India Bible Society to which we as a mission stand so much indebted for the pure stream of evangelic literature which they pour forth for the reviving of this great desert waste of heathenism, here in Rajputana; as the servant of all the missions he was present in the name of the society to have a friendly talk with the missionaries on many points of interest regarding the printing and distribution of books.

On Thursday evening we had our usual missionary meeting, addressed by Mr. Wynkoop and Mr. Brown of Alwar. A missionary meeting among missionaries may strike some as incongruous, but the zeal and interest of missionaries in the Redeemer's Kingdom need renewal, just as truly as any other portion of the Christian Church.

The ordinary work of conference at this season is largely financial, but one or two matters of great importance were before us. During our 35 years' work in Rajputana we have occupied the large centres for the dissemination of the truth, and we feel that the time has come when the great chain of villages lying between and around the cities should have a more direct Christian agency; and to this end a committee was appointed to consider the best village centres, where missionaries may settle for this work. The opening of new work in the desert city of Bikanir was before us, and it was resolved that the Rev. J. Anderson Brown labour there living in or near the city during the present cold season.

As in previous years, the work of each day was preceded by a morning, devotional meeting, which was enjoyed as a time of special blessing by all who attended. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."

The meetings of Presbytery and the Zenana committee spoke of steady work but there was nothing calling for special remark.

The Revs. J. Anderson Brown, F. Ashcroft and J. McInnes were welcomed back from furlough. Rev. A. R. Low and Mr. Inglis, printer, who has come out in connection with the extension of the mission press, and Dr. Susan Campbell, who takes charge of the women's hospital in Ajmere received a hearty welcome into the mission. J. M.

(b) Listen to what the other man has to say. You will thus probably get some help from him, and only thus can you help him.

Is it not amazing that the American lecturers who have come to India to give lectures of the Haskell Foundation have gone to the library in the British Museum to make their preparation! Little wonder that the odour of book-shelves exudes from their sentences. How much better had each listened long and sympathetically to what the men of India have to say, and then written a book of life.

(c) *Be honest*, yes, absolutely honest. Don't imagine you hold a brief for Christianity. Deal with the facts of human life, determined to be as straightforward, fearless and as helpful as you can.

(d) Don't be out for picking motes out of your "brother's" eye. Jesus all but made fun of the mote-pickers. Missionaries have been all too much given to denouncing the evils and follies of other religious forgetful the while that every such evil and folly has its counterpart in Christian communities. I have for some years made it a rule whenever I have occasion to speak against some evil in the Hindu or the Mohammedan faith to point out how some similar evil is found in Christian communities, to show that I speak not against them or their religions but against the evil that every where is hindering and hurting men. To hide or excuse our own failings or evils while denouncing those of others is dishonest.

The success of Theosophists has, I believe, been largely due to this wrong attitude of missionaries. We have severely attacked evil and folly and failed along with this to recognize and show generous appreciation of the good. The Theosophists found many English-educated Hindus ashamed of their religion but unwilling to break with it socially, and they forthwith went to the opposite extreme of praising everything Hindu, finding "deep spiritual meanings" in even those things Hindus had been ashamed of. This flattery found many eager listeners, and is winning many converts though so sadly reactionary.

What is to be our position? Not flattery, for flattery is essentially dishonest. Let us speak the truth as we see it, but always with humility and with a sincere respect for our hearers. Let us recognize the good every where as from God. Not to recognize and acknowledge what is true wherever it may be is to sin against the Spirit of God who strives to illuminate all men; against Him "from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift."

More about Condoned Adultery

Old Stager

In the early part of this discussion I showed that Christian converts from Mohammedanism and from the non-caste Hindu community have nothing to fear in breaking off old relations and, if necessary, contracting Christian marriages. I also pointed out that we need be very careful about permitting Christian converts from among high castes, especially our girls and women, entering upon Christian marriage until we are sure that no former marriage ties are binding upon them. I also tried to make it plain that Rama, married to Parbatti in infancy, by high caste Hindu rites holds a life-claim upon her which he can urge and that there is no safety in her Christian marriage, unless Rama can be persuaded to pronounce that *she is nothing to him*. But I had also to declare from experience that legally, even though she now has a Christian husband, she is still the undivorced wife of Rama and enjoys her freedom to take a Christian partner simply because he has promised not to urge his claim,—the result being that the Christian union is legally nothing more nor less than *condoned adultery*.

Still this method, effective though it be, has the disadvantage that, in the eyes of the law she is still Rama's wife and he and the law both simply wink at her act in contracting a Christian marriage. Both consider her living with her Christian husband, whom she has taken in the bonds of holy matrimony, to be nothing more or less than a state of *condoned adultery*, for which no one has the power to punish them!

Now this situation is altogether undesirable and is full of legal perplexities and embarrassing possibilities. Diffi-

cult questions arise. One is this: Has any Christian minister, under the Christian Marriage act, as it now stands, the legal right to solemnize Parbatti's marriage with John Christian who seeks her in holy Christian wedlock? I think not. He may not join in wedlock, those who are not legally free to marry. For if he does it is possible for him to be prosecuted for solemnizing such a ceremony. The fact that no one will ever take a serious view of his ministerial act, does not change the fact that the law is in position to consider his act criminal. It is certain that he should never solemnize the marriage until Parbatti has been set free by Rama. This involves other difficulties, too many and intricate to discuss here.

Another legal result of such marriage between Parbatti and John Christian is that the children of their marriage, in the strict eyes of the law, are not legitimate and they have not the rights of legitimate children before the law. For example: suppose Parbatti's uncle makes her his heir. Her children do not by that act become her heir. Rama is her husband and can probably take her property! Her uncle who gave her his property may be a Christian and still alive but when the property has once become Parbatti's Rama may have claims upon it, and possibly his heirs can lay claim if he be dead, anything is possible in undefined cases in the Hindu law of heritage.

Another possibility arises: Suppose Parbatti and John Christian have, as the fruit of their marriage, one or more children. After some years John Christian dies. Meanwhile Rama too has died. Now Parbatti is free to marry and by a perfectly legitimate Christian marriage she takes a Christian husband, Samuel. Of this marriage there is a son born whom we may call David. He may claim all the property of his mother because he is the child of a legal marriage, while his brothers and sisters are the fruit of merely *condoned adultery*. This case too is capable of many variations all with possible serious results.

Now since there are these and several other possible cases of *condoned adultery*, I wish to suggest another one that must remain desirable until all the disabilities of the present law of Christian marriage and divorce have been agitated and removed, I have a number of cases in mind for which there should be relief.

Christian marriage is properly considered by law lasting and binding on both parties. There can be no separation that annuls their claims one on the other, except the death of one of the parties or a legal divorce pronounced by a competent court, which in our law is a *District Sessions Judge*.

Occasionally Christian marriages may and do result unfortunately. One of the parties is guilty of infidelity and goes off, and without marriage takes another partner. In the case of women I know cases where an unfaithful wife has become a common bazar-character, yet the innocent partner is by law still bound to the faithless partner by the inexorable law of Christian marriage and cannot marry again, because there has been no divorce granted. Unfortunately divorce is very expensive, too expensive for poor Christians and the result is not good.

Here are several samples that have come to my knowledge within the past eighteen months. A man notoriously bad, maltreated and drove his wife away. He openly took another woman into his house. He became diseased and leprous, a public example of infamy. After several years of separation the wife accepted another partner with whom she lived happily in an unmarried state. They had several children. At last the wretched husband died and the wife was free to marry her chosen companion. Within a week the couple came to me to be united in Christian marriage and their half-grown children stood up with them as witnesses to the ceremony!

Another: A man came to me and asked permission to marry. His wedded wife has been for years a common bazar-character in another city. Another: A woman was abandoned years ago by her husband. She knows nothing of him, whether he is alive or dead. She is a good woman and has had several chances of a happy marriage but she is held in bondage to her first marriage unless she can be sure that her husband is dead, and no minister can read the marriage ceremony for her so long as this doubt remains. There are cases by the hundred.

fuddled. He ran home to collect his senses. When he got his wits together, he came running back to the girl glowing with gladness that she had saved him the trouble of popping the question. "Oh say!" he exclaimed "I want to say yes."

It is so with the churches and their quotas. Stunned at first, they finally come around to the point where they "want to say yes."

The Centenary in Moradabad District

The local church is organized with a regular Centenary Committee which has launched the campaign for the League of Intercessors and Stewardship. A general outline of the Centenary has been placed before the circuits; and concrete plans for action are being formulated, which will be adopted at our coming District Conference.

Contributions and Selections

The Attitude of Missionaries Towards Indians

HENRY FORSMAN.

[The substance of a lecture delivered to the young missionaries in the Landour Language School.]

The first and all important thing in our relations to Indians is to get a correct and easy use of the vernacular.

The unhappily common remark, "I can make myself understood" is almost disgraceful. The man (who by the way talks English) who wrote to me, "A long time ago that I haven't seen you yet," made himself understood and also amusing! So also the Kanauj *itr* sellers who advertised: "Gentlemen, if you are fond of *itr* why are you wasting your valuable time in reading fictilicious notices. Do not please write to other factory, ordered me freely. Only one trial will clear you all."

We must be able to do more than merely make ourselves understood if we want to help our fellow men.

Both learn and use simple language, the language that goes to the heart, that illuminates instead of beclouding. How much is this canon sinned against in India—and where so inexcusably as in sermons and in public prayer? and, unhappily, where more commonly?

1. *Treatment of Servants.*—Our wisdom or otherwise in dealing with servants has much to do with making our lives happy or miserable in India.

Remember they are men. I have known of ladies having their *chhoti hazri* brought into their bedroom while they were still in bed, by the *khidmatgar*. This sort of folly lowers Europeans in the eyes of Indians.

Let men when preaching and talking in a friendly way among the people strictly avoid putting the hand on boys or girls. You do it in friendliness; you are believed to do it in lust.

But to return to servants: Avoid angering them. Be just and firm, but don't ever unnecessarily charge them with dishonesty. Their good name is worth as much to them as yours to you, and they do right to be angry when recklessly charged with dishonesty. Avoid the use of sarcasm. It always angers and it does no good. Besides, it is mean.

Avoid softness and comraderie. These ruin your servant. Soon you will have to choose between putting up with his insolence or dismissing him.

The servants of 30 years and more ago were much better than those of to-day. They were from poor but respectable Mohammedan folk, and were respectful and self-respecting. To-day they are largely recruited from the lowest castes of the Hindu community.

What of Christian servants? John Lawrence said he would never have one, because they were lazy and impudent. Many are, some are not. But to my mind the question in engaging a servant is not whether his religion is good but whether he is good.

2. *Dealings with Indian Christians.*—(a) Don't think of all as of the same class. This is rightly resented by the gentle folk among them. Don't fail to see the differences between the gross and the refined and to act accordingly, even as among Europeans. Of course treat all with kindness. But recognize worth.

(b) Avoid "*parwarish*" or the giving of support when it should be earned. This evil largely owes its existence to the lack of proper respect for the Indian Christian. And so also does meddlesomeness in their private

affairs, their children's schooling, etc. They are as a rule far more capable of managing wisely their affairs than is a foreigner. Give them a chance.

(c) Don't pay the fare to another station for wandering Indian Christians looking for work. Don't use your money to ruin your fellow men. A large class of these vagrants live thus on missionaries. Their only salvation is in their being obliged by hunger to get to work instead of looking for work.

"But what are we to do with them?" Do nothing. They have lived and wandered long without your help. They can live longer.

But if you *must* do something, give them *work* with as big pay as you think necessary till railway fare can be received from their friends. If you have no work make some, even if it be to dig a hole and fill it again.

And of all vagrants beware of the man who comes with a Testament under his arm, or the Christian vagrant in a yellow robe.

3. Treat *Mission workers* as your fellow-workers, never as employes. And never, *never* talk of "my teachers," "my preachers," "my workers." It is insufferable. And give up the thought that the big I must be always controlling them and directing them. Trust and help and work with them.

Don't pose as an example. They may smile after they leave your office. Sometimes they even laugh among themselves.

4. *Attitude towards Hindus and Mohammedans.*—Knowledge of and sympathy with the peoples we foreigners have come to live among is most necessary. Our lack of intimate knowledge and understanding is thus held up to ridicule in a recent issue of a Hindu paper (published in Hindi): "People who have no understanding of us! People to whom the wearing of the *dhoti* is the extreme of uncivilization! Actually an American woman seeing the photograph of an Indian lady and noticing the *tilak* mark on the forehead said, 'No doubt that is where her husband hit her with a brick!'"

Perhaps the lack of understanding is mutual, but that only makes the gulf the wider. One cannot but notice "the American woman" and "the Indian lady." We cannot complain. We have so long indulged in similar expressions, with the characters transferred, that it is not strange that among self-respecting people resentment is leading to replying in kind. It is more than time for the European to drop with shame his attitudes of superiority.

Our attitude towards respectable Hindus and Mohammedans should manifestly be that of friendliness joined to genuine respect. To such the Indian's response is most cordial and true.

How silly to "put on side" in dealing with Indians. I introduced an Indian gentleman to an American lady at a dinner. Not knowing Hindustani she asked if he spoke English. We could not but smile as I replied, "Yes, and also French, German, Italian, Arabic, Persian—he speaks in all twelve languages, and has a ready knowledge of five others."

We sometimes smile at the breaks in English made by English-educated youth in India. But how many American or English youth can talk in any language but their own half as well?

5. *The Missionary as Preacher.*—(a) Let there always be real respect for one's hearers, even in the bazar, and treat questions and even objections with respect.

(b) Listen to what the other man has to say. You will thus probably get some help from him, and only thus can you help him.

Is it not amazing that the American lecturers who have come to India to give lectures of the Haskell Foundation have gone to the library in the British Museum to make their preparation! Little wonder that the odour of book-shelves exudes from their sentences. How much better had each listened long and sympathetically to what the men of India have to say, and then written a book of life.

(c) *Be honest*, yes, absolutely honest. Don't imagine you hold a brief for Christianity. Deal with the facts of human life, determined to be as straightforward, fearless and as helpful as you can.

(d) Don't be out for picking motes out of your "brother's" eye. Jesus all but made fun of the mote-pickers. Missionaries have been all too much given to denouncing the evils and follies of other religious forgetful the while that every such evil and folly has its counterpart in Christian communities. I have for some years made it a rule whenever I have occasion to speak against some evil in the Hindu or the Mohammedan faith to point out how some similar evil is found in Christian communities, to show that I speak not against them or their religions but against the evil that every where is hindering and hurting men. To hide or excuse our own failings or evils while denouncing those of others is dishonest.

The success of Theosophists has, I believe, been largely due to this wrong attitude of missionaries. We have severely attacked evil and folly and failed along with this to recognize and show generous appreciation of the good. The Theosophists found many English-educated Hindus ashamed of their religion but unwilling to break with it socially, and they forthwith went to the opposite extreme of praising everything Hindu, finding "deep spiritual meanings" in even those things Hindus had been ashamed of. This flattery found many eager listeners, and is winning many converts though so sadly reactionary.

What is to be our position? Not flattery, for flattery is essentially dishonest. Let us speak the truth as we see it, but always with humility and with a sincere respect for our hearers. Let us recognize the good every where as from God. Not to recognize and acknowledge what is true wherever it may be is to sin against the Spirit of God who strives to illuminate all men; against Him "from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift."

More about Condoned Adultery

Old Stager

In the early part of this discussion I showed that Christian converts from Mohammedanism and from the non-caste Hindu community have nothing to fear in breaking off old relations and, if necessary, contracting Christian marriages. I also pointed out that we need be very careful about permitting Christian converts from among high castes, especially our girls and women, entering upon Christian marriage until we are sure that no former marriage ties are binding upon them. I also tried to make it plain that Rama, married to Parbatti in infancy, by high caste Hindu rites holds a life-claim upon her which he can urge and that there is no safety in her Christian marriage, unless Rama can be persuaded to pronounce that *she is nothing to him*. But I had also to declare from experience that legally, even though she now has a Christian husband, she is still the undivorced wife of Rama and enjoys her freedom to take a Christian partner simply because he has promised not to urge his claim,—the result being that the Christian union is legally nothing more nor less than *condoned adultery*.

Still this method, effective though it be, has the disadvantage that, in the eyes of the law she is still Rama's wife and he and the law both simply wink at her act in contracting a Christian marriage. Both consider her living with her Christian husband, whom she has taken in the bonds of holy matrimony, to be nothing more or less than a state of *condoned adultery*, for which no one has the power to punish them!

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Editorial

The Late Beloved Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji.—A more glorious death than that of the late Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji would be difficult to imagine. Ever as his custom was, he had gone to the Katra Church on Sunday, the 30th of October, to worship along with his fellow Christians. On that particular morning he had walked the whole distance and having entered the Church quickly, proceeded to his usual place during the intercessory prayer, when suddenly his heart failed and he fell down. Death seems to have been instantaneous. All efforts to restore life proved futile. In the very House of God he was called away "to live in the House of God for ever."

The Editor had been a good deal in his company in the last days before he passed away, as both of us had been to Bombay to attend the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Church of Northern India. Only three days before his death he returned hale and hearty to Allahabad and, as usual, was busy at his tasks, throwing himself heart and soul into his multifarious duties, and on the evening before passing away was the centre of hilarity in a children's party.

On the morning of his passing we at the Jamna had just emerged from the House of Worship when a friend came to give us the telephone message of his passing away. The news was too stunning

for words and some of us hurried to his residence to find that the news was but too true.

The late Rai Bahadur was in every sense a truly great man. He had an infectious sense of humour and his friends were too well familiar with his wit and hilarity. His qualities of head and heart were so well recognized that he was invited by outstanding institutions, managements and committees to adorn their counsels with his presence. His advice was always ardently sought after and his wise and weighty words were always heeded with respect.

The North India Tract Society, which enjoyed his leadership for over thirty-three years, grew from strength to strength and service of the Kingdom through increasing publication of Christian literature, which went forward in many ways. The Editor well remembers that when twenty years ago he himself came to Allahabad to serve as a pastor of the Katra Church, the first thing in the deceased which struck him was his methodical accuracy and efficiency. He was in every sense a most business-like statesman. Dare any person mention a single case to disprove the statement that the late Rai Bahadur, busy as he always was, never 'let any one down' in failing to perform a duty which had been assigned to him? He always rose to every occasion that demanded his care and energy and "saw through" all that he set his hands to.

He was a great lover of the Church and the humble folk in villages had become his particular care. It was through his principal efforts that Rs. 10,000, an annual grant, were sanctioned to be given towards the education of poor village children. He was indignant that those depressed class brethren who had

joined the Christian Church should continue to be dubbed by the despised caste names. He had, through his own sole efforts, succeeded in getting orders issued that such a practice should be abolished forthwith. Of late he had secured Rs. 4,000 towards supplying wells for these humble people and but recently when he heard that in some quarters they were victims of bitter persecution, he bestirred himself on their behalf and was in touch with the Government with a view to better their lot.

Only two weeks ago when we were present with him at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Tract Society, we heard him plead on behalf of two members of his staff who were in need. To seek employment for the poor brethren was another hobby of his. In the midst of his hard work, let alone with unabated zeal and his selfless service of his needy brethren, suddenly the call came for him to drop all these efforts and lay his duties on the shoulders of us all; and now in the realms of glory as our friend and well-wisher he will go on from strength to strength till we meet again. It will be difficult to reconcile ourselves to an Allahabad without him, and the Tract Society affairs will be like staging the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet himself left out.

He leaves behind his illustrious son "Nillo", his two devoted and able daughters, and his youngest son who had recently joined the University of Allahabad. There are with us his three brothers. The remaining Rai Bahadur, our beloved A. C. Mukerji, has been smitten hard during these days of bodily weakness, and the other two brothers are deprived of their constant companion. We cannot close this obituary note without paying a tribute to the beloved

physician, Dr B. K. Mukerji, who has been a tower of strength to us all during these, humanly speaking, tragic days. His fortitude and Christian restraint and grace were a fragrance and an inspiration to us all. To all these loved ones and many others whom we have not mentioned, we extend our heartfelt sympathy and affection in their bereavement.

We all mustered strong to give his remains a right royal "send off". In the midst of an intensely overcrowded Church, tributes were paid to him at the memorial service, and then fully a thousand people walked to the graveyard to lay his body low in the grave—a deep, deep grave indeed. By moonlight amidst lanterns dimly burning and the subdued hush of the eventide, the bedecked-with-flowers casket was laid low with the voice resounding in the night, "He said unto me write, blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth, they rest from their labours and their works do follow them."

Lessons from the Czech Episode.

—It meant peace at any cost. Europe is still staggering under the devastation wrought by the last war and memories are still haunted by the horrors of carnage wrought by the armies of that time. War in the long run settles nothing. It raises more problems than it solves. Besides, the technique of warfare is so changed that to control sea and land means little. The air and gas-laden aeroplanes are determining factors in fighting and it is all becoming a dastardly cowardly affair. Surely there is no tinge of bravery in a squadron of aeroplanes coming droning over a city with its sleeping inhabitants by night, sending down on it a deadly gas and turning it into a graveyard. War-makers know that this is to be a common feature of future wars. Heaven alone knows what poisonous gases are being manufactured to-day in the German laboratories. Little wonder that statesmen like Mr. Chamberlain have foresight enough to ward off war at all costs.

We have no doubt that if Herr Hitler had invaded Czechoslovakia, Russia would have proved a broken reed on account of its own internal troubles, and France would have had to face endless obstacles to reach the Czech soil; and meanwhile the poor little country, in spite of its brave resistance, would have been crushed into smithereens. It is true that Europe-wide conflagration would have started and Germany would have found itself confronted by enemies on various fronts, but meanwhile Czechoslovakia would have been ground down to pieces. If Britain, along with the semi-Communistic

France and aggressively Communistic Russia, had even won the war Communism in its worst form would have swallowed Germany and would have swept over Europe swiftly; if it had lost the war it would have meant a crushing blow to the British Empire, and so in addition to the mowing down of millions of young lives, win or lose, Britain would have found itself face to face with certain ruination. Mr. Chamberlain, upholder of the present Conservative regime, has rendered to the British Empire and its people the greatest possible service that could be expected of him. He may be howled down by the Labourites but the fact remains that Britain has been saved from a most destructive catastrophe.

Would Hitler really have invaded Czechoslovakia, or was it only a bluff and a repetition of blackmail? We have little doubt that he meant business this time, and we are glad that he was taken seriously and thus not only the Czechs, but the whole world was saved from devastating carnage and bloodshed.

All that Europe is going through now is because of the unjust Treaty of Versailles. The humiliation heaped on defeated foes has bred all the present evils, and a fast decaying Germany shot forth a dictator who has undertaken to undo the evils perpetrated by the Treaty of Versailles. In utter defiance he has gone forward with his programme of recovery and the framers of the Treaty have meanwhile sat twiddling their thumbs. Victors and winners who wreak their merciless vengeance on the vanquished should never forget that one day it will all recoil against themselves.

Meanwhile re-armament is being undertaken with redoubled zeal. Is it because of the belief that taking umbrellas along wards off rain? There may be some truth in such a saying, and of course it is true that it is this belief that can account for the mad race in re-armament, but our firm belief is that it is a short-sighted policy. Heap on fuel and faggot remembering that sparks fly around all the time, and one day some event may look to you a justifiable cause that may lead you to try conclusions and then... Of course detached observers, as we may be deemed to be, we cannot help questioning as to why the rape of Japan on China and shameless theft committed on Abyssinia and a fast crumbling Spain are left to themselves. Is it only because they are off the beaten track of European politics? Is there any justice left in the councils of powerful nations?

The tragedy of our times is that in spite of knowing full well as to what we should be doing we go on with our insular and selfish policies of

grab and greed. Humanity should be folding its tents and the caravan should move on to new vistas of cordiality and prosperity. All exclusive empire-building and national aggressions should give place to a world brotherhood of nations in which the strength of the "haves" should be used with a view to promote the good of the "have nots," and no one who is powerful should take advantage of the weak. A simple solution would be that the statesmen of the whole world should meet in a round table conference, and without interfering in the internal working of individual nations bind themselves together in a fellowship. A new League of Nations should be re-created backed by a world court of appeals in which all grievances should be adjudicated. This court should again be supported by an international police force to which units may be contributed by several nations, so that if any nation should flout the League and the decisions of its court its defiance be deemed as an evil design, not against any one nation but against the whole world and it be dealt with by a collective action. Along with this political action economists of the world should meet together and give us a new orientation in economics, wresting it from national control, and making it an international concern. Surplus populations and suppressed minorities should also be given a chance to live in places of the world which hitherto lie unoccupied. Education of illiterate masses should become a world concern and problems, such as curtailment of growth of populations should be scientifically pursued. The cry of Cain of old still resounds over the earth "Am I my brother's keeper?" Fascism totalitarianism, selfish aggression will go on till we continue to boast of our separatist achievements. But more than all this, the world needs an internal change in individuals and in groups. It is only then that the desert can bloom forth into rose-gardens; otherwise it will all mean a mere change in outward environment with the heart untransformed, and we all know that evil hearts will continue to pollute the best of environments. Has not Christianity just the message here which the world desperately needs?

General Assembly Sessions at Bombay.—The General Assembly, which is the highest Court of the United Church of Northern India, held its triennial sessions at Wilson College, Bombay, from October 21st to 25th. In all about 75 Commissioners representing the Church, extending from

(Continued on page 14)

THE MESSENGER PULPIT.

Faith Enshrined.

T. WILKINSON RIDDLE.

'Faith Cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.' (Romans 10:17).

(With acknowledgement to the World Dominion Press)

One peril confronts us in this wonderful Bible Year: we are all so busy praising the Bible that, if we are not careful, we shall have no time to read it. Hardly a week passes without an address of first-rate importance being delivered by some eminent Christian leader.

I propose, on this occasion, therefore, to depart from the methods which have been adopted by others of recent months, and speak, in a simple and practical way, of the supremacy of the Bible as I have proved it for myself.

I remember, a quarter of a century ago, sitting in the library of Dr. Alexander Whyte in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. I had recently left College, and was eager to make the most of my Christian service. I asked Dr. Whyte if he could tell me the best way to study the Bible. Without hesitation, he quoted the words of Martin Luther, who said that there was only one way to study the Bible, and that was through a right use of the personal pronouns. The great Edinburgh divine then proceeded to elaborate that statement, and urged me to remember that all the promises of the Bible were made of God unto me, and that every confession in the Bible, sooner or later, would be found upon my own lips.

To begin at the beginning, therefore, let us remember that *the Bible is supreme as literature.*

When we speak of the Bible, it is important to remember that it is not a book, like Plato's *Republic*; but, as St. Jerome described it, 'a Divine Library,' consisting of sixty-six books, written over a period of twelve to fifteen hundred years by more than thirty different writers in three different languages. For the most part, these thirty different writers were ignorant of what each other had written, and, in some cases, lived hundreds of years apart.

And yet, in spite of this inevitable diversity, there is the most amazing supernatural unity. Between the writing of the book of Genesis and the Apocalypse of St. John, empires rose and fell; institutions waxed and waned; great men lived and died. But, in spite of change and decay, this Divine Library continued to maintain and exhibit a fundamental unity of spiritual purpose and method, which has since become its most impressive characteristic.

When we think of the supremacy of the Bible as literature, we are compelled to note that within the covers of this slender volume we shall find history and philosophy, poetry and biography, theology and ethics, traditions and customs, revelation and experience: all of which, taken together, constitute the most remarkable unfolding of the divine will and purpose to be found in any literature, ancient or modern. If there is one volume in the whole world which is utterly unique, even as literature, that volume is the Bible.

When a student of history and literature begins to praise this Book, he knows not where to begin. It is not an exaggeration, for example, to affirm that the Saxon people have derived their very civilization from this one volume. Writing of the English people, Emerson traced their culture and strength to the simple fact that they had been nourished daily by a chapter from the Bible and a leading article in *THE TIMES*. But not only the Saxon people, and not only the English people: through the ages men have turned to this literature for their inspiration and guidance. To quote some memorable words of Newell Dwight Hill is: "This book lent Milton his Paradise: gave Christopher Wren the plan of his Cathedral: gave liberty to Cromwell: the Messiah to Handel, and the Golden Rule to Abraham Lincoln, for white and black alike."

It is not too much to say that if we took the Bible out of the galleries and Cathedrals; out of the world's music and poetry; out of its laws and literature, only a shell of civilization would be left. To quote Hillis again: "Its thoughts lie like threads of gold upon the rich pages of each Macaulay or Burke—for centuries it has been the book for patriots and reformers; it has been the slave's book; it has been the book for the common people, struggling upward; it has been the book of hope for all prodigals; it has been a medicine book for the broken-hearted."

In the second place, it must be claimed that *the Bible is supreme from the standpoint of philosophy.*

It is a remarkable fact, that human nature never changes, and never advances in any realm other than material progress. Long ago God adjudicated the human race to be in a state of moral bankruptcy, and its insolvency continues apart from the Lord Jesus Christ. We can build new houses, but fail to create clean hearts; we may call old vices by new names, but the Bible declares that there is nothing new under the sun. Every philosophy which is being discussed to-day finds its anticipation in the pages of the Bible.

As a further illustration, let me remind you that, in spite of all his

inventiveness, in spite of his amazing cleverness, man has not invented a single new sin since the Apostle Paul concluded his searching first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Every vice, every abnormality, every hateful and horrid thing that is mirrored in the pages of the daily newspaper, is foreshadowed in that grave chapter.

If man had invented a new sin, it might be necessary to invent a new philosophy to deal with it; but the Bible stands supreme, even as human philosophy, because it takes into account every lapse and failure of which mankind is capable. Cain, and Judas, and Barabbas, continue to find their way to the court of justice and the prison cell; and all the troubles of our national and international life are to be found within the region of the ancient Ten Commandments.

To use an objectionable phrase, the Bible is the most up-to-date philosophy in the world. It is not as though it deals with a type of man that is extinct. In that case, it would be a museum rather than a laboratory. A museum may be absorbingly interesting without being particularly vital. A museum invites you to consider what man was; the Bible urges us to consider what he may become.

The curious thing is that human nature never makes any progress: it moves round and round in a vicious circle. David continues to commit adultery; Noah continues to get drunk; Cain continues to murder his brother; Judas continues to betray his fairest and dearest friends.

All the Bible stories might have been written yesterday; they will certainly be written to-morrow. In no other literature of the world has essential, unchanging, non-progressive man been so faithfully delineated. 'It finds me,' says Coleridge, speaking of the Bible, and that has been the experience of every earnest man who has gone to the Bible, without bias, in quest of a true philosophy of life. 'To live is Christ: to die is gain.'

Once again, we have no difficulty in seeing that *the Bible is supreme in the realm of ethics.*

Just as human nature never changes, so may it be said that human need never changes. The men and women we meet in the Bible are men and women of like passions with ourselves. Their needs of yesterday are our needs of to-day. They made the same mistakes; committed the same sins; indulged in the same excuses; and, in so many cases, sought the same grace and strength.

Do we hate our surroundings, and long for a way of escape? Then we are like another who said: 'O, that I had the wings of a dove; for then would I fly away and be at rest.' Are we thoroughly weary of the deceit and

treachery of those we trusted? Then we are like another who said: 'For it was not an enemy that reproached me: then I could have borne it: but it was thou—a man mine equal—my companion and my familiar friend: we took sweet counsel together: we walked to the House of God in company.' Has death robbed us of all we loved best and prized most? Then we are like another who cried: 'O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night!' Are we still in quest of ultimate truth, still searching for God, if haply we may find him? Then we are like another who sent forth a cry of agonized desire: 'O, that I knew where I might find Him!'

All that is in the Bible, which is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword. Such words are not the fashions of a bygone age: not the sentiments of an extinct generation: they are the pent-up longings of men and women the whole world over. Human nature and human need never change—a fact which explains why the ethics of the Bible are supreme for every age and generation.

But I have left until the end the most important reason why it may be claimed that the Bible is supreme: *it is pre-eminent and supreme as God's final word to man, and as His ultimate disclosure of love and grace.*

Beginning with the Old Testament, we have a revelation of His power as He delivers His chosen people from the land of Egypt and the house of bondage. We see His will and purpose expressed in tables of stone. He is the Father of His people. But there is not a very large place for the individual in the Old Testament. God is the Father of His people very much in the same way that a good king is the father of his people.

But the revelation of the Bible is a progressive revelation. Sinai merges into Calvary; the Commandments are swallowed up in the Cross; what was written on tables of stone is written upon the human heart. The God who is the Father of His people is revealed as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Father of every individual who dares to take Him at His word.

For example, a humble and reverent student of the Bible is not in the least surprised at the course of events in this age. He is not surprised that there are wars and rumours of wars; he is not surprised that the Church of Jesus has become carnal, quarrelsome, and ineffective. All that is clearly revealed. We know what to expect. There is no reason why the hearts of God's people should fail them through fear of what may be coming upon the earth. God's people can rest in quietness

and in confidence because they have returned to Him from Whom they had wandered, and have found rest in the arms of Jesus.

We cannot make too much of the way in which God has been pleased to increase His revelation as men have been able to bear it. When we compare the Old Testament with the New Testament, we discover that what is latent in the one is patent in the other, that what is concealed in the Old is revealed in the New. By the time we reach the Epistle to the Hebrews, we are in the land of the sunrise. Everything is better than it was. The revelation passes from a scroll to a Person, from a servant like Moses to a Son like Jesus; for if Moses led the people out, and Joshua led the people in, the divine Joshua leads His people on. 'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets, by divers portions and in divers manners hath, at the end of these days, spoken unto us in His Son, Whom He appointed heir of all things.'

Now, let us see, in a concluding sentence or two, where all this leads us. Does it not lead us to the point where we started? It is useless to praise the supremacy of the Bible unless the Bible is supreme for the individual mind and conscience. God has nothing to say to nations or individuals which He has not said within the pages of this infallible revelation. He has said all He intends to say. We may agree with the old Puritan that God has much more light and truth to break forth from his Word, but let it be noticed that both light and truth are to break forth from his Word and nowhere else.

I am convinced that the great mission of the Church in this wonderful Bible year is to bring the all people face to face with this divine revelation, which they can only neglect at their peril. It makes plain the way of salvation; it indicates the source and secret of personal strength and national greatness; it warns us of the folly of human confederacies, and carnal alliances with other nations; it assures us that the people are blessed whose God is the Lord; and, what is most wonderful of all, it looks onward to that hour of eternal destiny when God's purposes shall be realized, and when all the kingdoms of this world shall become the one Kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

Nations and individuals who neglect the Word of God do so at their peril. Dust on the Bible means drought in the heart; for here we have God's final declaration to mankind, to which nothing can ever be added, and from which nothing must ever be taken away.

I cannot say that if I had my days to go over again, I would make the Bible central in my preaching, for I can protest before God and man that I have never preached anything else. I have never written a word about the Scriptures which I wish to withdraw; I have never raised a single doubt in the mind of man as to its authority and all-sufficiency. After preaching it in two continents, I believe in it more devoutly than ever; for I know that while the grass withereth and the flower fadeth, the Word of our God shall stand for ever.

INDIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CHRISTIANITY

A. RALLA RAM

A few words by way of introduction. I am writing this article from the steership *Conte Verde* as it goes forward ploughing the deep on its way to Europe, and so feel as if I have acquired a sort of partial detachment in dealing with this subject. Furthermore, I am privileged to be in the company of a number of learned Indians who represent various sections of the country and who come from different walks of life; these I have been interviewing on board and have solicited their opinions relating to the theme under discussion. Their observations have proved most illuminating.

India is, as all my readers know, a world in itself and a sub-continent with a teeming population constituting one-fifth of the human race. All sections of humanity, such as the Aryans, the Dravidians, the Semites, the Mongolians, the Negroids and various aboriginal tribes, fill the land. It stretches out one of its arms to the Far East and the other to the West, and is a central meeting ground of the East and the West. It is a land of marvellous contrasts and is a baffling colourful panorama of darkness and light. Naturally, generalisations are impossible to achieve and sweeping remarks are on the face of them a doubtful commodity. Nevertheless some general trends and facts can be marshalled with confidence and conviction, and although some of them may be furiously disputed in certain quarters, yet they prove to be helpful sign-posts. Therefore let it be said at once that there is not just one single attitude to present and to examine, but all kinds of reactions are rampant claiming recognition. Not only so, but even Christianity itself carries with it most interesting connotations which we shall meet in the course of our journey together in this article.

The enquiry may well be raised at this stage, whether the Christian message has found its way into the soul of India. A difficult question to answer, but let it be said without fear of contradiction that a brotherhood representative of the Church Universal, howsoever faulty, has become firmly rooted in the soil and stands for three outstanding ideals; namely, the Gospel must be adorned by coming to be increasingly understood—the formation of the fellowship of the brethren—the Church and its proclamation to the world around through life and witness the riches of God's grace.

But what is the attitude (or attitudes, to be exact) to these distinctly Christian convictions. It is this question which we shall attempt to answer in this article. Bluntly stated these attitudes are as follows:—(i.) of opposition; (ii.) of indifference; (iii.) of meaningless courtesy; (iv.) of critical sympathy and partial acceptance; and (v.) whole-hearted committal.

Opposition.—No impartial observer of facts will deny that a fair amount of opposition and resistance exists toward the promulgation of the Christian message, and reasons for this antagonism are not far to seek. Stated briefly these are:—

1. *Christianity is yet regarded as an alien faith.* True that Christianity was introduced by way of Travancore in the very early Christian centuries, but it never penetrated into the country and remained limited to that one state. Later Nestorian and other influences beat upon the Indian shores, but remained spasmodic and sectional. With the advent of the English it became a noticeable innovation, and came with the stigma of being the faith of the conquerors. Previous to the era of the British occupation, the Moguls and their predecessors had brought another alien faith, namely Islam, and while it is true that from the point of view of population India is the *largest* Muslim country in the world, nevertheless Islam failed to reach India's heart, and after six or seven centuries of Islamic occupation, when Europeans came as conquerors with Christianity as their professed faith, it became and has remained an alien faith. While a long roll of British devotees of Christ could be called, nevertheless it has sadly to be admitted that Britain in its relations with India has tragically failed to commend Christ to the Indian people. Of course, it is false to state that Britain, or for that matter any country in Europe, is a Christian country, and therefore perhaps in the very nature of the case it could not be expected that Britain would be interested at all in India becoming a Christian country. Yet

let it be stated to the everlasting credit of British occupation, that it has remained a stout champion of religious liberty and has not followed the example of some of its Muslim predecessors.

2. Then again it has to be frankly admitted that the Christian Church has been guilty of being a denationalized body. Partially the missionaries from abroad were the unconscious perpetrators of this act and to an appreciable extent grim intolerance of other communities made the Christian people an exclusive lot. They reacted by breaking loose entirely from even wholesome aspects of indigenous culture and by identifying themselves with European life and culture; even European names and habits were freely accepted and all national aspirations for self-government were studiously eschewed by those so-called Christians. Be it said in passing, and with emphasis, that Christians are rapidly awakening to the national call and are gradually coming to the forefront of the national fight for emancipation.

3. Once again, we have been guilty in the past of overfondness of increase of numbers, and hasty additions to our ranks have been made. Advantage has been taken of famine conditions and other similar situations, and proselytes have been gained. You cannot possibly tar the whole Christian enterprise with this brush, but at the same time you cannot deny that time and again we have fallen from grace in this respect. Fortunately such methods are militantly opposed today and Christian missionaries are exercising great care to eschew careless influx of numbers. All this is to the good; nevertheless wherever you go you will be told that Christianity is out to add to its ranks at all costs. This impression continues to persist and we must be actively engaged in removing it. There is one fact, however, which is the constant marvel of opponents. They know that barely seventy-five per cent of the Christian people have been recruited from among the off-scourings of Hindu society and yet these people have become transformed beyond recognition as if it were overnight. Thoughtful people are "sitting up" and taking note of this mysterious phenomenon.

4. Even Christian hospitals and educational institutions are regarded as baits which Christian missions are throwing out with a view to entrap victims. I, as a Christian who am in the know of things, repudiate this charge categorically, but that does not alter the fact that the prevailing impression is that the purpose of these institutions is to gain proselytes. The truth of the matter is

that when it comes to actual baptisms these agencies have to report very few. The Christian may be refused to be heard but one day he will be heard as he goes on asserting with his deep-seated conviction that he does *not* engage himself in these good acts with a view to swell his ranks, but that, if he is at all a true follower of the Master, he must, like his Lord, go about doing good, and that healing of bodies, illuminating of minds, giving bread to the hungry are acts that must perforce flow out of the life that has been given to him in Christ Jesus. But we are talking of attitudes of others outside and so let us proceed with facts as they are.

5. Especially at this time when Europe, the home of Christian civilization, has turned into a Bull of Bashon and is surfeited with good things of this world and seems to exult in its satisfaction of materialistic culture, when so-called Christian countries, such as Germany, Russia and Italy, are repudiating age-long formative basic forces of Christianity, and a mad race for piling of armaments is being ruthlessly pursued, India cannot help asking whether, after all, Christianity can accomplish what it lays claims to. Here again we have learnt at bitter cost to put up our defence. We declare in season and not out of season that there is no such thing as Christendom in the geographical sense, that while Christian people exist in all lands, there is no land that can be called Christian. You may declare from the house-tops that Europe as such is not and never was Christian, nevertheless glaring realities in the European situation make many an ardent lover of Christ cry out from the very bitterness of his soul "They have taken away my Lord and I do not know where they have placed him." A blatant betrayal of Christ has been repeated and India watches this spectacle with a sad heart.

6. Another important quarter from which opposition comes is that of inveterate solidarity due to caste affiliations and family ties of affection, and as Christianity calls for a new brotherhood, naturally resistance is offered. A Hindu Professor of Physics on board, a most attractive young man travelling with his charming wife brought up in a Christian school, even went to the extent of saying "I admire Christ and have a great affection for Him, but I refuse to renounce the matchless catholicity of the Hindu community in which all that is required of me is not to renounce the Hindu fold and yet at the same time hold any opinions I please even to the extent of actively opposing Hindu teachings. This fold, which is replete with contradic-

tions giving me full liberty, is far more acceptable to me than being bound hand and foot with Christian dogmas which I shall be compelled rigidly to adhere to. My remonstrance that truth in all realms, scientific, religious or otherwise, is a most uncompromising task-master and that the discipline of truth leads to real liberty, made little impression on him. He is too good a man to be accused by me as one who is putting up a facade for the sake of keeping in the fold where he now is, but I suspect that that is the truth.

As has been indicated above, India is in the process of realising Christ apart from the the organized Church. A great deal is hurled at the Church which is grossly unfair. We who would like India to come to its own in Christ cannot float about as free-lances, we have to have our moorings in the brotherhood called the Church with all its defects, but we have to face up to the fact that, to those who are outside the Church, while her faithful ambassadors do take Christ to the world, yet in its organized life it very often draws a veil over the face of Christ. I have in my cabin a very distinguished gentleman who claims that it is only for census purposes that he permits to have himself dubbed as a Mohammedan. Only this morning he begged of me to sit at his table at breakfast lest the appointed *Maulvi* (Muslim clergyman) to be in charge of a mosque in England should sit in front of him and make it difficult for him to enjoy his bacon and ham. He surprised me with his intellectual grasp of Christian tenets, but at the same time holding that joining the Church has no meaning for him because of his individualistic temperament. He is a fair sample of many who are opposed to affiliations with organized religion, and as such see no value in joining the Christian Church. These two types of persons whom I have described at length present a very interesting phenomenon for study and investigation.

7. And finally, the resistance which India is offering to Christianity is because multitudes believe that all religions are various homes into which we have been sent by the very fiat of God, and while we may accept truth from all sources yet the fact remains that ultimately all religions will lead to God Who is our beginning and our end, and so the least suggestion of migrating from one community into another is wrong. Such an attitude is championed by world-renowned personages, such as Mahatma Gandhi. He doubts whether even open preaching with a view to conversion of others should be permitted. He would say that if one has anything worth while in his faith it will

get known even as the fragrance of a rose can never remain hidden. Because of this opinion, which is fairly prevalent, Christianity, which is regarded as an alien intruder, comes under the shell-fire of criticism and opposition. Here I may say that I regard Mr. Gandhi as one of the greatest allies of Christianity and at the same time as one of its greatest opponents. Christian principles and teachings have entered into the very texture of his being, yet with his tenacious attachment to Hinduism he teaches and practices them without attributing them to their origin and resource, and at the same time he resents deeply that any effort should be made in India to advance the membership of the Christian Church. Another eminent professor said to me on board yesterday, "I used to be a bitter opponent of Christ and I always used to resist missionaries, but it is because of Mr. Gandhi and his life and teachings that I have begun to understand something of the Christian faith". A striking testimony.

I have tried to be as fair as possible in the above appraisal to the attitude of India toward Christianity and feel that it is incumbent on us to grapple with it and then raise the prayer to God, "Lord what wouldst Thou have me do?" It is no use glossing over realities and to fool ourselves with superficial optimism. There are hopeful factors which enter into the situation and which we shall notice later, but we cannot hoodwink ourselves with shallow make-beliefs.

Indifference—After a candid examination of the reasons for the attitude of opposition to Christianity on the part of many, we must address ourselves to another attitude to Christianity which has been taken up by thousands and in one word, it is that of sheer *Indifference*.

1. This callousness is not peculiarly Indian, it is a repercussion of the world situation. A kind of agnosticism seems to have laid hold of many which is not just a humble way of acknowledging human limitations, but a deliberate attitude of "leaving things alone." The spiritualist East against the materialistic West is an empty phraseology of arrant nonsense. Human prosperity and craving after the tinsels of modern materialism blatantly rampant in my country has brought about this attitude of "caring not."

2. But more than this, India is passing through a period of bewildering disillusionment. A great deal that passed for religion has now ceased to appeal to the people. Countless youth, it may safely be asserted, have come to hold a sort of negative attitude to religion. What

I mean is, that they have come to believe that a good deal in which their forefathers put their trust was much ado about nothing and so they have arrived at the naive conclusion that religion is all whistling in the dark to keep one's courage up. While the old is being rapidly abandoned, yet nothing new and positive has yet gripped them, and a materialistic philosophy of life has taken hold of them.

3. In the third place, the tin-god of nationalism has made them exclusive votaries at its shrine and they are so intoxicated with the wine administered in its so-called sanctuaries that they have ceased to consider any higher loyalties. Here again all that is happening in countries like Germany and Italy, has found its repercussions in India.

4. In the fourth place, this indifference has come about because of persistent Hindu-Muslim conflicts. The young people of my country often throw into my face, and those like me, that religion should be left severely alone as it is a hot-bed of divisions and strifes. They have become impatient of this incessant conflict between the two major communities and believe that if religion be discarded, reconciliation and brotherhood would be hastened. This is, I must say, a very ill-considered attitude. In spite of their insistence that even Christianity has blackened the pages of its history by militant warfare against adherents of other faiths, I fail to see the validity of their argument. True that religious instinct in man has been abused, but to hold that therefore on that account it should be completely extirpated, passes my understanding. The instincts of sex and hunger have been similarly abused, but no one dare resolve, therefore, that they be rooted out of our beings. Yes, all that and a great deal more could be said, but the fact remains that indifference to religion as such, and therefore to Christianity, seems to be gaining ground for the time being and one waits for the vindication of truth and of righteousness from on High.

"Meaningless Courtesies"—There is another attitude which is evident on the part of myriads of my people, and that is that of "exchange of courtesies". India may well be characterized as a country of kindness and courtesy, but, I am afraid, that sometimes it becomes only a matter of empty compilation of words. I have often asked of my countrymen as to what their attitude to Christ is, and invariably the reply is, "I was a student of a Mission School and I have a great respect and admiration for Christ". On closer questioning I have learnt that the New Testament has never been opened since school or

college days, and that the person addressed knows next to nothing about Christ. In some cases one can begin with even this kind of friendly attitude and lead one on to deeper realities, but in many cases a false satisfaction with this kind of "feeling" deprives one of that spirit of enquiry which is a healthy asset of sincere seekers after truth.

I admit that it is not strictly to the point here, but nevertheless it should be stated, that teeming millions are completely ignorant of the existence of the Christian faith. They remain unreached. Masses of men and women tread India's dreary roads of pilgrimages, steeped in ignorance and superstition and are exploited to selfish advantages by blind leaders leading the blind. Poverty, illiteracy and superstitious practices have almost made them immune to fresh truth and they continue in the tradition of their fathers from age to age. These people can never be regarded as indifferent or hostile, but would courteously give their approval to what you may have to say and yet carry on as if they never heard what was told them. This is what appears on the surface, and yet one never knows what even a casual word may mean to a seemingly ignorant soul. Any visitor to India would meet with these masses everywhere, and it is just as well to know as to what their attitude to Christianity is. Be it remembered that it is mainly from these masses that the Christian Church has risen in India.

Critical Sympathy and Partial Acceptance.—All that has so far been said reveals one outstanding truth, that Christianity is a most self-critical religion and that it does not spare its own adherents when they fail to be faithful to their Master. The torch of criticism which turns to others is constantly applied to its own self. I rejoice in this most wholesome attitude and plead that it be tenaciously adhered to.

Among the critics of Christianity, both within and without, there is a large number who are sympathetic and cordial and whose criticism always serves as a wholesome corrective.

I now proceed to mention some of the results which have come about because of the widespread direct and indirect influence of Christianity, which I look upon as preparing the way for the time when Christianity will be accepted by many. This work of leavening should be regarded as of the utmost importance. I am aware of a growing number of critics who maintain that Christian schools and colleges which cater for non-Christian communities and which are unproductive from the point of view of direct baptism, should speedily be abandoned and Missions and Churches should only concern themselves with

the work of direct evangelism. I regard this attitude to be entirely short-sighted and one that at all costs gives preference to the immediate against the potential remote. I hope that all those who are interested in the Christian cause will never be stampeded into any such hasty course of action. Let me cite some aspects of this leavening process which are bound to be of interest to all my readers:—

I maintain that growingly Christian standards are becoming the norm of public life and conduct. The late Mr. C. R. Das, President of the National Congress and a Hindu, once in the course of discussion in the meeting of his cabinet, turned to one member and said, "What an un-Christian thing to say." The remark was probably casual and did not mean to him all that it connotes to us, but was and is a true indicative of the way in which opinions and life are being moulded. I have no doubt that the whole movement led by Mr. Gandhi toward the uplift of the Untouchables has been inspired by Christian teachings. A paper like THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER, an ally and opponent of Christianity, is playing a very vital part in permeating public life with Christian standards of conduct, and this norm and criterion is steadily gaining ground.

A number of people are becoming Christianized in thought and spirit without identifying themselves with the Christian community, and who would even take a public stand for Christ and give full and free help in the conducting of evangelistic meetings.

Age-long wrongs are being righted and customs hoary with age are being challenged and abandoned because of the light that has come which can only be traced directly or indirectly to Christian sources.

The great movement among the Untouchables which has led them to become "a people at bay" seeking for a better country, is a direct result of the preaching of the Gospel. It is widely admitted that the influence of Christianity has brought about this great coming trek when a whole people is striking its tents to throw away age-long bondage.

There has arisen in India a new type of educated womanhood which may be the envy of any nation. There is no question that women in the Christian Church have been the great pioneers in the public life of the country and have led the way for their sisters to take their places in the national life of the country. I am aware that other influences have also been at work which are responsible for this change, and some will furiously dispute my appraisal, but

I have stated my position with conviction. An outstanding citizen of Allahabad, who not long hence will be a judge sitting on the bench of the High Court and who is a Hindu, recently in my own hearing volunteered of his own accord a statement along similar lines.

The disillusioned young India tired of old traditions and callous toward organized religion, yet is an open-minded India, and preachers like Dr. Stanley Jones and others are listened to attentively by thousands and their responsiveness is amazing. "Not far from the Kingdom" and on the fringe and outskirts of the Christian Church a vast multitude gropes after that which can satisfy.

I could cite other illustrations in defence of this position, that in the midst of sympathetic criticism a partial acceptance of Christianity is growingly taking place, but sufficient has been said to point out the potent indirect results of the preaching of the Christian faith.

Whole-hearted Committal.—Having said all this, I take pride in the fact that the Church Universal has its counterpart in India which has taken upon itself the name of the Lord Jesus. It has gathered unto itself men and women from various tribes, cultures and religions, who love the Lord Jesus and who are seeking for themselves fulness of heritage in Christ Jesus. Let us note some of the characteristics of this Brotherhood of Christian believers:—

1. *It is a Growing Church.*—Statistics can not be despised, although these are not an all-sufficient test of progress. For the last forty years the Church has grown from the point of view of numbers at the rate of 400 persons a day, until now there are five millions of Christians in India belonging to various confessions and denominations.

2. *It is the greatest reconciling force in the Country.*—India is a land of colourful contrasts and baffling divisions, racially, economically, and religiously. But the Church which is arising in India is taking unto itself people from all these backgrounds and spheres and welding them into a people which also is a separate brotherhood, and yet has its affinities with the various cultures of the land. Although errors have taken place in the treatment of the cultures around, yet it can truthfully be asserted that the Church in India is identifying itself growingly with the national aspirations of the country; it looks with favour upon converts bringing the wholesome aspects of their cultures into the Church. From the point of view of names, costumes, ways of living, it can be said that the Church is

becoming an all embracing brotherhood. The higher castes and the lower castes, are being welded together into a common brotherhood. Men and women are finding a family life together and age-long cleavages and barriers are being bridged over. It may truthfully be called a Bridge Church, a spanned arch of reconciliation.

3. *It is a Transforming Church.*—I take pride in the fact that this Church is holding out a great hope to the down-trodden depressed millions who over thousands of years have, so to speak, been crushed under the heels of the privileged classes. These people in large numbers are coming into the Christian Church and, believe me, are being completely transformed, liberated and uplifted. In one of the central parts of the country, people belonging to a higher caste, in their thousands, are coming into the Church and their introduction to Christ came through the transformation which they had witnessed among converts from lower castes. They openly say "These people whom we had regarded and treated as good for nothing have gone ahead of us in character and culture and we have been led to open ourselves to the preaching of this transforming gospel."

4. *It is an Evangelizing Church.*—We have various expressions of this aspect of our Church life. We are not as evangelistic as we ought to be, but the task of evangelism is widely regarded as absolutely essential. We have an inter-denominational Missionary Society called the National Missionary Society, which is a united expression of the evangelistic task of the Church. Some of our denominations are now beginning to send their missionaries to other lands. Missions conducted in University towns are being attended by large groups.

5. *It is a Pioneering Church.*—Three examples here may be cited. I may humbly say that the South India United Church negotiations have set the pace for a vigorous pursuit of the ideal of unity throughout the world. Then again it has emphasized the meaning of "Fellowship in the Gospel" through the *Ashram* method of worship study and service. It has of late begun to give special attention to relate India's spiritual heritage and culture to the unique message of redemption through the Lord Jesus Christ. These three illustrations would suffice to show that in spite of several limitations which impede its growth, the Church is going forward in various directions.

6. *It is a Church that honours its membership in the World Community of Christian Believers.*—It is a new Church and suffers from many unnecessary impositions from the West which have come as redundant accretions

along with the Christian message, and for very good reasons. Realizing that these have not grown out of its experience it might impatiently go on a career of its own defying historic values of the growth of Christianity throughout the world. It is engaged in working at the material already given and is evolving a pattern of its own choice.

These are some of the characteristics of this new Church—an infant Church. Are we willing to say "Unto us a Child is given and government shall be upon its shoulders?"

Conclusion.—We have now arrived at the end of our inadequate survey of the Indian panorama from the point of view of the growth of Christianity. That vast sub-continent which is replete with colourful diversities, is today teeming with new life and is experiencing a veritable Spring time. It calls all lovers of Christ in India and abroad to help in building that beloved community which is the Family of God.

The question may well be asked of me, whether with political developments, the Congress, or any other body, will exert its influence and power to impede the growth of the Church and its task of evangelism? My answer would be that while some of the features of organized Christian work may be re-examined and even suppressed, yet the country is liberal and comprehensive enough in its outlook as not to interfere with the main life and task of the Church. For one thing, the Muslims, who are a strong community, will never let any enactment take place which would interfere with similar privileges which they enjoy, but more than that, India, which has always been so hospitable to all the major religions and cultures of the world, will act fairly and liberally by all minor communities. While some discouraging features do enter into the present situation, yet the Kingdom is here and is going forward.

"His Truth is marching on."

Y. M. C. A. & CHANGING INDIA

An address delivered at the Aera Conference at Murree on 24th September, 1938.

By MR. J. S. AIMAN

National General Secretary Y.M.C.A.

To understand all that is involved in the rapidity and diversity of the changes taking place in India to-day is a vital concern for the Y. M. C. A. Therefore, if our Movement is to make

a stimulating and worthy contribution to the progress of the country, we will require, among other things, to face the fact that there must be born within our secretarial leadership, a new spirit of investigation, decision, energy and action. The remarkable change in the spirit and outlook of the people has brought us recognition of the fact that the old ways of carrying out our programme are obsolete.

As I see them, the possibilities of direct service and of co-operation which we can render to the country are almost frightening by their number. However, let me say, here and now, that neither we, nor any other organisation, can tackle every problem. But those in which we cannot take a direct part can surely have our moral backing.

While belonging to a minority group, we should never have any sense of separateness accentuating our activities. We must henceforward belong to India, while retaining our distinctive characteristics, for we are Indians. Since we are men pledged to service in a Movement, non-sectarian, non-political and international, we have the advantage of producing and reproducing in others that spirit of tolerance so badly needed in India to-day. But to realise our aspiration of having a living part in the life of New India depends upon our ability to produce leaders of the right type.

Leadership.—I do not mean that existing leaders should be replaced but that they should adopt a completely new attitude towards their work. As someone said recently, "No Association can rise higher than its leadership". Let us never forget this, nor that the country judges our Movement by the type of men who are our leaders. I would emphasise, therefore, that the future training which, as an Association, we provide for our leaders should aim not at the conscious application of a technique, but at the assimilation of knowledge and the comprehension of a living purpose. In other words, we must see that our Secretaries and laymen are not given a training which only fits them to run the business side of the Association, but that they are fully experienced, as a result of contact, with the needs of the people in the environment where they work and in addition, that they are fully informed on all shades of contemporary thought affecting the life of the country. Even more important, they must have a thorough understanding of and a sincere desire to further the aim and purpose of our Movement in order to effectively carry out their duties. It is absolutely essential for every leader in our Movement to have a deep and unchangeable faith in God,

in himself as an instrument of God, and faith in his vocation.

Education.—In this field scheme after scheme is being worked out throughout the country, notably in the Congress provinces where definite action has taken place, particularly in the case of Primary Education, Physical Education and more slowly, but with equal certainty, in Health Education.

Since Mahatma Gandhi modified the self-supporting principle of the Wardha scheme, much of the opposition against the scheme as a whole, has died down. And it is to be hoped that promoters of this scheme will see their way to accept the suggestion that has been made to include not only village crafts but some industrial processes as well, for they would be of immense value to pupils in later life since India is becoming rapidly industrialised.

Illiteracy.—Surely if it is not given to us to directly help in the Wardha or other educational experiments, it is our direct responsibility to promote and develop an adult literacy programme in every one of our Branches, beginning with our domestic and subordinate office workers. You will be surprised to learn that in such an advanced city as Bombay, the literacy figure is only 29 per cent for men and 15 per cent for women. Can you imagine what it must be elsewhere? Contrary to popular belief the problem of tackling illiteracy does not bristle with difficulties, provided there is the *real will* and desire to raise the standard of life for those who cannot yet read or write.

To begin with the towns. There are in India, fifteen million people returned as industrial workers. Can we not see that classes are provided for them at convenient times so that before the next census, illiterates can be made literate? Again, there are workers in hotels and cafes, etc., numbering over four million. Their hours are long, it is true, but cannot we and others we know who come into contact with them, do something towards making these workers literate? It is to be remembered that the bulk of these workers, and many other types of workers, return from time to time to their village homes, consequently they are bound to have an influence on others.

There is an article by Miss Van Doren giving detailed and excellent suggestions on "Adult Literacy", in the September number of *THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL REVIEW*, most worthy of study. May I advocate a widespread Y. M. C. A. campaign to abolish illiteracy, in co-operation with our Branch membership and other societies doing similar work? You may be interested to learn that the Churches in South India have pledged themselves to make every

one in their membership literate by 1941. I put it to you, we have a large membership of young men above eighteen years of age. If even one-third of them undertook each to make one man literate, we would produce a significant addition to the number of literates, within the brief period of six months, which I understand is the maximum time required to produce a working knowledge of one's own mother tongue. Then, is there any reason why we should stop after teaching only one man each! Much can also be done in this connection through the medium of our Boys' Department. Let all Secretaries, local board members and laymen face this as their immediate responsibility. Would it not be possible to offer the use of a room or a hall free of rent in each of our premises, wherein early morning or night school classes could be held? May I stress my conviction, that, when each man and woman in India becomes literate, there will be fewer riots, unruly processions, strikes and mob activities, for the obvious reason that the power of rumour, gossip and superstition would be greatly diminished and replaced to a great extent by individual thought and action. Only when we have complete literacy can we hope to have real progress.

Physical Education.—Concerning Physical Education, Provincial Governments are now making rapid strides in the development of their programmes of compulsory Physical Education and as a first step they have either started or are about to start Physical Training Institutions. We in the Y.M.C.A. are at present studying the possibility of a National Physical Work Policy. You will realise that I am not in a position to speak further on this until more details of the Provincial Governments programmes of Physical Education become available, since we wish to have our policy in line with Provincial needs. It is to be hoped, however, that in giving due emphasis to the need of compulsory Physical Education, the question of India's hunger will not be overlooked.

Nutrition.—To me this is a major problem—for, as has been pointed out, it would amount to cruelty to force children to take vigorous exercise on empty stomachs. There is no question that the majority of India's children are under-nourished. In Bombay alone school reports state that there are 3,200 under-nourished children in Municipal Schools. Therefore, the Y.M.C.A. ought in every province to focus civic attention and responsibility on this problem by agitating among the members of local bodies concerned to ensure that budgetary provision is made for the supply of free milk to the under-nourished child-

ren in their particular areas. Here is the answer for those who say there is no money. "Money is readily found for fine new buildings, but they are no asset to a Corporation when her little children are undergrown and even deformed through lack of nourishment." Short courses of lectures on the benefits of a balanced diet can be arranged for the benefit of students, teachers and others interested, with particular emphasis laid on the fact that the lecturer or lecturers must be well qualified and competent to deal with the subject. Such lectures might be vernacularised in simple language and distributed in leaflet form.

There is now in India, good research work being done on the question of a balanced diet in relation to mental and physical growth. One can gauge the significance of the place nutrition has in the Indian mind when it is realised that the health bulletin published last year and containing all the available data about the composition of Indian foodstuffs, based on results obtained in the Coonoor Laboratories, sold out its first edition of 20,000 copies right away and the second edition is almost exhausted. Such research work is bound to ultimately have a definite and probably far-reaching effect in determining our future rural policies. Wide-awake interest and attention, particularly on the part of our rural workers, must be given to developments in this field. Experiments might well be tried out on a simple scale by our Rural Departments and the resulting observations offered to research workers and passed on also to others interested in the problem of nutrition. Our Y. M. C. A. College of Physical Education has contributed valuable data on diet as a result of their research work in Saidapet. District surveys are also being made by the Nutrition Advisory Committee in Mysore State, Travancore, Kashmir, Assam and other places. When available the results of these surveys should be studied with the utmost care and attention, for we know well that an underfed people will always have their outlook clouded by impaired health, and it is our duty to uplift whenever and wherever we can. Let us keep pace with all such research and its results.

Diseases.—While it is probably beyond the scope of the Y. M. C. A. to do any medical work concerning India's fight against ravaging diseases, notably tuberculosis, cholera, malaria, typhoid, etc., it is our responsibility to educate people as widely as possible to take effective steps whereby such diseases can be avoided or danger of contagion minimised. Of course, this is already a part of our rural programmes and our City

branches have also been making their contributions by lectures. Much still remains to be done. More could be done in and outside our Branches through the medium of lantern lectures of the type obtainable at our Headquarters Lecture Department, and at the Red Cross Headquarters Office. We might well by voluntary help have such lectures summarised in simple vernacular for distribution. We can offer to co-operate with the Public Health Department in each of our areas, by forming groups of volunteer workers who will be willing to assist the Department, as required, in Health, Education either in town or villages. The Madras Association has already done a splendid piece of work along these lines of co-operation.

Y. M. C. A. and Politics.—If we attempt to make our Movement political, I am convinced we will kill it. We must offer help and co-operation to all Governments in every piece of work leading to better conditions of life for the people of our country.

As in past years, we should give the assurance of no political siding in any form by Y. M. C. A. Secretaries, either inside or outside the Movement. The reason why the Y. M. C. A. has had its hold and still has its definite place in the life of the Indian Youth, is because it is non-sectarian, non-political and international.

Although, however, we are non-political we serve the country by continuing to provide a common meeting place for all castes and creeds, and all shades of political thought and opinion. We must see to it that our membership is given the fullest opportunity for intelligent study of political conditions in order that every move may be fully understood from different angles. Furthermore, it is our special duty as Christians to pray for the success of those who are trying to help the country, no matter to what party they may belong. Let us endeavour also to do everything possible to instil in the minds of our membership the value of discipline in thought and action and the futility of indiscipline which leads only to confusion and disunity and retards progress. As I have said before, the building of a New India depends much upon the capacity of Youth to do real thinking and take right decisions. Let us help them in achieving this and in particular let us create the opportunity for Youth to break down the gradually intensifying spirit of distrust widespread in India to-day. Most of all, let us, through the medium of our Association, concentrate upon the elimination of communalism. If it can be realised that the popular conception of communalism, as being a conflict between the two great religious groups of

India, is quite wrong, much bitterness will be avoided. It is a conflict largely of material interests. May not the Y. M. C. A., as a Christian organisation, remembering that they are Indians above all, be the instruments used to heal the breach that exists between the two major communities! With God to uphold us and a strong, sincere effort on our part, why should not this be within our power?

Prohibition.—Now that prohibition is slowly but surely moving on its way through India, unparalleled opportunity is given to us in the Y. M. C. A. to substitute something better to take the place that drink held in so many lives. It seems to me that the line of action taken by Mr. P. M. Joseph and his helpers from the Y. M. C. A. College of Physical Education, Madras, is an excellent step in the right direction and can well be emulated. You will see what I mean as I quote to you these words of Prof. John MacMurray: "If you mean by social service, doing good to definite, living, suffering people, that is all right; the only way in which you can really serve people in a way that matters is to enter into friendship with them". I consider Mr. Joseph's work as having the highest value because he did precisely just that. Details of Mr. Joseph's method are available in pamphlet form at Headquarters in Calcutta.

Unemployment.—Concerning unemployment, there are many influences at work endeavouring to improve conditions for the unemployed and we must join them. My own strong belief is that, primarily, much of the agony now endured by our unemployed, particularly of the educated unemployed, could have been avoided had there been real thought given to professional and industrial requirements. It is our clear responsibility to help young men to avoid the mistake of qualifying for what are already overcrowded professions. I suggest that every single Association forms an Advisory Bureau for vocational guidance, the members of the Bureau being formed from among leading business and professional men in the community.

As I have said before, I would also advise that our Secretarial Staff, as well as senior active or associate members, do all in their power to form a relationship with their younger members, whereby the boys and young men would voluntarily seek their advice. It should not be beyond us to offer preliminary guidance which can be later supplemented by the specialists on the Advisory Bureau where need arises.

We can also be of real assistance to the unemployed by having a special notice board in a conspicuous part of our building, whereon intimations of vacancies may be posted

as well as notices of scholarships and free training in smaller industries. To get such information requires, of course, a little effort on our part, but it is a service which is also our responsibility. I have repeatedly stressed the fact that the Y. M. C. A. ought to undertake the provision of amenities to occupy at least some of the enforced leisure hours of the unemployed. Something can be done in this connection by opening our libraries between certain hours and arranging to have one room or hall made available in the Y. M. C. A. building where books, magazines and newspapers can be read and games played. Further information on this subject can be found in my two articles entitled "Unemployment and the Y. M. C. A.'s responsibility" published in the Y. M. I. (September 1936), and "This Unemployment," obtainable at 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.

Other Social Evils.—Every Y. M. C. A. branch has its part to play in the removal of other social evils which time does not permit me to mention. We cannot but be acutely aware of the problems of caste disabilities, housing, slums, beggars, insufficiency of playgrounds, debt caused by social ceremonies, etc. Censoring these evils is not enough; therefore, we as an Association must give our wholehearted support to all measures for removing the social injustices and prejudices which are responsible for these unfortunate conditions. Towards creating intelligent public opinion we ought to do even more than at present, by arranging for courses of public lectures on citizenship. Such lectures should be delivered by recognised leaders of different communities.

Christian Emphasis.—A few months ago, an Indian non-Christian friend of mine who has, in the course of his diplomatic services for India, seen the Y. M. C. A. at work in many countries, expressed this point of view. "I have always observed, that many of those who come into contact with Y. M. C. A. workers and standards, though they do not themselves become Christians, because of what they see and hear, they adopt, imbibe and keep before them Christian standards of behaviour and habits. The Y. M. C. A. is peculiarly and particularly gifted to be in this position. In fact they have an unique advantage in India over organisations who depend on the spoken word. In India acts count more than words."

I have very often thought over my friend's words, particularly the last sentence. Let each of us in the Movement, secretarial and lay workers, think of it too.

When we study the three years of Christ's life on earth and dwell upon them, we find that, then as to-day,

it was His acts which received most emphasis including the great final act to redeem us. His Life to its end was Service.

May I leave this message with you—we can carry out all manner of social services in India, but unless we have apparent Christianity in the personal and public life of each member and worker in our Movement, our service will lose its value and our Y. M. C. A. its place as the great witnessing Movement it ought to be. Let it be remembered that there are many social service organisations in India doing excellent work, but since we are members of a Christian organisation we ought to act as such and clearly show that Christ lives in us, controls our lives and enables us to hold true to our fundamental principles of service, friendship and brotherhood between man and man, transcending all barriers of race, creed or caste.

Let us each one rededicate our life anew during the World Week of Prayer, to witness for Him and to reaffirm our faith in Him, going forward thereafter in renewed strength and looking ever upward.

CHRIST AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER

(Summary of a lecture by Professor J.R. Andrus, delivered under the auspices of the Burma Christian Council. Mr W. L. Barreto, retired Deputy Commissioner, presided).

It is not without trepidation that I attempt to outline the Christian view of the economic order. Fortunately, or unfortunately, Christians are not unanimous on this or any other subject. The only possible course seems to be to examine the basic principles enunciated by Jesus, along with the general purport of his life so far as economic matters were concerned, and then attempt to apply these principles to some of the leading problems of our own day. The economic environment has changed so drastically in the intervening nineteen centuries that one must be careful indeed in applying to present-day circumstances the teachings which might have been intended only for an earlier day. Yet Christians are in general agreement that Jesus gave us something which would be permanent in value, and not subject to the vicissitudes of historical change. It is our duty reverently to study this foundation of permanent value and use it in our lives and in our interpretation of contemporary problems.

Marshall, greatest economist of the past generation, was of the opinion that "The question whether poverty is

necessary gives its highest interest to economics". Doubtless other economists are interested in economics for quite different reasons, but Marshall's approach is eminently suitable for the Christian.

Jesus's emphasis was mainly spiritual. It would be extremely unfair to expect to gain from His life and teachings a complete treatise on the economics of his own age, let alone that of other ages. Material or economic problems were touched only as they were fraught with spiritual interest. Yet Jesus was not an ascetic. True, He said "Man shall not live by bread alone", but the very presence of the word "alone" indicates that He was willing to concede a place, though a subordinate one, to matters of material and economic interest. I believe that He did give us sufficient basic principles that the task of outlining the chief points of a Christian economic order is not a hopeless one. I also believe that a large measure of agreement has already been reached among Christians who have attacked this problem.

The task is complicated at the outset by the fact that one must choose between the outlining of a Christian Utopia, remote from the facts of contemporary life, and the outlining of a system which might be the best practical alternative, among those actually available at the moment. I prefer the latter method, which seems to me to have been the position taken by Mr. Wilson a fortnight ago in his interesting discussion of the subject "Christ and War". Hence such isolated examples as the communism of consumption goods practised by the early church at Jerusalem will not be drawn upon. Neither will such statements as Jesus command to the rich young man "Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor". It would be absurd to attempt to make a general rule out of a command given to a particular individual under special circumstances.

Some doubt whether Jesus was concerned with economic problems at all. When he was asked to adjudicate or intervene in an inheritance case he refused to do so, and merely gave a command against covetousness. Yet we find that he *did* take an interest in economic life to the extent of recognizing the search for wealth as a reason for moral failure. He penetrated at once to the spiritual problem behind an economic situation, but did not pretend to give a complete manual of daily practice.

On the other hand, His parables usually dealt with economic problems. They were concerned with vineyards, orchards, wheat fields, stewards, jewels. His discourse was filled with illustrations from the economic life of His time. Jesus certainly recognized

the inter-connection between the spiritual and the economic. In His Parable of the Last Judgment the distinction between those whom He praised and those whom He condemned was made according to the manner in which they had used their wealth and their personal efforts—whether they used them in ministering to the less fortunate, or failed so to minister. A number of other commands leap to mind: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him", "Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will give him a stone?" Only as disembodied spirits could we ignore the demands of the body (*i.e.* of the economic order) and give our undivided attention to "spiritual" matters.

I am willing to leave to theologians the task of demarcating the boundary line between spiritual and economic matters. For my present purpose the spiritual is the basis of religion, or of the supernatural. In James 1: 27, we read: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world". It is reasonable to suppose that the visit implies making provision for food, clothing and shelter for the afflicted, as well as a discussion of spiritual matters with them. So even here it is by means of the use of economic resources that religion is practised.

I shall not attempt to deal with the Christian attitude toward many economic problems, but shall concentrate on three: (1) economic equality, (2) competition, (3) economic wants and scales of values. Ruskin and others have taken the parable of wages paid to workers in the vineyard to indicate a preference for substantial equality of payment. Whether that parable will support such a conclusion or not, I believe that the general trend of Jesus's teaching is such as to leave no doubt that His sincere follower of today must oppose the present gross inequality in the distribution of wealth, income and economic power.

But Jesus's opposition to great wealth was not based on his membership of a less privileged class, upon class warfare, or upon envy. His chief concern was for the "poor rich man" who was faced with unusual temptations by virtue of his wealth, and would find it extremely difficult so to live as to qualify for the kingdom of heaven. The rich young man referred to above lacked only one thing: a proper attitude toward his great wealth. His wealth stood between him and God. Love, not hate, constituted Jesus's reason for opposing concentration of wealth.

Jesus was also concerned for the poor and under privileged. When He told His followers that the first should be last and the last should be first, He

indicated a new standard of values—a new way of measuring personal worth. The great, including the rich, would frequently be considered inferior to the poor. And Jesus wanted something done for the poor here and now—not merely a comforting hope that their roles might be reversed in another life. To-day, with untold millions unemployed in Europe, in America and in the world generally, it should be impossible for the follower of Christ to be at peace in his own mind. Very little imagination is required to realize the psychological cost of unemployment to the victims, as well as the actual lack of goods. Anyone who attempts to apply Jesus's principle of love to modern society must be quite unable to acquiesce in a condition which condemns so many of his fellow-citizens to misery if not to degradation.

Jesus did not actually condemn human slavery. But the principles of the sacredness of human personality, underlying so much of the Sermon on the Mount, for instance, made human slavery impossible among those of His followers who took Him seriously. To-day we are faced with a more insidious type of relationship which gives the employer almost as much power over his employee as the more human slave-owner once exercised. True, the legal relationship between the employer and his "wage slave" is one of apparent equality, but the fact that the employee may be unable to make a decent living in any other occupation, and that his employer is frequently a monopolist, or one of a few competing firms, may mean that if discharged he will never again find employment for which he is best suited. The system of "individual initiative" and "private enterprise" means nothing to the vast majority who are allowed no initiative and cannot possibly have any enterprise of their own. Not merely the capitalist who works with his own capital, but more commonly nowadays the manipulator who works chiefly with invested funds of insurance companies and others is found in a position to determine the economic destinies of thousands of families. The outside controls upon the exercise of this despotic power are not sufficient to guard the man in control against frequent abuse of that power. Jesus would probably feel sorry for the man tempted to sin in this manner, as well as for the working class victims.

Economic life of the present day is more complicated than formerly. But in one respect it is simpler. The mediæval craftsman had many personal or "human" contacts with his workman. The modern captain of industry is connected with the life of his workman only by a "cash nexus". He may find it profitable to maintain an enlightened welfare department,

but unless it is profitable such a department is not likely to continue, especially in a depression. The Christian cannot be satisfied with the lack of respect for human personality shown by our existing economic order.

At this point it is well to pause and compare our neo capitalism with some of the existing alternatives. It fares much better when compared with Communism or Fascism than when compared with the absolute standard of Jesus. I doubt if the personality of even the Nazi party member in Germany is respected to as great an extent as is the case with the working man in western countries. His Government, with its doctrine of totalitarianism, is concerned with the exaltation of the state, and individualism is decried. While Communism as we know it in Russia also professes to care for the working man, the treatment meted out to the Kulaks, the Trotzkyites and many others indicates that these classes have little more consideration in Russia than the Jews in Germany. It is amazing how many things Fascism and Communism have in common, in spite of their mutual hate. In both cases the individual is submerged in a system which seeks for its own perpetuation at whatever cost may be necessary. So these extreme solutions fall farther short of the Christian goal than does Capitalism.

I cannot escape the conviction that a system of substantial equality of income and wealth, or rather of distribution according to needs, would be very much closer to the ideals of Jesus than any existing system. It is difficult for those of us who have more than average incomes to see the justice of this claim. Normally we wish to level incomes above us down to our standard, and then stop. The question of practicability of greater equality of income is difficult, but not as difficult as it may seem at first. For a generation or more there has been a world-wide movement to increase the social services of various governments. Education, health, recreation, unemployment, insurance or benefits, old age insurance or benefits—these are but the major items in a very long list of services which society now renders to all, to the very great benefit of its less wealthy members. While the money income of the poor may not be increased in this manner, their economic well-being is vitally affected, and genuine equality in income is being advanced to a surprising extent.

The social services which have helped to level out inequalities have been extremely expensive, and the income, taxes and death duties, with increasingly steep gradations have served greatly to restrict the incomes of those in the upper income brackets. So

in effect an increasing amount of money has been taken from the richest to be spent on services for the poorest. I cannot say to what extent Christian people have been active in this movement, or to what extent they were consciously or unconsciously moved by loyalty to the principles of their Master. I fear that loyal Christians did not play as vital a role as they might, and that people with other philosophies, including those who were moved by envy of the rich had as much or more to do with introducing these reforms as those moved by Christian love for both parties. Too often in the past we find that even when the Christian Church controlled economic and political life to a very great extent any move toward equality of income was combated by the very followers of Christ.

It does not take very high moral principles to advocate equality if you stand to gain thereby. Unfortunately, most of the present-day impetus comes from hatred and jealousy rather than from love. It takes principles such as Jesus advocated for those of us who are above the average in economic status to use our influence in favour of those movements which will hurt our own relative standing in order to lift up the less fortunate.

Let us turn to a consideration of competition—a prime mover in contemporary society. Admittedly there must be some competition as long as there is scarcity of economic goods, relative to total human wants. Also as long as there are insufficient positions of prominence and importance to satisfy all ambitions. In other words, until men are wholly unselfish, competition must exist. But while all types of society have had and must have some measure of competition, competition is one of the outstanding features of contemporary economic life.

Jesus, faced with the competitive spirit among His disciples, rebuked them in such a way as to indicate that they had missed the real spirit of His message. From Jesus's system of love to the competitive system of today is a long journey. The economist Knight writes:

"The competitive economic order must be partly responsible for making emulation and rivalry, the outstanding quality in the character of the Western peoples who have adopted and developed it. The modern idea of enjoyment as well as of achievement has come to consist chiefly in keeping up with or getting ahead of other people in a rivalry for things about whose significance, beyond furnishing objectives for the competition itself, little question is asked. It is surely one function of ethical discussion to keep the world reminded

that this is not the only possible conception of value and to point out its contrast with the religious ideals to which the Western world has continued to render lip-service..... a contrast resulting in fundamental dualism in our thought and culture."

To drop to a much lower level of thought, the man in the street often speaks of the rule of competition as "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost". Put in such a form, it is impossible to miss the difference between modern competition and the spirit of Jesus's teachings. It is difficult to conceive of a competitive system which does not focus attention on efforts to advance one's own welfare or status, if need be at the expense of others. True, we might say with Jesus "He who would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all," but the truly great will soon lose thought of themselves through serving others, and will rejoice in doing good and not be jealous of the good done by others, nor worry as to whether they are accounted greatest or not. Hence the essence of competition is gone, in such an ideal type of endeavour.

Knight has commented on the extent to which economic life at present is, for those at the top, an absorbing game. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the devotion to business of many of those who already have more than they can consume, and who do not seem greatly interested in charity. But if business is a game it is ethically inferior to most sports, for the cards are "stacked" against some, who start with almost insurmountable handicaps which industry and determination are usually unable to overcome. Furthermore, many resent the making of a game out of that which is so vital to the existence of mankind. They also resent, and rightly so, the tendency to value a man and his contribution to society by the amount of his money income. How often do we speak of a man as having the mind of "a Rs. 50 per month clerk!" Surely Jesus saw values in human personalities which were not reducible to money. Also, the game of business does not call forth the best human qualities, nor reward those who are most deserving morally. Ruskin has written:

"In a community regulated by laws of demand and supply, but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and im-

pulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, the entirely, merciful, just, and godly person."

In an ideal Christian state there is, I believe, no room for competition. In any state which is a practicable possibility for this generation, competition must play a considerable role. However, in the co-operative movement, so widely practiced in Sweden and Great Britain, and now to an increasing extent in America, competition plays a very minor role, and different and nobler incentives are found actually to work. I am glad to say that these movements have all along received a large measure of support from earnest Christian people, and recent reports from America indicate that many people regard the practical promotion of this movement as a Christian duty.

In the third place, let us consider the attitude of Jesus to consumption, to human wants, their creation and their satisfaction. Eastern philosophers and religious leaders long ago came to a very respectable and logical conclusion on this subject—wants are to be minimized and eventually abolished. Western thought, or at least Western practice, has gone to the other extreme, and the *summum bonum* seems to be the creation of unlimited wants and then the satisfaction of as many of them as possible.

We must not regard wants as data given by nature. In a "state of nature" what savage wants a tenth of the things advertised in our magazines and newspapers? Wants are definitely created, or at least shifted from one object to another, by commercial companies, one department of which creates wants for the other to satisfy. A society, therefore, must be judged by the wants it creates, as well as by the wants it satisfies.

Jesus was no ascetic, but His teaching is clear—"Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven." Jesus seemed unconcerned about wealth, above a bare minimum of subsistence, save as the added wealth became an impediment to spiritual growth.

Returning to the share of advertising and salesmanship in the creation and changing of wants, human nature seems more easily corrupted then uplifted. Most people seem to find a book or a cinema show which is slightly immoral more "interesting" than a moral one. Advertisers can only be expected to create or change those wants whose satisfaction will bring profit to the advertisers and their principals. Hence it is no wonder that liquors, drugs, and tobaccos, which are physiologically either harmful or at least not helpful, are advertised more extensively, while quinine, attbrin, educational literature and other items, which would contribute more definitely to human

welfare, are not advertised. The latter goods cannot be sold at a sufficiently high price to pay for the cost of advertising. Hence they must be subsidized by the State or by private philanthropy if they are to play any important role in modern life.

The Christian view of consumptionⁿ must place much less emphasis on material things, and must deprecate the tendency to multiply wants merely for the private profit of the multipliers. While it may not go the whole way with much Eastern thought, which condemns all economic wants, it can with profit, and in harmony with the spirit of Christ, move very far in that direction. I believe that the competitive system of production for private profit makes excessive advertising inevitable, and with it the exaggeration of material wants. A more Christian economic order therefore should substitute other incentives for that of profit.

Having considered the Christian viewpoint with regard to equality, competition and wants, let us consider very briefly some alternatives which the Christian is bound to reject.

Alternatives based upon hatred, violence and class war must be ruled out. I believe that many Christians are too easily reconciled to Marxian Communism. They accept at its face value the assertion that Bolshevism is (on its anti-religious side) merely a reaction from a corrupt state church. But hatred, materialism and class war are basic to the doctrines of Marx himself, and have little or nothing to do, in Marx's writings, with the Greek Orthodox Church. He wrote chiefly in London, and to a smaller extent in New York! Other Christians are too easily reconciled to Fascism, because Fascism sometimes throws a few crumbs to the Roman Catholic Church. But the Fascist attempt to counteract class war usually sets up racial and other types of conflict which are worse even than the disease. Also the "totalitarian" philosophy which Fascism and Communism share cannot be accepted by the Christian. The only totalitarian philosophy the Christian can accept is that which makes Christ, not any man, the dictator or single ruler of his life. The Christian cannot accept exaltation of the material wants of man, whether by materialistic capitalism or by the dialectic materialism of Marx.

In conclusion I must apologize for not setting forth any clear-cut system, guaranteed to be the one and only system in which a Christian may believe. I hope I have succeeded in setting forth some of the criteria by which we may judge our present or any other system. I do not find that any existing system is at all satisfactory, when measured by the

standard of Christ. The co-operative system of Sweden, for instance, seems at this distance to come closer to our ideal than any other system, and many of the social movements in Europe and America are caring more efficiently for the needs of the poor in such a way as to command our assent and good-will.

Our ideal order must not over-emphasize the economic aspects of life, and yet it must not be indifferent to the material, lest selfishness and inhumanity annex this important sphere of life. It must involve an approximate equality of economic opportunity, of education, of income and of wealth. It must relegate competition to a position of very secondary importance, and make love an incentive of very much greater vitality than at present. Concentration of power, whether economic or political, can not command our assent. Finally, Christians must realize the overwhelming urgency of the problem, for along with the ameliorative movements which I have praised there is a growing tendency for class war, for economic depression and for international conflict over raw materials to become more intense. In the race between the reconstruction of our modern civilization and its destruction from conflicting forces within the latter seem just now to have the better of the argument. Christians must join forces with all others of like mind to bring about an order worth surviving, lest we be left with a world of no order, but of chaos.

(Continued from page 2)

the far eastern borders of Assam to Ratnagiri in the west, were present. Dr. John Mackenzie, having been unanimously elected as Moderator, presided over the sessions of the Assembly. Some of the actions and events during the Assembly will be of wide-spread interest:—

(1) The Bishop of Bombay and Rev. Amar Dass and Miss Drescher of the M. E. Church brought greetings of their churches to the Assembly.

(2) The Reformed and Evangelical Church with its 7,000 Christians united with the United Church of Northern India.

(3) The Assembly urged that the joint council which is aiming at union with the Methodist Episcopal Church and the English Baptists should be called in the near future, that our own Church should make necessary preparations, and that friendly conversations in the other movement for union with the Anglicans and English Methodists should continue.

(4) The scheme for inaugurating Foreign Mission Work in East Africa was generally approved and Church

Councils were asked to indicate what support they could give towards the project.

(5) In listening to the report of the committee on Public Morals, presented by Prof. N. C. Mukerji, two actions of nation-wide interest were taken:—

(a) The country as a whole was urged to bring in legislation with a view to establishing monogamous marriages as the law of the land.

(b) Prohibition as a goal for the whole country was heartily favoured.

(6) The Assembly learnt that the Trust Association of the Assembly had now been formed and its legal registration was in the hands of solicitors who would within two or three months get it legally registered and recognized under this Trust. Supervision committees closely related with properties under consideration would be appointed. Such a Trust, however, would not interfere with local Trusts if they are formed.

(7) The Assembly learnt at first hand from Dr. Russell of the sensational accession in numbers to the Church through the incoming of the Bhil community in its thousands.

(8) Rev. William Paton addressed the Assembly on the significance of the Conference at Tambaram. Among others who also conducted services and gave addresses were Rev. A. Thakur Das of Lahore, retiring Moderator of the Assembly, Rev. George MacLaren of the Doonars, Bengal; and Rev. George Wilson of Kathiawar.

The arrangements of the Assembly were in the hands of Dr. and Mrs. B. P. Hivale.

The officers of the Assembly appointed were:—

Rev. J. Mackenzie, M.A., D.D. Moderator; Rev. D. N. Chowdhari, Vice-Moderator; Rev. A. Ralla Ram, Stated Clerk; Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji, (now deceased) Treasurer; Rev. J. W. R. Netram, Statistician.

NEWS AND NOTES

We publish the following tribute paid to the late Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji in the Memorial Service by Mr. C. W. Boyle, an Irishman beloved of the Christian community and a close friend of Mr. Mukerji:—

"I have been asked to perform what is to me a most painful duty, and that is, to pay a small tribute to the memory of my dear friend, the late Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji. I have known the deceased, I might say, ever since I set foot in Allahabad, about 19 years ago, and from the moment we first met up to his untimely death yesterday morning, we have been more like brothers than friends. We confided our troubles

to each other and shared each other's tribulations and joys. His sudden death leaves a great void in my life and not only in my life, but in the public life of Allahabad and in the Christian life of India generally.

"I was for seven years on the Municipal Board with the late Rai Bahadur and the excellent work he accomplished during the many terms he was returned from Ward I is beyond the scope of this short tribute. Suffice it to say that he was the oldest member of the Board and filled every office from Chairman of the various sub-committees to (for a short period) that of Chairman of the Board—a rare honour for a Christian—and was at the time of his retirement holding the important office of Senior Vice-Chairman. Those who came to him for help or advice in Municipal matters, whatever their position in life, were always given a patient hearing, treated courteously and given an assurance that everything possible that lay within his power to do would be done to remedy their grievances.

"The late Rai Bahadur was a wonderful organizer and a most thorough and methodical worker. Had it not been for this thoroughness he could not have accomplished so masterfully all that he undertook, whether in connection with the Society's work, his Court work, or his labours in the Provincial Assembly, all of which, I fear, have taken their toll and sapped his energy.

"He lived a beautiful and exemplary life—a life free from selfish motives and personal aggrandisement, and he died a glorious death. What better and happier death could a man wish for than to be called away without pain or suffering in the Church which he loved so well and in which he worshipped so devoutly?

"My heart goes out to his devoted children whom he dearly loved and brought up so creditably, and to whom he has been both mother and father since the death, at an early age, of their dear mother.

"I feel I cannot say more, and in case it may be asked why I have been called upon to take part in this service and to pay a tribute to one whose dogma differed slightly from my own, I would reply in the words of a great Irish poet:—

Shall I ask the brave soldier
Who fights by my side
In the cause of mankind, if
Our creeds agree?
Shall I give up the friend
I have valued and tried
If he kneel not before the
Same altar as me?

"Well, dear friends, Mr. Mukerji has been called to higher service. We shall not meet him again in the

flesh, but if the communion of saints has any meaning he will at this moment be pleading at the feet of Christ for you and for me—pleading for all his friends and for all who have been unfriendly towards him while on earth."

The following was the last communication received in our office from the late Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji. October 12th, 1938.

"Dear Mr. Editor, I shall be obliged if you would kindly insert this letter in the next issue of your paper for the information of those engaged in village work

"At the request of the U. P. Christian Council the U. P. Government was approached with the request that villagers who had been converted to Christianity should not continue to be shown in the public records by their old caste name. I am glad to be able to report that the Government has ordered that the change in question should be made, on the production of a certificate from a superintending missionary or a pastor that the applicant has been converted to Christianity, in the following registers:—(1) Patwari's Registers, (2) Canal Registers, (3) School Registers, (4) Municipal Registers, and (5) Town Area Registers.

"Government feel that no change can be made in the village chowkidar's birth and death registers and in other police registers, as in the former only the father's caste is entered and in the latter the caste is entered only for police purposes. I am pointing out to Government that if for administrative reasons exception must be made in the case of police registers, the police should be instructed to describe them on public documents, (e.g. summons and warrants) as Christian. If the old caste name is given the person concerned will be quite justified in refusing to accept it on the plea that the caste mentioned in the document was not correct."

N. K. MUKERJI.

The following from Allahabad will be present at the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram, Madras:—

Rev. H. C. Balasundaram; Professor S. K. Rudra; Dr. B. B. Malvea; Miss I. Sircar; Rev. A. Ralla Ram.

Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji had also been chosen a delegate, but.....

Dr. John R. Mott, Mr. W. Paton and Mr. Basil Matthew are already in India. They landed in Bombay by the *Viceroy of India* on Monday, the 24th of October.

In the last issue of THE MESSENGER, in reporting the death of Mr. Henry Dutt's father, the word 'because' was wrongly used through some unaccountable error. The phrase 'in spite of' should have been used.

We give a most hearty welcome to Miss Mukand, M.A., L.T., T. Dip. as a lecturer in the Allahabad Training College. This is the very first time that an honour of this nature has been conferred on an Indian lady in our Provinces.

On the 3rd of October in Fatehpore the marriage took place between Mr. Victor Walter, M.A., L.T. of Bahraich and Miss Nora Prem Singh, Doctor-in-charge of the Female Hospital. The marriage ceremony was performed by the Rev. B. T. Thompson.

Fatehgarh Christian brethren will be uniting in their centennial celebrations from November 4th to 7th, commemorating the commencement of missionary work in Fatehgarh on 4th November, 1837. We rejoice with them in these celebrations.

It has now been definitely decided that the All-India Christian Medical College will be located in Allahabad. We consider this a great honour to have been bestowed on the 'City of God'. We hope that the projected general hospital will soon be started and stage by stage this much-needed college will be attracting the best of our youths from all over the country.

Mr. J. N. Wilson, Special Officer of the Congress, appointed with the object of interesting Indian Christians in the Congress, is strenuously touring throughout the Provinces and is especially looking into the sufferings of village Christians.

Among the newly-appointed Honorary Magistrates we have learnt of the name of Mr. G. A. Simeon of Agra, Mrs. Mukand of Jaunpore, and Rev. J. Z. Zamen of Allahabad. Our heartiest congratulations to them

Rev. Sankey Sheets, who some years ago was in Lucknow, has returned to his work at the Forman Christian College from furlough in America, and Professor W. C. Thoburn, who was expected to rejoin the Lucknow Christian College on return from America, under special arrangements has been posted at Forman Christian College.

The All-India Christian Conference will be held in Madras on the 30th and 31st of December. It will be presided over by Mr. H. C. Mukerji of Calcutta.

The following births in our community will be of interest to many:—

A son was born to Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Chet Singh of Hoshangabad, on the 26th of October.

A son was born to Mr. and Mrs. E. V. N. Ojha, of Ewing Christian College, Allahabad in the beginning of October.

A daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Wesley, of Allahabad.

Mr. E. C. Humphery was married to Miss Romola Kerr at the Naulakha

Church, Lahore, on October 1st, '938. Our heartiest congratulations.

We learn from papers that Mr. A. Dharam Das was elected President of the United Provinces Indian Christian Association at its last sessions during *Dewali* holidays held in Gorakhpore. We hope that better days for the Association are ahead of it under his chairmanship. We were interested to find from the presidential address of the ex-President, Mr. E. Ahmad Shah, that he has now also become a convert to the ideal of independence for the country.

We have received a communication from Thomas Cooke & Son, from which we learn that the Company has decided to offer to all missionaries passing through Bombay free tranship services from train or hotel to the ship or *service versa*.

We have not yet bidden a hearty welcome to Mr. N. Jordan as Organizing Secretary of the N. M. S. for U.P., C. P., Bengal and Bihar. The only concern of the N. M. S. in inviting him, was to secure a devoted Christian worker who had enthusiasm for the cause, and not to make this post a means of employment. We have in Mr. Jordan an experienced and enthusiastic worker. During one month of his service several new branches have been started. We have already prospects of about Rs. 1,000 as an annual new income. He addressed a full Church, in Allahabad fuller than ever before, on the N. M. S. Sunday and the collection amounted to about Rs. 60. Allahabad Christians turned out in large numbers to greet their newly appointed Secretary.

We heartily welcome the appointment of the Ven. S. A. Bill as the Bishop-designate of the Diocese of Lucknow. It was our privilege to enjoy his personal acquaintance during the years he was serving as Archdeacon of this Diocese and we were always struck by his amiability and his kindness. We feel certain that his appointment will commend itself to one and all. We shall look forward to his consecration in January.

The Training Camp for workers, which was held at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute during the *Divali* holidays, attracted a number of Christian workers. The Camp met a real need and we hope that such camps will increase and will lead to great results in the work of City Churches.

We have been asked to print the proposed itinerary of Dr. T. Kagawa of Japan. The places which he is to visit and the dates are as follows:—

December, 30, 31, 1938 Tirupattur Ashram; January 1 Katpadi; January 2 Ongole; January 3, 4 Cocanada; January 6, 7 Hyderabad and Secunderabad; January 8 to 10

Nagpore; January 11 Wardha; January 12 to 14 Bombay; January 16 to 23 Shantiniketon and Calcutta; January 24, Benares; January 25 to 27 Delhi; January 28 to 30, Lahore; January 31 to February 1, Lucknow; February 2 to 4, Allahabad; February 6 to 8, Gunton, February 10 to 12 Bangalore; February 13 to 17 Madras; February 18; 19, Madura; February 22, 23 Maramannu Convention.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh is back among us again after several months of absence in the British Isles. We bid him welcome and are glad that his leadership in our affairs is available.

The Round Table Conference on Church Union was held in Agra on the 3rd of November.

Rev. Janki Prasad was engaged in arranging for the tenth poultry show at Bewar on Monday the 7th of November.

The Church at Jalesar, which is being constructed as a labour of Rev. Sukh Lall, is nearing completion.

The engagement is announced of Mr. Cyril L. Clive, M. Sc. of Ewing Christian College, Allahabad and Miss Queenie Johory, daughter of the late Dr. Johory of Bhopal. Our heartiest congratulations.

Christian Melas and Concerts are being arranged in Agra, Lucknow and Cawnpore in aid of the N. M. S. We request Committees of Managements to send the proceeds to Madras in order to have these reach the Head Office before the 31st of December.

The following cutting from a Chinese paper will be read with interest:—

"Hankow, Oct. 1. Sent by the Indian Congress Party, the Indian medical unit arrived last night from Hongkong by truck instead of by train. It will remain in Hankow for a week or ten days, and then proceed to whichever front it is ordered. The party, which is now incorporated with the Chinese Red Cross as 'Curative Unit No. 15', is composed of Doctors Atal, Kotnis, Markerjoo, Cholker and Basu. They have now been supplemented by 15 Chinese dressers and nurses. The unit brought with it an ambulance and modern equipment including 54 cases of medicine. Madame Chiang Kai-shek has invited the group to tea, and Miss Agnes Smedley, the writer, has introduced them to 30 foreign correspondents including Mrs. Haldane and Miss Freda Uteley.

'How long we stay in China depends on the accuracy of Japanese aviators,' Dr. Atal told correspondents. 'I interviewed Gandhi before I left India. I told him we would stay until the end of the war. and if we were slaughtered by the Japanese, another unit would take our place.'

Dr. Atal, who is grey haired, was bitter regarding the horrors of the hostilities. 'I saw a horrible sight in the village of Yoyang, between Changsha and Hankow, which was bombed two hours before our arrival,' he said. 'Rows of houses had been flattened to the ground, and I saw people extricating dead women from the debris.' Dr. Atal left Spain, where he served with the Indian National Brigade, in February, and offered his services to China. The funds for the unit here were raised by all classes in India. 'The Indian people are most sympathetic with China's just cause; this is apparent on all sides,' Dr. Atal remarked—*Reuter*."

Rev. Stephen Neil has been elected Bishop of Tinnevely in succession to Bishop Western.

Mr. Ram Singh, M.Sc. of Rawalpindi, was admitted into the Christian community through baptism at the Jamna Church on Sunday, the 6th of November.

We are glad to hear of three other engagements which will be of interest to the community:—

Miss Sita Roy, M.B., B.S., of Delhi is engaged to be married to Lieutenant Khurshad Ali of Dehra Dun. Mr. Khurshad Ali is a recent convert.

Miss Barker of Mary Wanamaker Girls' School, is engaged to be married to Mr. Lewis of the Agricultural Institute, Allahabad.

Miss Mona Mukerji, daughter of Professor Moni Mukerji, is engaged to be married to Mr. Lawrie Rawson of Gorakhpur.

The prize-giving of the Mary Wanamaker School, held on 7th November, was a bright occasion. The pageant 'Spirit of Indian Womanhood' and a most artistic Indian Dance were rendered with great ability. The Director of Public Instruction U. P., Mr. R. S. Wier, presided and Mrs. Rice gave away the prizes. The annual report presented by the Principal, Miss Inglis, made us all rejoice over the excellent work which is being done at this premier Girls' school in our Provinces. We congratulate the Principal, Mrs. Buys, the Head Mistress, and all members of the staff over a great year's work.

RAI BAHADUR N. K. MUKERJI

A Brief Appreciation

By PROFESSOR S. K. RUDRA

University, Allahabad.

Swiftly, suddenly, and without any fuss, Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji took his departure from this life. He died in the House of God. I do not think he could have wished for any other end.

I am told that he left all his papers in order, both those belonging to his

various offices and those to his own private affairs. This was just like him! He was orderly and methodical to a degree. No details escaped his keen vigilance. He worked to a plan. His eldest son, Nillo, an officer on the East India Railway, told me that well into the second week of December, his time had all been carefully mapped out. His was not a slipshod mind. With all his heavy programme of work, he accomplished it all, carefully, smoothly and efficiently. He was ready, on the next day, for another round of duties. Such was the intensity of his service to the community and the country.

The Rai Bahadur was a man of few words. But when he spoke, he spoke to the point and effectively. He was a thorough master of the matters on which he spoke. Few could gainsay his expert knowledge, however much they may have disagreed with his views. No wonder his counsel was sought after by so many committees and organizations, both in and outside the Christian community.

He was ever ready to give his helping hand to rich or poor, friend or foe. It amazed me to realize how much he accomplished for the aid of others. I do not think there could be many leaders in any group, who could equal him, and few who could surpass him, in the contacts he had with all grades and sections of the people through the act of service.

But, it is as an elder friend and Christian gentleman that I, personally, will cherish his memory most. He has left us an imperishable memory of what a true friend and leader should be. He was thoughtful of others in distress, to a fault, and in grief, one could turn to him for courage and comfort. He never failed!

I know of no better father. He was wrapped up in his motherless children to a degree not known to outsiders. Few families were so happy and so contented as theirs.

As for the devotion of the brothers to each other, it was of such staunch loyalty that it was almost a matter of envy for others!

It is truly said that 'no master is hero to his valet,' but if long and faithful service of servants can be taken as a test of man's worth, the Rai Bahadur would not lack witnesses to prove his case in any court.

One outstanding quality in the Rai Bahadur needs mention in conclusion. This was his simple, yet perfect trust, in the loving Providence of God! In times of heavy bereavement, in moments of tense hostility, he still clung loyally and serenely to his faith. It was a marvel to me!

May it be given to us to catch something of his noble way of life!

A Rainbow or a Mirage?

CLEMENT D. ROCKEY

On May 8, 1936 there met in Evanston at the First Church a group that had been assembled in response to a demand from an aroused General Conference. From various committees of the General Conference had come requests, passed on to the World Service commission in each case, asking for a readjustment of the ratio of distribution of World Service funds, and, of course, the requests were always for an adjustment upwards. On a falling income that was the only way to get an increase, and each group needed the increase so badly that the tendency was to forget that such increase must come from another group, which might be crippled thereby. It was not a very Christian way of looking at things; but then, in fighting for one's life, whether it be in a committee (as in Finance Committee, and in committees of the various Benevolent Boards) or in the General conference committees, it seems easy to forget Christian principles. As Dr. Johnson of China put it, in words too caustic to be effective, "Embezzlement is not excusable even when the misappropriated funds are passed from one of God's departmental treasuries to another." And yet this is the kind of distressing dynamite which the World Service Commission has had to handle during the past 8 or 12 years.

General Conference ordered that all requests for an increased ratio be referred 'without instructions' to the World Service Commission for study and action. The meeting in Evanston was for the purpose of dealing with this ratio question.

But of course there is a better way. Quarrelling over the details of distribution has not brought any increase to the treasury. Perhaps this may even explain why the church gave less year by year. The better way is to co-operate in building up a better Christian spirit with consequent increasing income in which all may share, with pleasure and profit. Strange that it has been so hard to realize that only a spiritually aroused Church can be a giving Church. This must be brought home to our Methodist Episcopal Church. The spark that started the fire at Columbus was brought by Dr. John R. Edwards. He got the inspiration from some Baptist group, of the South, I believe, and suggested that we work for a campaign of a million units, each unit to represent a promise of a dollar a month for the year. Those who could afford more would be ashamed to give so little and it might spur on others to give more generously. This surely should not be hard to do when the Church is on the very low plane of an average of 82 cents a member in the 1935-6 World Service year. So the quadrennium goal was set for the million unit campaign, with the preliminary goal of 500,000 for the year 1936-37. This would bring in \$5,000,000.00 to the World Service treasury in place of the \$3,039,609.37 reported on June 30, 1936 for the year just closing. The enthusiasm at General Conference was undoubted and thrilling, and the World Service Commission was requested to organize and start such a campaign.

The first step was to be sure that the Bishops would help and that the Editors of the Church papers and the Publishers would also co-operate in such a campaign. So the World Service commission set Wednesday, July 8, as the day on which, after preliminary survey of the problems before it, the larger group, consisting of Bishops, Editors and Book Agents, Secretaries, and the World Service Commission itself, might go into the matter and decide what should be done. On Tuesday Treasurer Auman reported to the Commission that the year ending May 31, 1936 had brought a further decrease of 5.83 per cent over the receipts of the preceding year, and that the receipts for the quadrennium ending May 31, 1936 as compared to that ending on May 31, 1932, indicated a decrease of 51.84 per cent. Not a very heartening beginning.

When the whole group met on the morning of Wednesday, July 8, after an inspiring devotional address by Bishop Hughes, the following statement of the million Unit Fellowship was agreed upon. All those who are now contributing \$12 a year or more are to be included in the Fellowship and the aim will be to increase this number until the grand total of one million is reached. The goal for this first year being at least half that number.

The Million Unit Fellowship for the

World Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church

Aim: To make vital our loyalty to Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of the world and to provide ways and means by which we as Methodists may meet our missionary responsibility.

It is proposed:

1. That in this Fellowship, we seek to become units of power through whom Christ may live in our personal and social relations.

2. That each of us pray daily our Saviour's prayer, "Thy Kingdom come", so that we may the better give ourselves to the building of a Christian world.

3. That each one share Him with others in faithfulness in worship, in personal witnessing and in leading men and women into allegiance to Jesus Christ.

4. That each of us enter the Fellowship with sacrificial gifts of money and take his part as God gives understanding.

The general educative campaign among the pastors, district superintendents and specially interested laymen is to begin immediately, but the main campaign for the education of the church as a whole is to come with a general, America-wide (why not include other countries as well?) Sunday, set for October 18, 1936. On that day every pulpit in American Methodism is to tell of the Million Unit Fellowship. The Church papers and special literature will give all information needed by the pulpit and pew. It is expected that every Bishop, every District Superintendent and every Pastor, together with all others who have secretarial posts in the Church and all who are beneficiaries of the World Service funds, will join the Fellowship before October 18th, so that on that day not only may it be publicly announced that already so many of the Units of Fellowship for World Service have been enrolled, but also what is better, that all who proclaim the message shall themselves be pledged to participate therein. The final drive and climax is to come on February 15th with a nation wide Methodist evening and a radio program to reach the groups assembled on that evening. All missionaries, ex-missionaries and interested laymen, will be enlisted to speak as frequently and as widely as possible during the interval between October 18 and February 15. Following the Preaching Mission Dr. Stanley Jones will probably be available here to help give his inspirational aid. The scheme is big and all inclusive. It is also sound as its aim is so largely spiritual.

Dr. Dan Brummitt, editor of the Kansas City edition of the *Christian Advocate*, spoke for the Church Press. He gave a pledge of most hearty co-operation and indicated three ways in which the Church periodicals will help. First, they will increase, perhaps even to double, the amount of general space that they have been giving, and they will give editorial space also. They will give their mailing lists which will furnish the publicity department of the new Fellowship a prepared and selected audience into the hundreds of thousands. The third method of assistance would be in giving reprints, for pamphlets, of materials printed in the *Advocates*, at greatly reduced cost.

Thus Church editors were vying with Bishops to assure the Church that they, and the Secretaries of the Benevolent Boards, and the World Service group, were fully and whole heartedly in the new movement. No wonder that in the enthusiasm Bishop Hughes said, "I can't recall an hour in ten years when I felt so

hopeful." And Bishop Lester Smith remarked, "I believe that we have done something that will be genuinely appreciated by the Church."

There was only one other question that was debated, and that asked about the responsible leadership of the campaign, and what sort of an organization should be set up to handle the matter. Judge Snavelly, a member of the World Service commission, reminded them forcefully that on that leadership would rest the possibility of success or the probability of failure. An Executive committee was formed consisting of three Bishops (Waldoff, Lowe and Smith), three Secretaries of Benevolent Boards (Farmer, Kohlstedt, and Diffendorfer), three members of the World Service commission, (Judge Snavelly, Loren M. Edwards and C. A. Jones of Columbus) and Treasurer Auman, Ex-officio, a member. Before the general meeting had adjourned this Executive Committee met and placed in nomination its selection of persons to form the central organization. They are:—

BISHOP F. T. KEENEY.

W. E. SHAW, *Secretary-Counsel.*

C. P. HARGRAVES, *Missionary Education.*

J. I. THROCTMORGAN, *Men's Work.*

MYRON MORRILL, *Publicity.*

Associates { MISS M. A. RANDOLPH, (*Chicago Office of the Board of Foreign missions.*)

WALTER TORBETT, *Board of Home Missions.*

This is a well balanced group and one that will inspire confidence. Bishop Keeney was retired in May, at Columbus, but is still vigorous and, at the call of the Church defers his well earned rest and girds anew for the battle.

There was, at first, no mention of the cost of putting on the program set forth. No provision was made for it and some one spoke rather sneeringly about tons of literature to be thrown round the country. But Judge Snavelly and C. A. Jones of Columbus reminded them that there could be no income without previous outlay and that tons of literature might well be needed, and used to great advantage, considering the large group to be reached. In nominating the above-named committee the Executive Committee had planned to keep down, as low as possible, all expenses for the central office, for each one of the group mentioned above (except Bishop Keeney) receives his salary from one or other of the Benevolent Boards, and is loaned to assist in this Unit of Fellowship campaign.

The day after the General meeting the World Service commission completed its work. There was an earnest debate over the money allocated to the Peace Commission, but it was felt that new money coming in for the Unit Fellowship Campaign would more than make up the \$8,000. minimum promised, and the additional \$4000.00 hoped for to provide the expenses of that commission, and in order that the two Mission Boards might not be crippled in their plans for next year by having to pay out money between now and October it was planned that the first payment to the Peace Commission should come in early November.

The committee to investigate and suggest the ratio of distribution between the boards was selected as follows, Bishops Lowe and Waldorf, Ministers J. M. M. Gray, J. S. Payton and J. V. Claypool, and Laymen C. O. Holmes, C. A. Jones, W. C. Sykes. Theirs will be a difficult and thankless task, but a great increase in income may make it possible for them to work out new ratios without decreasing the income of any of the Boards.

The Million Unit Fellowship for the World Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church is the goal for the quadrennium, and half of that number is the goal for the first year. This movement has been born and carried forward in prayer. It needs to be continued in prayer if it is to be a real rainbow of promise and not a mirage of greater despair. The success of the movement depends on the co-operation of all in what in Hindustani would be summed up in *Minnat, Mannat* and *Mihnat*,—Prayer, Consecration and Work.

The Oxford Group and the World To-day

Broadcast by DR. FRANK BUCHMAN

Transatlantic broadcast from the B. B. C. studios, London, over a nation-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting system, New York, August 9, 1936, to a potential audience of 70,000,000. Reception was perfect on both the East and Pacific coasts.

I am speaking to you all from Europe, where, hourly, news of revolution is coming in. During the next fifteen minutes you can, if you like, learn how to take part in a revolution yourself. It takes a passion to cure a passion. It takes a revolution to cure a revolution. And the Oxford Group's answer to revolution is more revolution—the revolution in human nature, which is our only hope....

Now, let me give you a picture of that Oxford Group demonstration in the buildings of the British Industries Fair, Birmingham—largest covered hall in Europe, and industrial showroom of the British Empire. Something happened that week-end. You saw Britain on the move. Thousands came from every part of the Empire. Twenty-one special trains brought crowds from all over the British Isles. Thousands more came by 'bus, car, bicycle, on foot, and by air. There were contingents from thirty-five different countries—five hundred from Holland alone. The message of the Oxford Group reached millions through Press and newsreel. Millions more took part through a world broadcast which was heard in all five continents, and by ships at sea, and was summarised for that world audience in seven different languages.

Tramping Feet

Europe to-day echoes to the tramp of marching feet. Picture the response of that vast audience at Birmingham to more than a thousand youth of many nations marching together in a new enlistment.

What is this enlistment of the Oxford Group? Where are they marching? And why are they marching? In an age of material revolution they have enlisted in a spiritual revolution. They are enlisting in the moral equivalent of war, which may yet prove to be the answer to that August day twenty-two years ago.

I was present at the Disarmament Conference in Washington in 1921. In the face of that post-war chaos there came the conviction that what was needed was God-guided personalities to make God-guided nationalities to make a new world. It is that vision we are beginning to see realised to-day. Nationalism can unite a nation. Supernationalism can unite a world. God-controlled super-nationalism is the only sure foundation for world peace.

What is our real problem? You all know what a drought is. Well, we are suffering to-day from a spiritual drought. Fear and greed are like a dust storm. They spread over nations. They blind and choke people. They set men against men, class against class, nation against nation.

War in Spain

Take the war in Spain. Whichever side wins, the human factor will remain. War is no answer to suspicion, jealousy, lust and fear. No, the answer does not lie in a winning side—even in an election campaign—once we have gotten away from the things that really matter.

National and world problems remain the same because the root problem—human nature—remains unsolved. Until we deal with human nature thoroughly and drastically on a national scale nations must still follow their historic road to violence and destruction. Three thousand miles of ocean do not change this fundamental problem—and will not save us if we fail to solve it. The symptoms may differ in Europe and America. The disease is the same.

Now, what is the disease? Isn't it fear, dishonesty, resentment, selfishness? We talk about freedom and liberty, but we are slaves to ourselves.

Preliminary Resolutions
draft of Address to Preliminary Resolutions before being presented to the Conference
DECENNIAL CONFERENCE.

COMMITTEE I. THE NATIVE CHURCH.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER.

In considering the subject of the Development of Christian Life and Character, it is our deep conviction that the greatest need in our Missions to-day is **Christian LIFE**: not more elaborate methods, or better organization, or new appliances, but more *life*, the new life from God, in-breathed by the Holy Spirit, "working in us that which is well-pleasing in His sight." As physical life must precede physical activities, such as sight and speech and locomotion, so spiritual life must go before and produce spiritual activity. True Christian life is absolutely essential to true Christian living. It is evident then that they only who really possess the life of Christ will do from the heart the works and will of Christ; that they only who have the Holy Spirit dwelling within them can bring forth the fruit of the Spirit.

A Christian who has this *life from God*, in conscious vigorous exercise, filling his heart with joy and strength, will delight to obey God's word. When that word says, "Owe no man anything," he will conscientiously abstain from debt. When it says, "Receive ye one another as Christ also received you to the glory of God," caste distinctions will be totally put away, consumed by the fervour of Christian love. When the Word says, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," the Christian who is in vital union with Him who gave the command will cheerfully obey it, and hallow the day. He who realizes that his body is indeed a temple of the Holy Ghost will not defile it with immorality or intemperance. This is also the true solution of the "Self-support" problem, and of many other perplexing questions in the churches. "The Spirit of life in Christ" will move Christians to cheerful obedience, fervent love, and holy zeal. Therefore:—

RESOLUTION I.

The Conference would emphasize the *life in Christ* as the real foundation for all true development of Christian living and character, for all Church activity and growth; and would set forth the great importance of seeking to lead all the members of our Churches into the actual possession of it. The Church of the living God must be built of living stones.

II.

In further considering the *Development of Christian Life and Character* one of the first and most essential needs that meets us is that of a *truly converted and Spirit-filled Mission Agency*. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the vital importance of this. Upon it rests very largely the spiritual welfare of the Churches. In this agency may be included Pastors, Evangelists, Catechists, Christian Teachers, and Bible-women. If the seven men chosen primarily for the administration of the Church's alms at Jerusalem were to be men "full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom," how much more they to whom is committed the ministration of God's word to the people! If these are unspiritual how can they feed with spiritual food the flock of God. They may have education, and their conduct may be respectable, and they may even possess a certain kind of zeal, but if they have not been renewed by the birth from above, and if they are not in vital conscious

Christian Life.

*R. J. Kenney Sec.-
From T. C. W. M. P. 1895
1 Paul says
Dec. 16*

A converted and Spirit-filled Mission Agency.

union with the Lord, how can they instruct their people regarding the new life and lead them into fellowship with God Therefore :—

RESOLUTION II.

The Conference, keeping prominently in view the great truth that he who has not, by the new birth, entered into a new life, is out of place in the ministry of the gospel, would most earnestly invite the attention of all Missionary Bodies and Churches to the supreme importance of a truly converted and Spirit-filled Agency. The Conference sees signs for encouragement in the fact that there is evidence of an awakening in many, and that they are yearning for the power of an inward life by which they may abide in Christ and be fruitful.

III.

Special
Missions.

The subject of Special Missions and Conventions, with the aim of bringing the people into a fuller experience of spiritual life, has been very heartily endorsed. The opinion seems to be widespread that such gatherings would be productive of great good. At a Conference of C. M. S. missionaries at Allahabad in 1898 the following Resolution was passed:—"That the Conference suggests to the Parent Committee that it should encourage gatherings (to last say for a week) in all parts of the Indian Missions, for the Indian clergy and lay-workers, for the deepening of spiritual life, to be conducted, in the vernaculars where possible, by suitable missionaries, European or Indian, of approved evangelistic power and experience." The visits of men specially adapted to this work have been referred to by several as resulting in lasting blessing. Indian Christians would most gladly welcome such a movement. Some of them have said to missionaries, "you have your Conventions on the hills, but there is nothing of that sort for us on the plains." Happily such meetings are now beginning to be held at various places on the plains, and with very encouraging results. It is specially encouraging to notice that some of these have been organized and conducted by the Indians themselves. A suggestion is made that longer time should be devoted to each locality where a Convention or Mission is held than is usually the case, as sometimes several days are required to get the Christians really and deeply interested, and just when the truth is beginning to prove its power, when conviction is becoming deep, and people are almost ready to yield themselves to God in a new and full surrender, the meetings are discontinued. It is then that prayer and effort should be redoubled and the special services continued, until definite decisions have been made and fruit gathered.

RESOLUTION IV.

The Conference recommends the holding of special Conventions of Indian Christians and Missionaries, to seek for a real spiritual uplift and a true Pentecostal baptism, in consequence of which Christian obedience and service will become a delight, and the Churches will become purer, stronger, and more fruitful, to the glory of God. The Conference further suggests that, as it is sometimes found to be the case that the meetings are perforce brought to a conclusion just at the time when the Spirit of God seems to be manifestly work-

ing, and the truth is beginning to prove its power, greater elasticity be given in the time allowed for such gatherings. The Conference is, moreover, strongly convinced that such gatherings would result, not only in the deepening of the spiritual life of Christians, but also in the conversion of non-Christians.

RESOLUTION IV.

Believing that a great revival is urgently needed at the present time in the Churches of Christ in India, resulting as it would in a more thoroughly consecrated church and ministry, which would be the most effective agency in the evangelization of the land, and recognising that there is a growing spirit of expectation in the Indian Churches of a spiritual revival similar to those which have been granted in other Churches, *e.g.*, in Uganda, Japan, Australia, &c., and being convinced that such a visitation of Divine Grace would result in :—

- (1) The deepening of the spiritual life and sense of responsibility of Missionaries and Mission Agents;
- (2) Impressing upon the members of the Churches the great necessity of a consecrated life, and of active efforts for the salvation of relatives and neighbours;
- (3) The conversion of large numbers of nominal Christians to a personal faith in Christ;
- (4) The winning to Christ of many from the increasingly large number of Hindus who having lost faith in Hinduism, are at present drifting aimlessly about.

The Conference recommends that the Missions in the different language areas, either singly or in unison with others, should concert measures with this end in view; special sermons being preached on the lines indicated by the subjects above mentioned, and fervent intercessory prayer being continually made for a great spiritual revival in India, Ceylon and Burma.

RESOLUTION V.

As the Sabbath is one of the great bulwarks of Christianity, and the neglect of its observance so frequently prevails among our native members, especially new converts, the Conference recommends the following as means to improvement :—

1. A good example on the part of missionaries, native ministers, and other Christian workers. Let all Sunday travel, and unnecessary labour, even with a good object in view, be religiously discarded, so that weak brethren may derive no excuse from the conduct of their superiors.

2. Frequent and systematic instruction and exhortation, both private and public, in regard to the duty of keeping holy the Lord's day.

3. Church discipline in extreme cases.

4. The avoidance of all arrangements, which might, even remotely, lead others to break the Sabbath, such as giving work to (ungodly) contractors without the proviso that the Sabbath must be respected.

5. Assistance of some kind given to Church members by which they may be enabled to forsake a business in which Sabbath-breaking is required and enter one of a different character.

A great Revival needed.

Sabbath Observance.

6. Petitions to the Viceregal Government to re-enact a Sabbath law for India, so that it may at least be a "dies non" in business, a day on which employees may abstain from labour without breaking their contracts, or endangering in any way their pecuniary rights, a day on which courts and public offices shall be closed and Government works stopped except in cases of urgent necessity, and on which military drills and inspections and movements of every kind shall be reduced to the lowest possible limit.

7. Petitions to managers of railways, shops, and manufacturing of various kinds, asking that their operations may be brought down to a minimum, if not discontinued altogether, on the Lord's day.

8. The promotion of the Lord's Day Union and all similar Societies, or Conferences, having in view the advancement of the observance of the Sabbath.

With a view to giving effect to Nos. 6 and 7, above, the Conference appoints the following as a Sub-Committee:—

VI.

There are three great evils which exist more or less in the Churches of India, and which are great hindrances to the spread of Christ's kingdom; *viz.*, *caste*, *debt*, and *intemperance*. These must be purged away before the Churches can fulfil their high vocation.

Caste. Of caste an Indian Christian in a prominent position says;—"Its effects are deplorable. With the keeping of caste Christian life cannot grow, but must eventually die. No caste-keeping man or woman should be employed as a Christian worker. No encouragement or connivance should be allowed to caste observance in the Church, as to cups, seats, precedence, or appellations." Another Indian Christian writes;—"There cannot be two opinions as to caste being a hindrance of no ordinary magnitude." A Bishop of the Church of England in India has said "Christianity with caste would be Christianity without the Body of Christ. Christianity without the Body of Christ would be Christianity without union with Christ and without reconciliation with God. Father Goreh was right, 'Christianity with caste would be no Christianity at all.'" And a missionary writes of a difficulty which we may hope does not exist in many places, *viz.*, that children of Christians of low caste origin cannot be received into Mission boarding-schools, on account of the strong caste prejudices which exist.

Caste is so utterly contrary to the spirit of Christianity, so subversive of the fellowship of Christ's people, that it is greatly to be regretted that it should continue to any extent in the Church. Surely the Indian Church should ere this have outgrown an evil so directly opposed to the teachings and spirit of Christ. The Lord's prayer that His people may all be one can never be fulfilled while caste remains among them. The Holy Spirit most certainly will not dwell in fulness where the spirit of caste is retained. Therefore:—

RESOLUTION VI.

The Conference would very earnestly re-emphasize the deliverance of the South India Missionary Conference of 1900, *viz.*, that caste, wherever it exists in the Church, "be treated as a great evil to be discouraged and repressed. It is further of opinion that in no case should any person who breaks the law of Christ by observing caste hold any office in connection with the Church, and it earnestly appeals to all Indian Christians to use

all lawful means to eradicate so un-Christian a system."

Of debt a venerable missionary of long experience, and intimate knowledge of the life of the people, writes;— Debt.
 "It is the bane of our religious life, and the evil increases. Extensive marriage outlay is chiefly to blame. This subjects our Christians to heathen masters, and takes them from Sabbath observance and from religious instruction. It is the greatest evil I know in our work." An Indian Christian, whose knowledge in the case is beyond question, says:—"Eighty per cent. of Native Christians are in debt."

There is one Mission at least in South India which will on no account retain in its employ any agent who runs into debt. Therefore:—

RESOLUTION VII.

The Conference recommends that the Scripture injunction, "Owe no man anything,—but to love one another," be pressed upon the attention of the members of the churches by plain and patient teaching, and enforced by the rules and discipline of the churches, until this great stumbling-block be removed.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Whereas intemperance is a great and growing evil in the land, and temptations to indulge in this vice exist on every hand by the multiplication of toddy shops, &c., the Conference would recommend, as a preventive measure, the instruction, especially of the young, in the principles of temperance, and the formation of Bands of Hope and Temperance Societies. The future welfare of the churches demands that the rising generation be safe-guarded as far as possible in regard to this prevalent danger. Intemper-
ance.

RESOLUTION IX.

Whereas the present state of transition in the Native Churches naturally involves changes in mode of life and the social relations of the sexes; and whereas—specially in large towns—there is a growing tendency to adopt the freedom that obtains amongst Europeans in this matter. The Conference, whilst not endorsing the "purdah system" or that unnatural social separation of the sexes which prevails among Muhammadans and Hindus, as an ideal mode of life for Native Christians, yet would deprecate the adoption by them, at present, of that freedom which is common among Missionaries and other Europeans; and urge them to maintain such a reserve as, not only delivers them from temptation, but also enables them to preserve a good reputation in the eyes of their own countrymen;—waiting patiently for the time when Society generally will become so transformed by the diffusion of Christian principles, as to make a different course entirely prudent and harmless;—and these principles of action, the Conference especially recommends for their practice in associating with the adherents of other religions. The Christ-
ian's relation-
ship to non-
Christians,
mode of life,
&c.

II. DEVELOPMENT IN THE NATIVE CHURCH.

A.—SELF-SUPPORT.

Whereas the Self-support of a Church is next in importance only to its growth in spiritual life; whereas this important subject has now been prominently before the Missions and the Churches connected with them for several years past, and its imperative necessity recognized alike by the Missions and the Churches; and whereas strenuous efforts are being made by many Churches toward the attainment of this end, these efforts having been in some cases crowned with success, but in too many others making but little progress towards it:—

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference acknowledges with deepest thankfulness to God the progress that has been already made, and urges on the Missions and the office-bearers of the Churches to continue to instruct and enlighten the Churches on the duty and privilege of Self-support, and to apply with earnestness and perseverance the organizations that have thus far proved successful. The Conference considers that in the organization of new Churches, provision for the attainment of Self-support in the near future should always be made.

RESOLUTION II.

The Conference, believing as it does that the Native Churches will never rise to their responsibilities in the matter of Self-support until the absolute necessity is brought home to them by the withdrawal of foreign aid, earnestly recommends all the Home Societies and Boards to insist on the gradual and regular reduction of grants made to Churches of any standing,—due consideration being made in cases of extraordinary development,—thereby not only setting free funds for new work, but also training the people in the privilege of giving, and giving increasingly, of their substance to the work of the Church. This would result, the Conference feels, in the development of those Christian qualities which efforts in that direction naturally evoke.

RESOLUTION III.

The Conference, being assured that the Scriptural system of proportionate giving is calculated to bring a reflex benefit both on the donor and the Churches, and that it is the only course which can adequately meet the pressing exigencies of the situation, recommends that this subject be constantly brought to the notice of members, not only of organized Churches, but also of those newly established, by means of systematic teaching, personal exhortation and individual example.

RESOLUTION IV.

The Conference is of opinion that, in order to secure the hearty and liberal gifts of the people, not only must the Christian duty, privilege and blessing of giving be continually laid before them, but such

methods of giving as accord with the genius of the people should be resorted to. In this connexion; offerings on special festive occasions, offerings for special mercies received or dangers averted (*e.g.*, in times of sickness, &c.), votive offerings, first-fruits, rice collections, and the like, should be encouraged, in addition to periodical contributions, collections, &c.

Harvest Festivals, coinciding as they do with the customs of the country, have also proved themselves an important factor in inciting the people to spontaneous and cheerful giving.

Further, the Conference sees no objection to the establishment of endowments by gifts of money or land during life or at death by members of the Churches for the support of poor Pastorates, Schools, Seminaries and other institutions connected with those Churches. Such endowments, being understood to be supplementary to ordinary offerings for current expenses, if they are properly constituted and judiciously administered, far from retarding Self-support, will tend to stimulate and establish it. This method, also, has the advantage of being indigenous and therefore acceptable and likely to be attended with success.

RESOLUTION V.

The Conference recommends the establishment of a Pastors' Sustentation Fund in connexion with every Church, however small, or group of Churches, to which all the members should be required to contribute periodically in money or in kind, according as the Lord has prospered them. The principle that an ordained Pastor should not be placed over any congregation which does not give a fair proportion of his salary should be continually kept in view.

RESOLUTION VI.

The Conference recommends the employment of wholly or partially self-supporting Pastors—*i.e.*, Pastors who would take up some employment, profession or trade for their main support, and give their services either entirely free to their congregations or for such free-will offerings only as they are able to give. This is the way in which most religious teachers are supported in this country amongst non-Christian communities. There is not a single religious teacher supported by stated salary from the community they serve. There is nothing in the Word of God prohibiting the adoption of this system. The salaried system is Western and foreign. Hence the slowness of its progress. The system now recommended is indigenous and suited to the wants of the Indian Churches. If adopted it will be a great help to them, specially to the weak and backward Churches, and soon solve the perplexing problem of Self-support.

RESOLUTION VII.

The Conference, recognizing on the one hand the great advantage accruing to the Native Churches

when men of high intellectual attainment devote their talents to the sacred office of the Ministry, and on the other hand the impossibility, with Self-support as an object in view, of providing them with stipends at all equivalent to those given in other departments of work, (*e.g.*, Government, Education, &c.) thankfully acknowledges the spirit of self-sacrifice already displayed by some in abandoning more lucrative prospects and cheerfully accepting emoluments considerably less than what they might expect in other walks of life, and would earnestly recommend their example to others.

The Conference would further point out to those who have independent means the privilege of either themselves becoming honorary Pastors of Agents, or providing the stipend for some one else.

B.—SELF-GOVERNMENT.

RESOLUTION .

This Conference would reassert the principle now generally accepted, that a reasonable and increasing share of the government of the Churches should be entrusted to the members of those Churches, with the view both of training them in the art of self-government and of enabling them to take an increasing and more intelligent interest in the affairs of their own Church. This latter will have a reflex influence on the advance of Self-support, as it is vain to expect the people to give liberally unless they have a due share in their Church government.

RESOLUTION II.

This Conference, recognising the importance of the presence in all Church Governing Bodies of the lay element, deems that the principle of election is perhaps the most satisfactory method of securing fit representation. At the same time, realizing the immature state of many of the congregations and the prevalence of caste and nepotism, the Conference would suggest that in cases where it is found undesirable to resort entirely to the elective principle, a certain percentage of appointments might be made by the Mission direct. This would, *inter alia*, give the opportunity for the inclusion among the members of the Governing Bodies of some who, though taking a true interest in congregational affairs, have not been chosen by election.

RESOLUTION III.

This Conference, realizing the tendency in India toward denationalisation, the various circumstances, (*e.g.*, higher education, &c.) which combine to dissociate the Pastor from those amongst whom he is to labour, the danger of the true idea of Pastoral work being lost sight of and that of "superintendence" being introduced in its place,—a state of things perhaps largely due to close association with Missionaries whose work is that of Superintendents rather than of Pastors,—would

urge that practical steps be taken to foster increasingly in the mind of the Pastor the idea that he is an integral part of the Native Church, rather than connected with, and dependent upon, a Foreign Missionary Society. To this end the Conference would reiterate the recommendation of the South India Missionary Conference of 1900, Resolution III on "Native Church," that all Pastors should be paid through some office-bearer of the Church other than the representative of the Missionary Society; and that, for the same reason, the Church Governing Bodies should have their due share in the selection of Pastors and also in the regulation of their stipends.

RESOLUTION V.

This Conference would urge the paramount importance of definitely training Pastors and Governing Bodies in the art of Church administration, the main duty of the administrative Missionary being not to govern, but to train others to govern. The Conference strongly feels that the tendency which would lead the European to undertake administration himself rather than to be at pains to train the Native Churches to undertake it,—a course often demanding more labour and self-effacement,—should be at all costs resisted; and that no possibility of failure should deter Missionaries or Missionary Bodies from giving the fullest scope possible to the Native Churches in this direction. With this end in view the Conference would propose that plans be adopted in Church Governing Bodies whereby men of special ability may be placed in positions of responsibility in which they may have due opportunity for the exercise of their administrative powers, including the collection and disbursement of Funds, subject at the same time to a supervision which, while not interfering with their due liberty of action, would secure the right discharge of their duties. The Conference is of opinion that where failures have occurred in the past they have been largely due to the fact that men have been suddenly placed in practically independent positions without due training.

RESOLUTION V.

This Conference considers that the subject of discipline in the Native Churches is one that needs increasing attention, and that, to be effective, it will in future have to be dealt with, largely *ab intra* rather than *ab extra*. In this connexion the Conference would suggest that an increasing use be made, where possible, of the system of Village Punchayats. These bodies being indigenous, chosen by the people themselves, and recognised by them as having authority to deal with village matters, have power to compel recalcitrant offenders to submit to discipline to an extent that no other body seems to possess. Christian Punchayats formed on similar lines might deal with all cases of minor Church discipline, major offences being reported by

them for the final decision of the higher constituted authorities. This would have the effect of inculcating a sense of responsibility in the minds of the leaders of the congregations, which, in turn, would lead to more effective discipline. The nature of punishments for minor offences should be largely left to the Panchayats themselves. The Conference sees no objection to the imposition of fines, as experience shows that they have a markedly deterrent effect. The Conference further considers that no pains should be spared to create in congregations a healthy Christian esprit de corps, as being essential both to the due enforcement of discipline, and also, in cases of full excommunication, to the investing of that punishment with its full force, namely, the deprivation not only of ecclesiastical, but also of social privileges; and thus making it a more effective means for the reclamation of the offender.

C.—SELF-PROPAGATION.

Whereas it is of the utmost importance that the Native Church should be constantly reminded that it is itself a great Missionary organisation, and that upon it lies the sacred duty of making known the Gospel to those who know it not; whereas a church cannot be regarded as loyal to Christ which has little or no care for those who are outside the fold, and no Mission can regard its work as satisfactory unless there is developed in the Churches it establishes an earnest Missionary spirit; and whereas in India, Ceylon and Burma, where there are almost illimitable opportunities of extension, the burden of winning people to Christ must fall more and more upon the Native Church: seeing that, while foreign help and guidance can do much, it is manifest that the whole ground can be adequately occupied with workers only as the Native Church freely responds to the call Christ makes upon it, and spends itself in an earnest effort to bring all to a knowledge of the truth; and whereas,—as a means to this end,—it is essential that the Native Church itself should possess a vigorous spiritual life, which has its outcome in the active part borne by each member in its internal working:—

RESOLUTION I.

The Conference, while deprecating any attempt to interfere with the conditions of membership in the Churches, would urge that all possible care should be taken to lead each candidate for full membership to a personal trust in Christ, and also that sufficient opportunity be given for the exercise of such spiritual gifts as God has severally bestowed upon them. In every Church there are probably members who can render considerable aid to the Pastor by conducting services, by visiting the sick, by house-to-house visitation, in prayer and other meetings, in open-air work, in the Sunday School, in temperance work, in work amongst children, and in a variety of other ways. Members should be trained from the commencement to care for the Church's welfare and to endeavour to make it a centre of light and holy influence.

RESOLUTION II.

The Conference would urge that information on Missionary topics should be widely disseminated in

the Native Church, by literature, by sermons, and by Missionary meetings; and that, at stated intervals prayer meetings should be held for the definite purpose of intercession on behalf of the work of Christ among non-Christians.

RESOLUTION III.

The Conference recommend that in connexion with each Church, where possible, there should be a Missionary Band which by its own voluntary efforts shall attempt the evangelization of such non-Christians as may be within its own immediate neighbourhood. Moreover, since, in some places, there are large Churches which might easily do the work which is being done by Foreign Missionary Societies in the same area, the Conference recommends that in such cases the agents of the Foreign Missionary Society should be withdrawn and the responsibility for the work thrown on the Churches.

RESOLUTION IV.

The Conference further would recommend the encouragement of the spirit which, they notice with thankfulness, has led some holding good positions to devote part of their leisure time, specially in recesses or vacations, to banding themselves together, in a systematized effort to preach the Gospel to non-Christians at their own charges, believing that such efforts go far to dispel the idea current in the minds of many that the Gospel is only preached by those who are paid to do so.

RESOLUTION V.

The Conference would also emphasize the importance of maintaining village Primary schools in connexion with the Churches, as they serve the double purpose of giving instruction to Christian children and of propagating the Gospel amongst non-Christians.

RESOLUTION VI.

The Conference would recommend that the Churches of each Denomination should unite in the formation of a Native (Home) Missionary, or Extension, Society, which shall be supported and controlled by the Native Churches and shall work in certain specified areas. Such a Society would, the Conference think, (1) quicken the interest of Native Christians in work outside their immediate neighbourhood, (2) probably be able to utilise gifts of money and men not available to the foreign Societies, (3) provide Native Ministers and Laymen with fuller opportunities for the exercise of their administrative gifts, (4) bring home, in the most pointed manner, to the Native Church its duty in this connexion, and (5) since the Society would be controlled by the Native Church, apart from outside help, probably lead to developments in methods of work that would be instructive to all Missionaries.

RESOLUTION VII.

The Conference further considers that the fact of a Church being not entirely self-supporting should not debar it from undertaking Missionary work even outside its own District or language area, and care should always be taken by the Missionary Societies to see that the idea of Evangelistic work is not dissociated from that of Pastoral.

III. THE MINISTRY—ITS TRAINING, &c.

MINUTE AND RESOLUTION ON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE TRAINING OF PASTORS AND EVANGELISTS.

IMPORTANCE OF SUBJECT.

The raising up of an indigenous ministry of evangelists and pastors is of supreme importance in the evangelization of India. Hence this subject should have our first and constant and wisest attention. The foreigner can do but little comparatively in the complete evangelization of any country. It rests with the indigenous worker. Hence this is our most important work. Here is our main hope. In a paper that must be brief, and consists mainly of resolutions, only the merest syllabus outline of some fundamentals can be given. And as this subject is always discussed in Mission Conferences, and justly, in view of its supreme and perennial importance, truisms will be repeated and emphasized, and changes will be rung on them, in "line upon line." The climax of our work as intimated is in raising up evangelists, to gather out a Church pastored by men from its own people. The subject needs sustained attention and constant reviewing. Time and new environments make demands for variations. On the raising up and training of an indigenous ministry, let us notice the (a) Trainer, (b) the trained, and (c) the Institution; *i.e.*, the men to do this work, the workers to be moulded for the work, and the Institution in which this is to be done.

I.—THE TRAINER.

1. This is a matter of vital importance. The trainer of men should be chosen with, if possible, more care than the men to be trained. It is possible that the authority making appointments to Theological Institutions, has not always been sufficiently impressed on this point. Very much depends on the fitness of the men who undertake this work. The best possible selections should be made. Personal power over the trained means much. For the present the dependence must be largely on Europeans. The fact that the foreign missionary must still be in the field, shows that he is yet to lead in this work. He has something to infuse into the trained, some superior knowledge and example to impart.

2. The men selected for this work should *themselves be patterns*. They should be men of earnest piety, deep spirituality, and zeal with knowledge. "Look ye out among you men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom and set them over this business." Imitation is instinctive. Example is contagious. It is all-important that the trainer of men be worthy of imitation. Christ left an example. Paul said, "Follow me as I follow Christ"; and again, "Be ye followers of me."

3. The trainer of men should be a *lover of men*. Of a young man it is written, "Jesus beholding him loved him." Augustine seeing the fair Angle slaves in the streets of Rome said, they are angels. All men are such in possibility. Like Michael Angelo we may see an angel in the roughest block. Eternal glory has been thrown around humanity by Christ's love of men. The author of *Ecce Homo* wrote that "Jesus for the first time among men placed the love of humanity among the virtues." Professor Drummond said, "love is a greater thing than faith." Only the lover of men can train and mould them. He will infuse his own spirit into men. Such become soul trainers.

4. He should be a *discerner of spirits*. Such a gift is mentioned in Scripture. All kinds of material finds its way into the Theological School. Those who send in men are not always wise, but yield in their choice, to lower motives it may be. The trainer should not spend his time on unsuitable material. He must discern, sift, and select, in the fear of God.

5. He should be a *practical man*. Many hold theories which look well on paper and sound plausible in speech, but the theorist does not get much beyond mere theory. We have seen theorizers among missionaries who could work beautifully, only on paper. The practical man brings things to pass. Such should be put in charge of training men for practical success. There seems to be no pastoral instinct, properly speaking, in India. The guru and moulvy, as a rule, live for themselves, not for the flock. But the Gospel of Christ inspires a love for souls, and the trainer must develop and mould the pastoral and evangelistic habit, in those preparing for this work.

6. The trainer of men should be free to devote himself to this one thing. Those in our Theological Institutions often carry a double burden in the care of stations, and other interests. His should not be a hurried jaded life. He should give himself "to the word of God and prayer." The teaching of the Bible and correlated subjects, and his maintenance of the various interests that gather about such an Institution, and his fellowship with the students new and old, will be tax enough on heart and brain. Give him a chance to do the best work.

7. It is wise to associate with the foreigner in this work of training, Indians themselves. They have special qualifications to assist in it, and all the qualities before mentioned should be sought for in them.

Let us pass from the trainer to the trained :—

II.—THE TRAINED.

The question of the material is most important. We should look to *quality* rather than to *quantity*. Workers are needed, but fewer of the right stamp will bring better success. Select the candidates with care. "Lay hands suddenly on no man." We need not expect absolute perfection, but the best specimens should be selected. The distinction of evangelists and pastor can be settled after the men are trained and tried. Gifts and grace, and the direction of the Holy Spirit, will indicate the work. It is perhaps not practical to unify the various names given to indigenous workers in different missions. We have catechists, readers, licentiates, exhorters, local preachers, evangelists, pastors, &c., and ordained men of grades.

The name is not very important, the vital matter is the man and his training. Forms of work blend and interchange. Some important qualifications in the candidates are here given.

1. They should be *converted men*. This does not go without saying. It is matter of observation that not rarely unconverted men find their way into the ministry.

Before recommending candidates this matter should be carefully tested.

2. Men of *deep piety*, in the sense of reverent obedience to God, should be selected, men marked by spirituality of heart. There is a natural difference in spiritual receptivity seen in the converted. There is in some what is called a genius for religion. Spiritual workers only can bring about the best spiritual results. Better the spiritually minded for this work, than any amount of education without this quality. Seek for *integrity* and *honesty* of life and purpose. The ministry is a grave trust. Shun men who reveal any marked moral weakness.

3. There should be a *call to this work*. The Bible is clear on such a call. We may differ on our estimate of its tests and manifestations, but not about the fact. God's people rightly apply some tests in this matter, and trust to the leading of the Holy Spirit. Some of the best tests from the standpoint of human judgment are here given.

4. Candidates should manifest a *love for souls*. It is proposed that they become soul-winners, "fishers of men." This love of souls will be manifested in a marked interest in the salvation of their countrymen. They will desire to seek the lost sheep. They will strive to maintain a loving touch with men. Social characteristics will give them winning power. Beware of candidates who pull away and hold aloof from men.

5. Select candidates, as a rule, from among the special people with whom they are to work. While ignoring caste, we may take advantage of its influence. Social and family leads can be utilized in reaching the people. Peter for the Jews, Titus for the Cretans, Timothy of Derbe for Asia Minor; and Paul for them all. So, of course, we will find some of general adaptation, but the rule is Evangelize a people or caste by workers from among themselves.

6. Where at all possible, candidates should be previously tested in the work. Barnabas and Saul had been workers before the Holy Ghost said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." In most cases it is practical to recruit the training school from those who have already approved themselves in the work. One of Wesley's tests was "fruit." A German general said of a raw wavering line, "they need to be shot a bit, and they will be all right." It is a poor mission that cannot afford this test. This is training *in* the work *for* the work.

7. *Practical men*, able to adapt themselves to the situation and to men, should be selected. Candidates of hard common sense, self-reliant under responsibility, should be selected. A close observer of men, himself of a practical turn of mind, will discern this trait in men. Many a preacher fails miserably for want of a little tact.

8. An industrious, patient, self-sacrificing spirit should be sought after. Without these qualities there will be no steadiness and endurance in the candidate.

III.—THE INSTITUTION AND THE TRAINING.

1. Having found our trainer, and the material to be wrought upon, we may turn to the work to be done in training. Various phases of this subject have been presented to the committee for discussion, but it is impossible to cover the whole ground, in the limits imposed on this particular subject. Contributions have reached us on the subject of different missions uniting in the various language areas in common training Institutions; also urging the establishment of an Indian Theological College undenominational and of high class. On the other hand we have received communications earnestly disputing the practicability or possibility in India, or any country, of a common Theological examining Board, or a central Theological

college on undenominational lines. The conditions of missions differ, needs vary greatly, and views of doctrine are antagonistic, precluding large unity of action in many matters.

2. But there are certain general principles that must command the assent of all and should have perpetual emphasis in the training of a theological institution. A brief syllabus of such principles adapting it to India, may be thus given:—

- (1) Moral and spiritual development.
- (2) The fundamentals of theology resting on the Bible.
- (3) Method in thought and study. An effort to bring the student's mind into working order.
- (4) Practical workers as evangelists and pastors.
- (5) As much related collateral information as can be conveniently imparted.
- (6) Manliness, physical and mental, good manners and courtesy. Catechists, as one has said, should not be "weak in the legs."

The vital importance of these principles will be seen by all. The aim should be to raise up workers adapted to India. It is said that one Theological College seems to be aiming at preparing curates for parishes in England.

3. Perhaps all will assent to the utility of the following outline, which can be filled in with the special authors and type of theology desired by each mission. The training of pastors and evangelists need not materially differ. Their work will likely blend and interchange at times.

I. *Exegetical Theology*, including (1) something of Biblical Introduction, (2) Methods of Exegesis and Interpretation, (3) Canon of Scripture, (4) Sacred languages.

II. *Historical Theology*, including (1) something of Archæology, (2) Sacred and Church History, (3) Patristics, or the Fathers, (4) History of Doctrines, (5) Comparative Creeds and Symbolism.

III. *Systematic Theology*. The systematic grouping and orderly presentation of the doctrines of the Bible, as (1) Apologetics, (2) Dogmatics, (3) Ethics, (4) Polemics, and suited of course to India.

IV. *Practical Theology*, (1) The organization of the Church, (2) The ministry, its duties and support, (3) Forms of religious instruction, sermonical, catechetical, Sunday schools, public worship, church music, &c., (4) Evangelism and pastoral care.

This brief outline covers suggestively the whole realm of Biblical and theological study. It can be filled up as intimated, with greater or less fulness, and for each Mission according to type of theology and special requirement. Great prominence should be given to the Bible. The cry is in place, "Back to the Bible, back to Christ." Entrance tests can be applied, and preparatory classes formed, according to the needs of each mission. The Entrance test should be as high as at all practical. Large demand for workers, as in some missions, must determine in each case.

4. The greatest possible stress should be laid on moral and spiritual development. It is assumed that the candidate is converted. Much may remain to be done to make him a "man of God thoroughly furnished unto all good works." One writes us, "The spiritualizing of agents is of special importance." In evangelistic and pastoral work how much depends on spirituality. The training is almost an empty show without this. The Institution should be made a centre of spiritual power.

5. Some instruction in music should find a well recognised place in a course of ministerial training, and for Christian workers generally. The place and power of music and song need not be urged. Every student, at all possible, should learn to lead in singing. The more

made of native airs, the better. Instrumental music should find a place. The instruments of the country especially should be used. Happy is the Christian worker who can play and sing.

6. Physical training should find a place in such an institution. Strong manly men who can "endure hardness" are in demand. A peripatetic gospel is required, especially for village work. Our ministers must not be mere students. India is waking up to the value of physical training in the battle of life. Our spiritual workers must not lag behind. The Theological College should have a gymnasium and football and cricket ground attached. Leg exercise among the villages is valuable.

7. Close to the subject of physical culture is the matter of some training in sanitation and the care of health. It is impracticable to do much with all students in medicine, but the preacher and Christian worker capable of recognising and treating with simple remedies the more common diseases of the country, has a most important qualification of success in his work. Some time given to this subject in a course of study will repay the outlay. The worker with some knowledge of simple remedies can be much more useful to the Christian community, and the kind feeling of the non-Christians can be won by helping them in their ills and pain.

8. Every training institution, besides, its own staff should utilize the best talent European and Indian within reach for special lectures. Contact in the lecture room with specialists and men of note and power is a great stimulant and inspiration to the student. Fresh and valuable aid can thus be brought to bear.

9. In training institutions where married students are at work, a course of study for their wives should be arranged. It should be assumed that they are in some way to assist in evangelistic and pastoral work. The social life of India makes this imperative, as work for women must be largely by women. It is not difficult to make up a suitable course for the wives during the course of the men.

10. By far greater stress should be laid on the course in the vernacular than in English. The best English-speaking and most thoroughly educated Indian preacher should know how to bring his knowledge to bear in his vernacular. There is perhaps a small exceptional demand in places for an entire or a partial course in English. On the question of degrees in Theology, and a central Institution of higher grade, discussed as a scheme recently, this is the place to say that as collegiate education is obtaining a wide place in India, a good purpose might be served by opening the way for more thorough training in English, leading to the usual degrees. This might encourage candidates of college education to take up evangelistic and pastoral work. This is a subject to be kept free from mere fleshly motives.

11. The desire for concentration and co-operation in the training of the Indian ministry, and in providing a higher form of theological education, is finding expression in various ways. The South India Conference in January 1900, passed resolutions on the subject, and a Conference of representatives from various missions on the subject of ministerial training, held at Benares in February of the present year, passed a resolution against multiplying Training Institutions, and recommended union of Missions in this work. The Calcutta Missionary Conference has put itself on record favouring union in higher theological training, leading to the usual degrees. All this indicates that the time has come for Missions to jointly consider this question. Some of the reasons put briefly are, (1) scholastic education in India is coming up to the

most enlightened standard of the age. Theological education should not lag behind. India should have the best, and at home in India. Evangelism among the educated classes requires this. The higher criticism, and more modern forms of theological thought and discussion, and the antagonism of educated India, which is keeping abreast of the scepticism of Europe and America, all indicate that India should provide the highest form of orthodox training. (2) The pastorate in the larger cities now makes an intellectual and social demand which can only be met by a more highly trained ministry. (3) There will be economy of labour and funds in centralizing such higher forms of theological training, and it will tend to the desired unity of the Indian Church.

12. The subject of postgraduate or continued study was laid before the Committee. Requirements are so varied in the grades of workers that more cannot here be done than affirm with emphasis the utility of such study. By all means arrangements should be made to keep the worker industriously alive and progressive in the study of the Bible and important books. Rust and stagnation, so much to be deplored, are certain to follow in the large majority of cases, without some plan of continued study.

IV. BUILDING AND SUNDRY ACCESSORIES.

1. The best possible centre should be selected in view of health, scenery, accessibility, population, preaching opportunity, and general educating influences. There is much involved in this.

2. Every training Institution of any pretence should aim at having commodious and suitable buildings, affording chapel, class and lecture rooms, library, &c., and it may be kindergarten room. A beautiful building is an object lesson and educator. Here bricks and mortar are moral power. The temple with its two noble pillars Boaz and Jachin, wreathed, and ornamented with pomegranates, was an education to the Jew. Our students should remember with affection the halls where they studied and the hallowed grounds where they pored over their Bibles.

3. A suitable library of English and vernacular books, with all needed works of reference, should be available to teachers and students. The latter should be encouraged to form habits of reading and research, and teachers should not be handicapped for what they cannot themselves afford.

4. A museum, illustrating sacred archæology, history, and especially anything connected with study, is most useful. Maps, charts, diagrams, cabinets, and such things should be supplied.

5. A playground and gymnasium are important. A shrewd observer remarked, "the necks of your students are too thin." All the manly physical power we can add to our preachers will stand them in hand in the fight for India.

6. Where the wives of the students are trained, as they should be, they should have a building with chapel, class rooms, and kindergarten room and plant. The kindergarten will relieve the mothers while learning. Besides, the important initial impulse for good to the children cannot be estimated.

7. Literary societies for practice and discipline in composition, criticism, and public speaking should be organised. Here is the place too for the Y. M. C. A.; the Y. P. S. C. E. and other guilds that afford training and opportunity for work.

8. An Alumni Association should be connected with every training Institution. The old student should remember his training home with affection. Its memories should be a life-long benediction to him. Some simple form of organisation will bind the graduates together and

beget *esprit de corps* and unite them to the Institution. They should often be invited to revisit the place. In this way the power of the Institution can be perpetuated and deepened.

9. All this makes emphatic the importance of an ample endowment for such Institutions. Money is required to build up and maintain all these interests in efficiency. It should be a first care to get a good financial basis for the Theological School.

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference, regarding the work of Training Institutions, seeking to raise up and qualify spiritual workers familiar with the Bible, of supreme importance in the Mission field, and ever to be kept first in thought and plan, earnestly recommends Mission Boards and Churches to endow and keep these Institutions in the highest possible state of efficiency.

RESOLUTION II.

The Conference recommends that great wisdom and care be exercised in appointing to this work missionaries and teachers suited in every way to assist those entrusted to their direction, in the attainment of knowledge and spirituality.

RESOLUTION III.

The Conference urges the exercise of wisdom in the selection of candidates for training in such Institutions, holding as a first qualification a changed heart and true spiritual life.

RESOLUTION IV.

The Conference approving of the suggestion of the South India Missionary Conference of January 1900, and of the Benares "representative meeting" of February of the present year, recommends that as far as possible there should be co-operation of Missions in these Training Institutions, in the interest of economy, of labour and of funds, and for the promotion of union in the Indian Church.

RESOLUTION V.

In view of the rapid wide-spread advance in scholastic education in India, producing a corresponding demand for higher theological training, the Conference approves of the establishment of a Central Theological Institution as recommended by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, such Institution to be of a high grade, capable of giving training abreast of the best theological education of the age; and appoints the following representative commission, with power to fully canvass the matter, and, if considered practicable, to initiate a movement that may give India the Institution in question.

COMMITTEE II. (EVANGELISTIC WORK).

REVISED DRAFT OF REPORT.

Names of Committee.

- Rev. M. D. Adams, Foreign Christian Missionary Society,
Bilaspur.
G. W. Blair, Esq., Irish Presby. Mission, Jhalod, Panch
Mahals.
Rev. E. A. Booth, Strict Baptist Mission, Madras.
„ P. M. Buck, M. E., Meerut.
„ Dr. A. Bunker, Am. Baptist Mission, Toungoo,
Burma.
„ W. E. Wilkie Brown, U. F. C., Ali Bagh, Bombay.
„ A. Campbell, U. F. C. Mission, Pokhuria, Manbhum.
„ J. E. Chute, Can. Bapt. Mission, Akidu, Godavery
District.
„ A. H. Curtis, Am. Bapt. Mission, Madras.
„ A. Darby, S. P. G., Kolhapur.
B. Davidson, Esq., Ceylon and India Gen. Mission,
Hindupur.
Rev. J. Duthie, L. M. S., Nagercoil.
H. G. E. de St. Dalmas, Esq., Friends For. Mission As-
sociation, Hoshungabad.
Rev. H. Fairbank, Am. Board, Badala.
„ W. Goudie, Wesleyan Mission, Tiruvallur, Chingle-
put District.
„ E. Guilford, C. M. S., Tarn Taran, Punjab.
„ N. P. Hansen, Danish Lutheran Mission, Tirukoilur.
„ D. Hutton, L. M. S., Mirzapur.
Bishop Hodges, Kottayam.
Rev. W. F. Johnson, D.D., Am. Presby. Mission, Etawah.
„ S. Knowles, M. E. Mission, Naini Tal.
„ J. Lampard, Balaghat Mission, Baihir.
„ A. H. Lash, C. M. S., Nilgiris.
„ J. Lazarus, Danish Mission, Madras.
„ A. G. Locket, C. M. S., Calcutta.
„ J. H. Maclean, U. F. C. Mission, Wallajabad.
„ W. R. Manley, A. B. M. U., Kurnool.
„ W. A. Mansell, M. E., Bijour.
„ H. Matthies, Leipzig Lutheran, Mayavaram.
„ W. McLean, C. M. S., Agra.
W. Moyser, Esq., Ch. and Missionary Alliance, Akola.
Rev. E. P. Newton, Am. Presby. Mission, Ludhiana.
„ C. W. Nottrott, Germ. Amer. Evang. Lutheran,
Raipur.
„ J. G. Pike, Baptist Missy. Society, Cuttack.
„ E. A. Prince, Wesleyan Mission, Galle, Ceylon.
„ A. E. Restarick, Wesleyan Mission, Batticaloa,
Ceylon.
„ J. W. Robinson, M. E. Mission, Lucknow.
„ A. Schosser, Basel Mission, Puttur.
„ T. M. Timmcke, Schleswig-Holstein E. L. Mission,
Nowrangapur.
„ T. E. Taylor, D.D., East Himalaya Mission, Kalim-
pong.
A. Voss, Esq., K. and C. I. Hill Mission, Ellichpur.
Rev. T. R. Wade, C. M. S., Amritsar.
„ J. Wörrlein, Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission,
Gudur.
„ Dr. S. M. Zwemer, Arabian Mission, c/o Dr. Ewing,
Lahore.
„ Dr. J. E. Scott, M. E. Mission, Ajmer, *Convener*.

In presenting the Resolutions which your Committee desires the Conference to adopt it may be interesting and profitable to glance back at the consideration given to this department of Mission work by previous Conferences. Prior to the first General Missionary Conference, held in Allahabad, in 1872-73, there were held four Provincial Conferences, at Calcutta, in 1855, at Benares, in 1857, at

Ootacamund, in 1858, and at Lahore, 1863. At the first of these, two, out of the fourteen papers read, were upon the subject of Vernacular Preaching and Itinerancies; at the second, two, out of fourteen papers, discussed Preaching to the Heathen; at the third, out of twenty-seven papers and thirty addresses, two papers were read upon Vernacular Preaching and Itinerating; while at the fourth, out of twenty-three papers, a paper was read on Preaching to the Heathen, and two on the Hindu and Mohammedan Controversy, and the subject of Itinerations was also discussed. At the first General Missionary Conference, held at Allahabad in 1872-73, nearly the whole of the first day was devoted to the subject of Preaching to Hindus and Mohammedans, when able papers were read by such men as Doctors Wilson and Mather, Rev. Imad ud Din and Rev. F. P. Hughes. At the Calcutta General Missionary Conference, in 1882-83, the subjects of Preaching to the Heathen, Work among English-speaking Hindus, Work among Mohammedans, Work among Aboriginal Tribes and Low Class Hindus, and Sunday School work among Heathen and Mohammedan Children were ably discussed by Revs. Forman, Smith, Hooper, Alexander, Wherry, Hughes, Parker, and others. At the last Conference, in Bombay, the first subject taken up was Work among the Depressed Classes and the Masses, and the seventh subject was Work among the Educated Classes in India.

From this brief *resume* it may be seen that the subject of evangelizing the non-Christians has not been neglected in previous Conferences. Your Committee would commend this literature to, especially, the younger Missionaries as well worthy of earnest study, and no Missionary's library should be without the printed Reports of at least the three Great Missionary Conferences.

In approaching the subject of Evangelistic Work in a field like ours your Committee feels the weight of a heavy responsibility. The evangelization of Southern Asia means the conquest of the world for Christ. Here meet the great speculative faiths of mankind. Monotheism, Dualism, Polytheism, Atheism and Pantheism confront us in this "Garden of the Gods." Ranging from the purest Monotheism to the grossest Polytheism almost every religious belief and form of worship may be found. Fetichism, Brahmanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Parseeism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity have found a home in this fruitful soil. Some of these, after many centuries, are still the dominant religions of the world. That remarkable triad of non-Christian faiths—Hinduism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism—embracing almost every phase of speculative thought and illustrating almost every form of human belief, continue to hold masterful sway within the territory represented by this Conference. We face our foe. We are here to take counsel together as to the best way to conquer this three-gated stronghold. As Christian Missionaries we believe in the ultimate triumph of the truth we preach. In the Cross of Christ we glory. We contrast our holy faith with these speculative beliefs. The dreary speculative philosophy of Brahmanism, the evolutionary pessimistic Atheism of Buddhism, and the cold fatalism of Mohammedanism can never take away the sin of the world. Much less can the fetichism and devil worship of the aborigines on the one hand, or the new school cults which have arisen under the influences of western science and thought on the other, bring about that change of heart without which no man can see the Kingdom of God.

After another decade of aggressive work we meet not so much to rejoice over conquests which have been gained, great and glorious though they have been, as to plan for a new and more vigorous campaign. As wise and resource-

to renounce their old beliefs and accept Christ as their Saviour. As a class they are accessible, docile, and may be led into an infinitely better social and spiritual life.

RESOLUTION VI.

This Conference while commending the prosecution of work among the depressed classes would at the same time urge the careful preparation of enquirers before baptism, and the continued training of converts afterwards; and recommends that while rendering temporal aid when necessary, missionaries should observe great caution lest it prove a temptation to them to embrace Christianity from unworthy motives.

Careful training before and after baptism.

RESOLUTION VII.

This Conference is aware of certain hindrances and difficulties attending Mission Work in Native States, and of disabilities under which Native Christians live in such States, and would, therefore, recommend that a special Committee be appointed to which the more serious questions as they arise may be referred, and through the Committee brought to the attention of the Imperial Government.

Hindrances in Native States.

B.—THE AGENTS TO BE EMPLOYED.

The above Resolutions have reference to the classes to be evangelized. The Agents to be employed are next to be considered.

The success of evangelistic work depends largely upon the character of the Agents employed. As the work expands, and the fields whiten unto the harvest, it more and more becomes the crying need that labourers be ready. Your Committee regrets that in all our Churches there is this need of men and women who can be sent to evangelize the people. It behoves us to pray the Lord of the harvest that He send labourers into his harvest, and we should not fail to do our part in the training of evangelists. Our Divinity and Training Schools should give special attention to this. But it is not only the paid worker who is needed. The voluntary worker can often do more than the paid evangelist, for he is not open to the charge that he is paid to do this work. The Missionary spirit should be encouraged in the Churches. There is fear that there is a lack of this in some places. The Church is first of all a Missionary organization and should be encouraged to do its work. In every Native Church there should be bands of men and women who are ready to go into the surrounding villages, and market places, and highways, and preach the Gospel to the people. But to lead in this work more foreign Missionaries are required. The best Missionaries should be given evangelistic work. It requires rare qualifications of heart and head to be able to preach the Gospel in the vernacular with acceptance and with convincing power. The Native Church is not yet strong enough to carry on this work alone. The strength, and guidance, and experience of the foreign Missionary is still needed.

Your Committee has embodied these views in the following Resolutions:—

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference regrets the fewness of Native Evangelists and the lack of efficiency among Native

Need of Native Evangelists.

Agents. Greater care should be taken to train Agents for this special work, and only those having an experimental knowledge of the truth should be employed.

RESOLUTION II.

Usefulness of Voluntary Workers. This Conference recognises the usefulness of agents and voluntary workers who are free from the reproach of being dependent upon Mission funds, and would urge upon all the duty of encouraging such persons to engage in voluntary work for the Master.

RESOLUTION III.

The Church as Missionary Organization. This Conference looks upon the Church as a missionary organization; and holds that it should be our aim to make the Native Churches more missionary and aggressive in character; and that we should seek to train them to undertake evangelistic work among their own countrymen.

RESOLUTION IV.

Need of more foreign Missionaries. This Conference realises the urgent need of more foreign Missionaries for direct evangelistic work; and considers that the tendency of the best men to become absorbed in other forms of work is to be deprecated; and that there is need of specialists well qualified in the languages, religions and customs of the people.

C.—METHODS TO BE USED.

Your Committee is not unmindful that there are many useful methods of evangelistic work, and would encourage all ways and means of carrying the Gospel to the people. No method should be neglected or ignored, that we "might by all means save some." The important thing is to convey the truth to the hearts of the people. "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" Missions Halls, Bible Classes, house to house visitation, quiet work in the wards of the town or city, all these and many other ways have been blessed. But whatever method may be used, it should not be forgotten that the masses of the people live in the villages, are cultivators of the soil, and are illiterate. In order to reach the masses it is necessary to itinerate extensively and to preach much in the open air. It is better to itinerate in bands under efficient leadership, and the work should be done thoroughly, systematically, and regularly in a fixed area. The open-air preacher, thus itinerating among the villages, can preach in the streets, and market places, and at the fairs and festivals, and can utilize many helps, such as the magic lantern, medicines, music, pictures, &c. For this work the ablest men, familiar with the languages, religions, and customs of the people, and who can "rightly divide the word of truth," should be selected. The following Resolutions are now presented for your acceptance:—

RESOLUTION I.

Usefulness of and preparation for open air preaching. This Conference commends open-air preaching, on the streets, in the market places, at religious festivals, &c., as a time-honoured method of spreading the Gospel, and while many converts cannot be counted as a direct result, yet in this way multitudes

ful workers we desire to study and give expression to the best methods of carrying on the work to which we have been called. In the first place it is well to carefully look over the field and study the task that is before us, that we may know where and how best to expend our energy and resources. Further, the means and agencies which have proved themselves the most useful in the past, and which need to be increased in both number and efficiency, should have our attention. Then, too, the best way to employ these various available forces against the gigantic errors which confront us should be considered; and, finally, the place of more indirect methods of evangelization, such as educational work, and the preparation and circulation of religious literature, should claim our thought. Naturally, then, the work assigned to your Committee falls under five important heads, under each of which may be found appropriate Resolutions enforcing certain important practical matters which are recommended to the Conference to be passed. These five subjects are :—

- A.—The classes to be evangelized.
- B.—The agents to be employed.
- C.—The methods to be used.
- D.—Education as an Evangelistic Agency.
- E.—Literature as an Evangelistic Agency.

A.—THE CLASSES TO BE EVANGELIZED.

Your Committee feels that our mission is to all classes of the population in the whole of this vast field of Southern Asia, and that it is our duty to try and reach all, from the lowest devil worshipper to the highest Brahman, without regard to race, creed, caste, or social position and that while we should be alert to find those that are most accessible, we should not turn aside from a difficult field because of the fewness of converts or apparent lack of success. There is a great middle class among the Hindus for which we might do more. Your Committee also feels that more should be done to evangelize the members of the Moslem faith, that more special missions should be opened among them, and that specialists should make a thorough study of their religion and literature and press upon them the claims of the True Prophet. There is need, too, for more special work among the educated classes. The schools and colleges have been doing their work for nearly half a century. In the large Presidency cities there are thousands of young men who have learned in the schools to despise and forsake the puerilities of their old religions and yet are groping in the darkness of agnosticism, scepticism, and doubt, they have lost faith in Krishna but have not yet accepted Christ. At the other extreme are the primitive races and depressed classes. More than fifty millions of out-castes, and low castes, and jungle and hill tribes, are beginning to awaken to a desire to find a true Saviour from sin. We dare not neglect or reject these for whom Christ died. Surely here is a great opportunity. If we do not receive them they will be absorbed by either an increasingly polytheistic Hinduism, or by a still more aggressive proselytizing Mohammedanism by which they are surrounded. Your Committee would encourage a larger faith, and, if we are true to Christ and follow the leading of the Divine Spirit, has no fear that the accession of these people in large numbers will be detrimental to the spiritual life of the Church. Your Committee would urge that careful, and systematic, and constant effort should be made to teach the people, not only before but after baptism, that they may continue to grow in grace and in the knowledge of Christ. Truly on every hand are open doors. The only cases of hindrance or opposition, to which the attention of your Committee has been called, are those in Native States where Native Christians live under certain disabilities and native evangelists are sometimes forbidden to preach the Gospel.

The following Resolutions cover the various subjects mentioned in the foregoing preamble:—

RESOLUTION I.

Special efforts to reach the higher and middle classes.

This Conference, representing the vast field of Southern Asia, and convened at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, while grateful for the success achieved in the past, yet recognises the magnitude of the work still to be accomplished, especially in evangelizing Hinduism with its intricate and subtle forms of belief, its ancient, multiform and conservative social and religious customs, and its domineering and unyielding system of Caste; and that while no efforts should be relaxed in seeking to bring all classes to a knowledge of the truth, special efforts should be made to reach the higher and middle classes, the greater success among the lower and more accessible classes diverting none from constant and systematic effort along all lines and among all classes of the community.

RESOLUTION II.

Work among Muham-medans.

This Conference regrets the fewness of the number of converts from Muhammedanism, and favours special efforts being made to evangelize them, and is of the opinion that more special Missions should be organized to work among them, and that specialists should be set apart for this important work.

RESOLUTION III.

Work among the educated classes.

This Conference recognises the need of special Missionaries for evangelistic work among the educated classes, such as university students in the large centres, and teachers and employes in schools and offices; and also urges that more attention be given to work among the disciples of Neo-Hinduism, Brahmos, Aryas, &c., who, while holding some things in common with us, and thus perhaps more accessible, are yet, in essential belief, far from the Kingdom of God.

RESOLUTION IV.

Work among Aborigines.

This Conference recognises the importance of Missions to the aborigines, as the Gonds, Bheels, Doms, Santals, and other hill and jungle tribes. The success achieved shows that these tribes, although low in the social scale and immersed in gross ignorance and superstition, are capable of being rapidly changed by the Gospel preached among them.

RESOLUTION V.

Mass Movements.

This Conference recognises in the mass movements of primitive and low class races and people, such as the Panchamas and sweepers, toward Christianity a genuine work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of these humble people, and looks upon these movements as a golden opportunity for gathering a great harvest. It is true that many among them are not able at once to grasp deep spiritual truth, and their social disabilities may lead them to look for secular aid, yet they are ready

have heard the glad tidings. This Conference urges that greater preparation be made for this form of work ; that, except under unusual circumstances, controversy be avoided ; and that the work be more carefully followed up.

RESOLUTION II.

This Conference acknowledges the necessity for and utility of itinerating among the towns and villages, for only in this way can the masses of the population be reached. Several workers should thus travel about together, and, where practicable, itinerating bands, under competent leaders, and accompanied with such help as instrumental music, magic lanterns, and medicines, should be organized and sent forth.

Necessity for
and Utility
of Itinerat-
ing.

D.—EDUCATION AS AN EVANGELISTIC AGENCY.

Your Committee heartily believes in education, and that our secular and Sunday Schools are now and may become still more powerful for good, and that they are auxiliaries to the great work of direct evangelization. Science is the hand maid of religion. A secular school may not only be destructive to old errors and superstitions, but it may also be, as a Christian institution, constructive, putting in the place of what has been removed wisdom and truth. We should aim, therefore, to make all our secular schools distinctly evangelical in character. The Bible should invariably be taught, and the teaching staff should be, at least predominantly, Christian. Further, it should be our aim to have a Sunday School in connection with every secular school. The Sunday School can be made the means of carrying the precious Gospel seed to the hearts of the children of non-Christians, which in the near future may yield an abundant harvest.

The following Resolutions cover these points :—

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference is of the opinion that secular Mission Schools should be made more evangelical in character, and that to this end the Bible should be invariably and more thoroughly taught as a part of the curriculum, and that a greater number of, and more efficient, Christian teachers should be employed therein.

Secular
Schools
should be
evangelical.

RESOLUTION II.

This Conference heartily endorses the Sunday School as an attractive and efficient evangelistic agency, and would recommend that, whenever practicable, the children of non-Christians be gathered together for such teaching.

The Sunday
School as
an evangel-
istic agency.

E.—LITERATURE AS AN EVANGELISTIC AGENCY.

The itinerating evangelist has an abundant opportunity for the distribution of religious literature. In the fairs, and bazaars, and towns he often meets with those who are anxious to read the leaflet, tract or book he has with him to distribute. Often he can secure the attention of his audience by reading aloud some interesting spiritual tract or leaflet. As books, and especially the Book, are disseminated, the people more and more become familiar with the Gospel story, and thus the evangelist finds the way prepared for him. There is always need for fresh

literature in greater quantity, and especially for books and tracts adapted to the different classes of the community. For directly evangelistic purposes this literature should be thoroughly evangelical and for the most part non-controversial in character. Special Manuals suitable for native evangelists and enquirers are very much needed, and your Committee recommends the preparation by competent writers of such Manuals. Your Committee also heartily endorses the plan to appoint Committees on Literature for language areas and in this acts in harmony with the Committee on Literature.

In keeping with the above suggestions the following Resolutions are before you :—

RESOLUTION I.

Need of more
copious
special
Literature. This Conference feels the need of a more copious special literature in the form of books, tracts, leaflets for the various religious classes and non-Christian sects, and especially for educated Hindus and Muhammadans; and is of opinion that this literature should be thoroughly evangelical, and, for the most part, non-controversial in character.

RESOLUTION II.

Need of
Manuals for
evangelists
and enqui-
rers. This Conference feels the need of better qualified and more efficient Evangelists, and of better facilities for the training of enquirers. This Conference would therefore recommend the preparation of special Manuals, one for the guidance of Native Evangelists, and the other stating briefly the elements of Christian truth for enquirers and young Christians.

RESOLUTION III.

Committees
on Litera-
ture for
Language
Areas recom-
mended. This Conference recommends the appointment of Committees on Literature for language areas to consider the special needs of their respective fields, and to seek to supply that need; further, that the Committee on Literature be requested to nominate and present to the Conference for election the names of the members of said Committees.

COMMITTEE III. (EDUCATION).

SUB-COMMITTEE No. 2.

SUBJECT:—The supply of Indian Christian Teachers...
how may it be increased?

With reference to the question of the supply of Indian Christian Teachers, and how that supply may be increased, four things are to be considered:

1. The development of the Indian Christian community. No special resolutions on the subject in this place seem called for at present.

2. Graver inducements by way of higher salaries &c. Here too we believe that the missions are doing all that they wisely can do, and have no resolution to offer in this matter.

3. With reference to substituting Christian teachers for Hindu teachers while we believe that other things being equal, it is better from the Missionary standpoint to have Christian rather than Non-Christian teachers in our Mission schools, we do not feel that there is any special call for a resolution on this matter.

4. Recognising the necessity for improved training both on the secular and religious side for our Christian teachers, we recommend.

RESOLUTION I.

That those missions which do not have special training schools organise such schools as soon as possible or what we believe would be better in most cases two or three missions unite together in the support of such schools; or where it seems better make use of Government training schools supplementing the instruction received there by a Normal course of Bible training.

RESOLUTION II.

We recommend that this Conference appoint a representative Committee to draw up a suitable course of study for such Bible Normal training.

SUB-COMMITTEE No. 3.

SUBJECT:—The Education of Christian Youth,—should this be provided separately from that of non-Christians? If so, how may this training be made most effective?

Upon this subject your Sub-Committee is now prepared to offer the following resolutions:—

Whereas I.—The future power and usefulness of the Indian Church depend largely upon the Education of Christian youth, from among whom must be drawn not only the Christian Educators of the future, but the pastors of the Churches, and

Whereas II.—The Indian Church is at present unable to organize and carry on the institution necessary to accomplish the Educational work needed, and

Whereas III.—The Education given should be imparted under circumstances most favourable to the moral and spiritual advancement of Indian Christian youth: therefore,

RESOLUTION I.

That Christian children should be educated in Schools from which non-Christians are excluded, provided,—

1. That the standard be elementary ;
2. That the number of Christians is considerable ;
3. That the Teachers are efficient and exemplary ;

But the higher training of Christian youth is best secured in well-conducted Christian Hostels, attached to Mission Colleges.

RESOLUTIONS II.

That Christian teachers only should be employed in Schools for Christian boys and girls.

RESOLUTION III.

That Normal Training Schools should be established for the Normal training of Christian teachers, especially for work in the Primary classes.

RESOLUTION IV.

That so far as practicable schools for Christian youth should include manual training as part of the regular course of instruction.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION &C.—SUB-COM : No. 5.

SUBJECT :—Texts, Scripture, or Books on Christian Evidences &c., best suited for class instruction for non-Christians. Should a system of Christian Teaching be formulated and graded up through School and College ?

Preamble and Resolution—I.

As it is desirable that there should be a concise presentation adapted to the Indian mind of the Gospel Truth together with a brief consideration of the more common misconceptions and difficulties that confront Missionaries in this country with reference to the Gospel the Conference recommend that steps be taken for the preparation of a Text Book for the purpose and for use in Missionary Institutions and Schools.

Preamble and Resolution—II.

As it is desirable that the series of Readers used in Mission Schools should be saturated with Christian Teaching and influence and be of the best as regards literary excellence and suitability of general subject matter the Conference recommend that as a basis the C. L. S. Readers be introduced into all Mission Schools and that steps be taken to provide for their improvement from time to time so as to keep them abreast or ahead of other Readers in literary merit and suitability.

Preamble and Resolution—III.

As the conveying of a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the Gospel Truth to pupils in Missionary Institutions is of supreme importance, and as while it is desirable that in the presentation of the Truth there should be a large discretion and scope for initiation left to the Christian Teacher so that he should be able to bring the fresh force of his own faith and living experience of the Truth to bear on the pupils, it is yet desirable that system and method should be made full use of the Conference recommend that a systematic course or outline of

Scripture Truth should be adopted in Missionary Institutions graded to meet their wants in the different stages of a pupil's education.

[On how to make Educational work more effective as an Evangelistic medium.]

Preamble and Resolution—IV.

As the Christian instruction given in Missionary Institutions prepares a class of minds upon whom Evangelistic effort should be brought specially to bear, the Conference recommends that the work of instruction should be supplemented by that of evangelization in all its forms and that care should be taken to secure the fullest co-operation in this important work on the part of Educational and Evangelistic Agencies for the winning of souls and building up of the Christian Church.

SUB-COMMITTEE No. 4.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

Circulars were sent out to all the India and Ceylon Missions asking for information as to the extent to which vernacular education is carried on, the estimate in which it is held, and the necessity for extending it. Out of the 42 missions reporting, all but 8 carry on such work extensively, and regard it as very important, *provided* that proper teachers are available, men filled with the spirit of Christ, and also intellectually qualified. The other 8 carry on this department of work to a moderate extent and regard it as useful provided again that there are proper teachers and supervision. Only one mission reports the number of vernacular schools as decreasing.

According to the testimony of the various missions, vernacular education serves a two-fold purpose in mission economy. A vernacular school is one of the best means of opening up evangelistic work in a village. The high respect in which a teacher is held in this country and the great desire which the people have for education give the teacher in a village school a unique opportunity, and if he is the right kind of a man he can do much in helping to extend the kingdom of Christ. The Wesleyan Mission on Ceylon estimates that they owe about 65 per cent. of their Christians to their vernacular schools. We therefore

I. Recommend, that vernacular schools as an evangelistic agency be multiplied as fast as money is available and Christian teachers can be secured.

The other purpose which vernacular schools serve is to fit our Christians to read the word of God and to raise their position in Society and make them more useful members of the community in which they live. When we remember that only about eight and one-half per cent. of our Christians (this for Madras Presidency) can read and write, and when we remember how important education is in developing real character, the importance of making a supreme effort to educate our Christian youth so that they can at least read will be at once admitted. We believe that it is the duty of the Government to do much more for primary education than it is now doing, and we

II. Recommend that we, with all our might, urge Government to devote more money to the purpose of primary education, and that until this result is secured we do all in our power to see that all our Christian people are at least taught to read and write.

SUB-COMMITTEE No. 2.

SUBJECT:—"The supply of Indian Christian Teachers,—
How may it be increased?"

PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS.

1. The supply. In order to ascertain how far the actual supply fails to meet the demand a circular letter was sent out to the secretaries of all the Protestant Missions in India, except those exclusively for women, to about 75 in all, asking for information on this point. Replies were received from 33. The returns received indicate that in the older and larger missions the supply is fairly sufficient in quantity but deficient in quality, while in the younger missions the supply is deficient in quantity and still more lacking in quality.

In the 33 missions reporting there are employed 5,155 teachers, of whom 3,796, or 73½ per cent. are Christians, and 1,359, or 26½ per cent. are non-Christians. Of these 33 missions, 16 state some definite number of Christian teachers as needed in addition to the present supply, in order to substitute them for non-Christian teachers, and to staff new schools that these missions desire to open.

These 16 missions employ 615 non-Christian teachers. and would be glad to have 528 Christian teachers in addition to the number already employed, so that, even if none of these are needed in order to open new schools, it would still remain true that some of these missions would continue to employ Hindu teachers. Other missions give under the column "needed" the indefinite terms, "many," "very many," "a few," etc. Three missions state that the supply is sufficient; 8 others make no entry under this column. The need for increase is naturally most urgent in the missions recently organised. A number of these hope to have a better supply when the boys now in their orphanages are old enough for work.

2. How may the supply be increased? And, what is for most of the missions of more importance, how may we increase the efficiency of those already employed?

Taking first the increase in actual numbers, the principal solutions suggested or to offer greater inducements to our Indian Christians to become teachers, viz., "paying higher salaries," "providing a system of pensions to provide for old age," "better treatment of teachers," the Home, Boards being looked to to supply the money required.

It is recognised that in the matter of Christian teachers the demand exceeds the supply and that Christian teachers therefore command higher salaries than Hindu teachers. Improvement in quality:—More care should be taken in the selection of youths to be trained as teachers. In some missions the initiative is left with the Indian Christian youth himself; those *desiring* to become teachers are taken and given a trial, and if found satisfactory, are trained. In other missions the initiative is in a large measure taken by the missionary; each missionary or native Pastor watches the development of the various boys in his schools and those who give promise of making good teachers are selected and sent up for training.

TRAINING:—The returns indicate that in the Madras Presidency there are a good number of schools for the special purpose of training teachers. These schools are recognised by Government, the Government giving stipends to students and paying a part of the salaries of the training staff.

The London Mission has such a school at Gooty, the American Madura Mission at Pasumalai, the C. M. S. at Palamcottah, Masulipatam and at Cottayam; the S. P. G. at Nazareth, the American Lutheran Mission at Guntur, the Leipsic Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Tranquebar

and the United Free Church, the Church of Scotland and the American Arcot Mission are to open a Union Mission School at Arkonam in January 1903. The course is one year.

Of the six missions reporting such schools all but one regard the training received as "fairly satisfactory" from the secular standpoint, but recognise the necessity of giving greater attention to the religious training of these student teachers, especially in the matter of training them to teach the Bible.

The Baptist Mission of Ontario and Quebec has a training school at Samalkot unaided by Government.

The Wesleyan Missions in Southern India send their youngmen to be trained at Government Training Schools and they seek to supplement the training which they get there by providing Hostels where the students live and where their Christian development is aided by the supervision of a missionary or a native Christian, who also gives instruction in teaching the Bible. This system has the advantage that the students here get a larger stipend from Government than those receive who study in Training Schools under private management. There is also no cost for staff or for buildings except for the Hostel and the man who superintends it.

The Wesleyan Missions regard this system also as "fairly satisfactory." The L. M. S. Travancore Mission also sends students to the Government Training School under the Travancore Government.

The returns indicate that outside of the Madras Presidency there is no such system of Training Schools recognised and aided by Government, so that the teachers are trained by the various missions often in connection with the Theological School or a High School or College, the teacher in the training department being the missionary or the staff of teachers employed in other departments.

Of the 12 missions reporting such training classes in connection with theological schools or colleges, 7 consider this training "as fairly satisfactory," 3 as "not very satisfactory." Nine other missions report that the only training which their teachers receive is that which they get in the actual work of teaching under supervision. None of these missions are satisfied with the result. The suggestions generally point out the necessity for more and better training schools.

These missions ought to organise training schools of their own, or two or three missions might unite together. The best example of this latter kind perhaps is in the Union Mission Training School, Primary and Lower Secondary Departments, Tamil and Telugu language, to be opened at Arkonam, North Arcot in January, 1903, the United Free Church, the Church of Scotland and the American Arcot Mission uniting together. There is also need of much improvement in the training which teachers receive as teachers of the Bible and Christianity.

Another method suggested is that which is followed by the Wesleyan Missions of South India, viz., sending students to Government schools for their secular training and supplementing this by a Normal course in Bible teaching.

The returns from Ceylon Missions show that they are pretty well supplied with training schools, but their testimony is not quite so strong as that of the Missions in the Madras Presidency as to the satisfactory character of the training given. Government gives assistance by means of results grants and where these are good the grant from Government covers the greater part of the expense.

They also lay more stress on the necessity for giving higher salaries to teachers as a means of improving their efficiency than the Indian Missions did.

Aside from this situation in Ceylon as indicated by the returns received is not very different from that in India.

SUB-COMMITTEE No 7. "The proposals of the University Commission as they relate to Missionary Institutions."

Preamble. Both by their concern for the intellectual and religious advancement of the country and by their actual participation in the work of education, missionaries are directly interested in the proposals put forward in the Report of the Indian Universities Commission recently published.

We heartily endorse the need for enquiring into the condition and working of the Indian Universities as well as the object set before the Commission in the Resolution appointing the Commission.

RESOLUTION I.

We welcome the following points, among others, in the Report of the Commission :—

1. The raising of the standard for matriculation, especially in English. This effected, we are of opinion that a number of the existing evils will of themselves disappear.

2. The reconstitution of the Senate and Syndicate so as to secure to the affiliated colleges and to educationists a considerable voice in the management of the affairs of the University.

3. The modification of the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities so as to permit of the Universities themselves providing lectures in special subjects, as also really advanced courses in ordinary subjects, and otherwise aiding the advancement of learning, *e. g.*, by University Libraries.

With reference to the election of the Syndicate, however, we believe the end would be better served by entrusting the election to the several Faculties, as at present in Calcutta University.

RESOLUTION. II.

We are constrained to disapprove of the following points in the Report of the Commission;

1. The proposal that the University should fix a minimum fee for certain colleges, and the opinion that the standard of education and discipline will be raised by that measure. The proposal to restrict the free places in Aided Colleges to no more than 3 per cent.

2. The proposal that the permanent Vice-Chairman of the Syndicate or Directorate of the University be the Director of Public Instruction in the Province. We recognise that Government is entitled to statutory representation upon the Syndicate, but we are unable to acquiesce in the view that the position of ordinary executive Head of the University can properly be an ex-officio appointment. It might easily happen that prior to his appointment the Director of Public Instruction had been concerned with the Primary and Secondary rather than the Collegiate Education of the province.

3. The disaffiliation of all Second Grade Colleges as such. The measure we believe might cause hardship to special classes of students for whom F. A. Colleges have been or might be provided, as well as to students in Mofussil towns in which F. A. Colleges are or may be established. They are also of opinion that the progress of the Higher Education of females will be seriously retarded if no new F. A. Colleges for females can be established.

4. We regret the absence of any mention of any mention in the Report of the concern of the Universities in the moral and religious welfare of the students, such as has appeared in the Reports of previous Educational Commissions and in other official deliverances. We refer, for example, to

(a) Report of the Education Commission of 1882-3, para 526.

(b) Papers relating to discipline and moral training in Schools and Colleges in India, 1890, (No. CCLXV., Home Department Serial No. 8), specially to pages 11-18—Circular from the Home Department to all Local Governments, dated Calcutta, 31st Decembet 1817.

On page 15 of the last named, the Government of India regret their inability to give direct moral and religious instruction, express approval of Schools and Colleges in which such instruction is being given, and encourage the establishing of other such by religious communities.

Such references have been a support and strength to educational missionaries in their endeavours to impart that religious training which is equally necessary with the culture of the intellect for the highest service of the country and its government, whether in the case of the advanced special student, the professional practitioner, or the deputy through whom Government comes into touch with the masses of the people.

RESOLUTION III.

One great outcome of the Report, should its provisions become law, will be the diminution for a considerable time of the number of College students the number in High Schools being proportionately increased. We regard the report as a call to High Schools to raise their standard, especially in English and to modernize their methods, especially in the teaching of English as a spoken language. Mission High Schools with an English-speaking missionary in charge have now a great opportunity.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved to press upon mission committees the necessity of seeing that Educational Missionaries are trained to teach. The Educational Missionary must henceforward be regarded much more as a specialist, like the Medical and Artisan Missionary, requiring a preliminary training in his specialty.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved to press upon the local authorities of Indian Missions the necessity of training their Christian teachers in Mission or Government Train-

ing Colleges and of employing as far as possible only trained teachers.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved to declare that in our opinion the pressing need in Educational Mission Work is the better equipment of existing Training Schools and the establishment of others in Provinces as yet insufficiently provided. The proposed establishment of a Training College for teachers was the ground on which a Government grant was first asked for Dr. Duff's Institution in 1835.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved that the anticipated diminution in the number of students consequent upon the expected legislation on the lines of the Universities' Commissioner's Report is another reason for careful consideration of the question of union of Mission Colleges where practicable.

COMMITTEE IV. WOMEN'S WORK.

DRAFT REPORT.

Names of Committee.

- Miss Abbott, Am. Board, Bombay.
,, A. S. Aitken, Z. B. and M. Mission, Kusur.
,, E. D. Anderson, Am. U. P., Pasrur, Sialkot.
Mrs. Armstrong, Am. Bapt., Rangoon.
Miss A. E. Baskerville, Can. Bapt. Mission, Cocanada.
Mrs. Bissell, Am. Board, Ahmednagar.
Miss Bose, C. E. Z. M. S., Bahrwal, Punjab.
,, J. R. Brandon, C. E. Z. M. S., Masulipatam.
Mrs. H. J. Bruce, Am. Board, Satara.
Miss Bunn, Am. Bapt. Mission, Pegu, Burma.
,, Brenton Carey, C. E. Z. M. S., Karachi.
Mrs. Jacob Chamberlain, Arcot Mission, Ootacamund.
Miss L. M. Cooke, Missy. Settlement for Univ. Women,
Bombay.
Mrs. Dean, Am. Board, Bombay.
Miss Ewart, C. E. Z. M. S., Madras.
,, Fallon, Z. B. and M. Mission, Allahabad.
,, Fistler, Am. Friends Mission, Nowgong.
Mrs. Fuller, Ch. and Missionary Alliance, Akola.
Miss Mary Graybiel, Christian Women's Board of Mis-
sion, Mohaba.
,, M. E. Gregg, M. E. Mission, Muttra.
,, Gregory, U. F. C. Mission, Nagpur.
,, Cora Hansen, Chris. and Miss. Alliance, Mehemda-
bad, Gujarat.
,, Harding, C. E. Z. M. S., Burdwan.
,, A. G. Hill, Y. W. C. A., Calcutta.
Mrs. M. B. Ingalls, Am. Bapt. Mission, Thongzee, Burma.
Miss E. Karney, C. E. Z. M. S., Gampola, Ceylon.
,, E. Kaundinya, Basel Mission, Mangalore.
,, Christine Lawson, M. E. Mission, Bombay.
,, Longhurst, C. S. M., Calcutta.
,, Ligertwood, U. F. C., Poona.
Mrs. Macdonald, Y. W. C. A., Calcutta.
Miss Edith May, Am. Union Missy. Society, Allahabad.
,, Mason, C. E. Z. M. S., Batala, Punjab.
,, McLean, Ch. of Scotland, Sholinghur.
,, Miller, U. F. C., Jaipur, Rajputana.
,, Nainby, Friends Foreign Missy. Society, Sehore.
Mrs. S. E. Newton, Am. Presby. Mission, Lahore.
,, L. S. Parker, M. E. Mission, Moradabad.
Miss C. Parsons, Wesleyan Mission, Mysore.
Pandita Ramabai, Poona.
Miss Vivi Rinman, Ev. of Stockholm, Chindwara.
,, Roberts, Irish Presby. Mission, Anand.
,, C. J. Samson, M. E. Mission, Calcutta.
Mrs. Jared Scudder, Arcot Mission, Palmaner.
,, John Scudder, Arcot Mission, Vellore.
Miss K. M. Scudder, Arcot Mission, Ranipettai.
,, Simmons, L. M. S. Jammalamadugu, Cuddapah
District.
,, Ada E. Skelton, Z. B. and M. Mission, Ratnagiri.
Mrs. Sorabji, Poona.
Miss Mary M. Stephen, U. F. C. Mission, Madras.
,, G. Stephens, M. E. Mission, Madras.
,, Stratton, C. E. Z. M. S., Muttra.
,, Jessie Taylor, Baptist Zenana Missionary Society,
Calcutta.

Mrs. Baylis Thomson, L. M. S., Neyur.

Miss Mary Newell Tuck, L. M. S., Berhampur, Murshidabad.

„ Valpy, C. E. Z. M. S., Calcutta.

„ Warrack, U. F. C. of Scotland, Calcutta.

„ Wauton, C. M. S., Amritsar.

„ Wilson, Girgaum High School, Z. B. and M. Mission, Bombay.

„ M. Rose Greenfield, Ludhiana Z. and B. Mission, Ludhiana, *Convener*.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION I. BAPTISM OF WOMEN CONVERTS.

All over India there is a movement towards the Light, and women and girls are beginning to ask, What hinders us from being baptized?

The consensus of opinion on this matter, as embodied in the accompanying Resolution seems the more remarkable when it is realized that it is the result of enquiries sent to some sixty women missionaries of experience scattered over India, Burma and Ceylon.

Zenana and School work is bearing fruit, and the number of secret, or confessing but still unbaptized believers, both women and girls, is steadily growing all over the land.

We recognize that they cannot all be removed from their homes and that to remove them would probably be to separate the leaven from the dough and so hinder the growth of the kingdom.

While therefore there will be cases in which it may appear right to allow converts to flee from their homes and receive baptism, we believe that the following Resolution embodies the truest policy and one that is most in accord with New Testament teaching. See I Cor. vii. 13 and 39.

RESOLUTION I.—BAPTISM OF WOMEN CONVERTS.

Resolved.—That while fully realizing that it is the duty of believers to be baptized, we recognise the difficulties attending the Baptism of married women whose husbands are still unbelievers, and would recommend that the greatest caution be exercised in giving Baptism to wives without the full consent of their husbands. We think such converts should be advised to confess their faith in their own homes by deed and word, fulfilling after a Christian fashion all their conjugal and motherly duties, and so seek to win their husbands and children for Christ. We do not advise secret Baptism in Zenanas, but believe there will be a few exceptional cases (such as of dying women desiring Baptism as a witness to their friends), where it may be desirable that the women Missionary or teacher should have authority from the Church to baptize. And we commend this matter to the prayerful consideration of all Missionary Societies and independent Native Churches, asking for some authorization to be given that would meet cases of emergency.

Widows and unmarried girls of legal age, as well as married women who have been cast out on account of their faith, can of course act for themselves; but, if contrary to the wishes of parents or guardians, will usually need protection and support.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION II. EMPLOYMENT FOR
CHRISTIAN WOMEN.

In a land where nearly all the work of women is lightly esteemed and badly paid, a special necessity is laid upon those who are training orphans and widows and upon others also who have influence among the small Christian communities of the land, to pay attention to the training of Christian girls and women in some remunerative occupation by which they may be able to help in the support of their families and the education of their children. Provided always that such occupations do not interfere with family life.

The value of a Conference on this subject will be much enhanced if we gain from each other information as to the kinds of work already attempted and suggestions for others which might be taught. Handicrafts such as lace, embroidery, crochet and knitting have of course for a long time been successfully taught, but their usefulness depends on their finding a ready market amongst Europeans. We need some means of earning money locally.

Out of a total of 69 Industrial Homes reported in the Protestant Missionary Directory, only 10 appear to be for women.

We shall not have a self-supporting Church able to offer for the building of the Lord's house till Indian Christian women are *wise-hearted* to spin with their hands and bring that which they have spun.

Therefore Resolved.

RESOLUTION II.—EMPLOYMENT FOR CHRISTIAN
WOMEN.

Resolved.—That considering the large numbers of women and girls who have been rescued from famine and plague stricken districts, and who, after instruction in Christian truth, are being added to the Church on profession of their faith; and also the ever increasing number of other women converts who need to be taught to earn their own living, a *special effort* be made to find or create remunerative employment or trades for such women. It seems essential that these trades should be such as can be carried on by women alone, and should comprise a sufficient variety to suit the delicately brought up Zenana lady, or the rough-handed women from the jungle.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION III. DEMAND FOR BIBLE
WOMEN AND TEACHERS.

It is said that "demand creates supply." But the demand for Bible women and school teachers may be said to have reached an acute stage without any adequate result in the way of an attempt at a supply. From all parts of India the cry comes for trained Bible-women and yet in hardly any of the missions do we find any organized attempt at training them.

So much is this the case that there are some missionaries who begin to doubt if it can be intended that the preaching of the Gospel to the women should be done by a paid female agency at all; and whether the true solution of the problem "How are the women of India to be reached?" will not be found in our Resolution IV.

It is a matter for deep regret that the better educated women and girls are to a large extent apathetic and indifferent to the condition of the masses of heathen women around them. But we feel that a united and earnest effort may yet be made to multiply the available help so much

needed in every Zenana mission by paying attention to the following.

RESOLUTION III.—DEMAND FOR BIBLE-WOMEN AND SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Resolved.—That as one of the pressing needs of Women's work in every Mission is a larger number of trained and efficient Bible-women and School Teachers, every society should be urged to give immediate attention to the possibilities of supplying this need:

- (a) By establishing Normal classes in 'Christian Girls' Schools, *special attention* being given to the *vernaculars* of the non-Christian population of that part of the country.
- (b) By opening a Training Home for Widows and Converts who shew the necessary spiritual qualifications and aptitude for learning, and giving them a thorough course of Bible Study, only retaining such as students who make satisfactory progress. A Summer School might be held here for women already employed).
- (c) By conferring with the Managers of Famine or Industrial Homes and Orphanages with a view to securing the brightest women and girls for training.

We desire to record our strong feeling that the only class of non-Christian teachers that should be retained in Mission Schools for heathen girls is that of those, who, having been pupils, and then monitors, might be better described as non-professed Christians. Many of these make the best teachers under Christian supervision.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION IV. CALL FOR CO-OPERATION.

If this Conference does nothing else, let it voice an appeal to every woman who has herself found a Saviour, whether she be a foreigner or belonging to this country, learned or illiterate, living at ease or working hard for her livelihood, to seek to tell some one else the good news.

One devoted Indian sister writes: "For voluntary aid to be effectual it must come not from indifferent or inconsistent Christians, but from those who have surrendered themselves to Christ. The call therefore is to every one who loves the Lord Jesus to take an active part in fulfilling this command of proclaiming the Gospel to every creature." What a call is this to the inconsistent and indifferent ones and would they only attempt the service what a reflex blessing would come on their own souls!

The souls in immediate contact with you, your own family and servants, shopkeepers with whom you deal, your neighbours—"Go home to thy friends and tell them what things the Lord hath done for thee."

To quote again. "India to-day is practically an untouched field, for nine-tenths of the population have not been reached; and yet it has been estimated that if every Christian in the world were to be a living witness it would hardly take twenty years for the story of the Cross to have reached the ears of every creature. The resources of the Indian Church are therefore challenged to-day."

Another lady writes: "The needs of India's women are far beyond the needs of women in Christian lands, and the work of teaching them is more than all the missionaries combined can accomplish."

If all the Christian women in India would devote even one hour a week to this work it would give a new impetus all over India.

English ladies teaching their servants' wives or visiting the wives of the native baboos would find in many cases a glad response and an eager welcome. School girls talking to their companions of Jesus, mothers definitely praying with their own boys and girls, all eager for one thing, *i.e.*, that souls might be saved—what a powerful influence would be exerted!

Sunday School work might be indefinitely enlarged if only teachers were forthcoming. Near villages could be reached on Sunday by a small band of earnest women.

If *every one* would do a *little* how much could be done! Therefore Resolved.

RESOLUTION IV.—CALL FOR CO-OPERATION.

Resolved.—That in view of the urgent need felt and expressed by Missionaries all over India for the voluntary co-operation of *all Christian women* in preaching the Gospel to those who have not yet heard it, we ask this Convention to sanction an appeal to every Christian woman and girl throughout India, Burma and Ceylon, to devote some definite portion of her time *not less than one hour a week* to telling the story of God's love to some other woman or girl.

That a Sub-Committee be now appointed to translate and issue this appeal in English and all the vernaculars. That a day be appointed for special prayer and preaching in every Church in the land and earnest effort be made to have it universally observed. That all Christian Endeavour Societies and Young Women's Christian Associations be asked to inaugurate and seek to foster this effort. That new converts and unlearned women be encouraged to tell of the Saviour they have found. We feel sure that such an effort "once a week" would bring out many a voluntary worker for *life*.

RESOLUTION V.—LITERATURE FOR WOMEN.

Resolved.—That Missionaries in all parts of India having complained that the supply of literature appropriate for women and girls, Christian and non-Christian, is very inadequate, it is desirable that united action be taken by this Conference to urge the various Book and Tract Societies to supply the need. To further this object, a Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee on women's work should confer with the Literature Committee.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION VI. HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NON-CHRISTIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS.

Mrs. Sorabji writes: "I am of opinion that it is essentially missionary work."

Other things being equal a well educated woman who is also an earnest Christian is likely to have more influence than an illiterate one, equally in earnest.

"If our Missionaries undertake the higher education of *men*, should not the women also claim our thoughts and attention? May we not hope that the women will help the men, who many of them are now growing to be infidels, atheists, free-thinkers, in fact everything that is far from God. Of course no Missionary would undertake to teach such pupils unless the Bible were made the chief study."

Miss L. M. Cooke of the Universities Women's Settlement, Bombay, writes: "There are but two non-Christian communities whose girls are exempt from hindrances to a more advanced education, namely:

1. The Parsee Community (70,000) of which the girls usually attend school until they are 17 years of age, and some sit for the Matriculation examination; while between 50 and 60 of them are taking a full Arts or Medical course in some college.

2. The Brahmo Somaj (5,000, Calcutta). These educate their women well. About 20 are taking an Arts course in Calcutta, others a vernacular Medical course."

With these two notable exceptions it will be seen that the field covered by this resolution is a small one.

It is practically limited to the wives of educated Hindus or Mahomedans who desire that their women should be more on a level with themselves.

The following is a classification of Indian women students at present: Medical 181, Arts 86, Normal 300.

The number of Indian girls receiving secondary education is about 8,400; of these fourth-fifths are *Christians*. There cannot therefore be much question of Higher Education for non-Christian girls at present.

It is abundantly clear from the following Resolution what is the policy advocated by most Missionaries in regard to this question; and if the suggestion made in it can be carried out it will be most valuable work to teach those girls who, from the very fact of their receiving a superior education, have the greatest possible influence in their homes and upon their surroundings.

RESOLUTION VI.—HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NON-CHRISTIAN GIRLS.

Resolved.—That in the present condition of the unevangelized masses, and considering the small number of women evangelists, this should not be undertaken in individual cases, except when a special agent is available, and stress can be laid on Bible teaching. Where School or College Classes in Christian Institutions can be opened to non-Christian students, such opportunities should be gladly given, and may prove a valuable evangelistic agency.

RESOLUTION VII. TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE ONLY.

RESOLUTION VII.—RESCUE WORK.

Resolved.—That this work, though urgently necessary is one that needs experienced and specially qualified agents and cannot be done by the Zenana Missionary.

That it is very desirable to open small homes where different classes of women can be received. Professing Christian young girls, and the ordinary bazaar women to be dealt with separately.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION VIII. SOCIAL RELATIONS OF YOUNG CHRISTIAN PEOPLE.

"The old order changeth giving place to new
And God fulfills Himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

The divine ordinance of marriage is one of those things which while universally observed changes its phases wonderfully with the development or decay of a nation.

"Marriages are made in Heaven" is not a Biblical saying and we fear is not strictly accurate. True marriage must surely be founded on some adequate degree of acquaintanceship and mutual love and respect.

We would not for a moment assert that Western manners and customs are all right and those of the East all wrong. But, that the times are changing is evident on all sides, and that the rising generation wish to assimilate their methods and manners to those of European nations is undeniable. Surely then it behoves those Missionaries who are in touch with young men and young women to seek to encourage acquaintanceship in such manner and with such safeguards as may be most helpful to both parties. The old-fashioned arrangement of marriages from schools, where the young man picked out the girl he liked the looks of in Church, and after one interview and a half muttered consent on her part was married to her and took her away without any previous knowledge on either side, must surely soon give way to some more rational methods. The Epworth League, the Christian Endeavour and other young people's societies should all be possible mediums of healthy interchange of courtesies. One Missionary writes on this subject, "The truly Christian homes that shall be the glory and strength of the India that is to be, must have their foundation in suitable and happy marriages." What can we do to insure that these young men and young women shall know each other sufficiently to make intelligent and suitable choice? Co-education in Christian schools may afford one solution. One such school has under very careful supervision proved a marked success. At all events we feel that this Conference may well venture to counsel the growing Christian community to give this matter very prayerful consideration.

Resolved.

RESOLUTION VIII.—SOCIAL RELATIONS OF YOUNG CHRISTIAN PEOPLE.

Resolved.—That in the present transition stage of the Christian community, there is need for the kindly helpful co-operation of Christian Missionaries with the elders of the churches to promote healthy social intercourse between the young people of both sexes. The laudable tendency to postpone marriages till the boys and girls are old enough to choose their own partners in life, gives rise to some difficulties which did not exist when parents and guardians arranged everything. The fact that the rising generation is looking to foreigners as their models in other matters, would seem to necessitate that they should be led by them in social etiquette and moral habits.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION IX. BEST METHOD OF INSTRUCTING WOMEN AND GIRL IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

India is a land of villages, and these villages are being some of them brought in a body to embrace Christianity, while others are being permeated with Christian influence through the acceptance of it by some one class of people, often the serfs and menials. Where whole communities or even whole families are baptized, unless some special effort is made to teach the women and girls, they will almost surely lead back the family into heathen rites and practices. But this work is one of great difficulty and various solutions are proposed, all of which may be useful under varying circumstances.

One lady sets forth the difficulties thus: "Teaching in the ordinary way they (village women) do not understand, their habits are formed, their time is not their own, their lives are full of labour and though drawn to the light, the old life clings fast. As to the girls we are forced to do one of two things either let all the girls share in the instruction given to their mothers or bring some of them into small schools near the Mission House and have them taught under our own supervision."

Another lady strongly urges the value of itinerations, visiting every village where there are any Christians and holding examinations to test the work of the native teachers, who are put each in charge of a circle of villages and expected to teach every person, man, woman and child.

Once a year the workers in this Mission are gathered together for a month of Bible study.

Yet another worker of some experience tells of gathering the Christian women of the district to a centre and keeping them under daily instruction for six weeks, the Mission supporting them for that period.

There is evidently room for irgenuity, patience and much self-denial on the part of those of our sisters who, working for the elevation and sanctification of the women and girls of the Village Communities, are polishing the stones for the temple of the Lord.

In the light of such suggestions as have been received from many parts of India,

Resolved.

RESOLUTION IX.—BEST METHOD OF INSTRUCTING WOMEN AND GIRLS IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

Resolved.—That the solution of this difficult problem be attempted by one of the following methods:—

- (a) by gathering some of the women to one centre for, say, a month's instruction, supporting them during this period and sending them back to teach the others;
- (b) by teaching a few of the brightest converts *and their wives* and then establishing them in the villages as paid teachers;
- (c) by taking the girls from their homes and sending them to Boarding Schools;
- (d) by itineration holding classes and visiting the women in their own homes;
- (e) by the permanent location of a Lady Missionary in a village with special view to the training of the Christian women and girls.

"The harvest truly is great and the labourers are few."

RESOLUTION X.—NEED OF ZENANA MISSIONARIES.

Resolved.—That the importance of adding to the number of Zenana Missionaries by recruits from this country should be recognised by this Conference and impressed upon the Home boards. Such ladies if really devoted to God's service, have many advantages over the missionary from Foreign countries, and though a period of training is, in most cases, desirable, there is abundant evidence that the labour is well spent, and we think it should be possible after a period of probation for such workers to receive the status and share privileges accord to Foreign Missionaries.

QUESTIONS.

1. Should there be some agreement Missionaries as to amount of helpers' salaries ?
 2. How to advise new Missionaries of danger to themselves and their work through the low morality of Hindus and Mahomedans ?
 3. Should Women's work be carried on in places where there is no work among men ?
 4. How can Women's work be made self-supporting ?
 5. How shall we deal with girls whose education has raised them to a different position from that occupied by their parents and other relatives so as not to detach them from their homes but make them a refining and educating influence there ?
 6. Is it possible for each Province to have a Central Examining Committee in the Vernaculars for lady Missionaries of all societies working in that province ?
 7. Should not some workers be set apart to work among the native Christians ?
 8. Cannot Missionary effort be better distributed ? Some districts are left untouched.
 9. Ought we in Christian Schools to teach the Bible in English or in the Vernacular ?
 10. Should a Mission so burden itself with the rescue of famine people as to shut off all possibility of doing evangelistic work ?
 11. What should be done to influence *educated women* ?
 12. How can we best preserve and transmit the peace of God amidst the adverse conditions of the Indian life and work ?
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COMMITTEE V.—MEDICAL WORK.

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference desires to put on record its devout thankfulness to the God of Missions for the part that Missions have played in the advancement of the cause of Christ in this land. Recognizing it to be one of the best agencies for removing prejudice, for overcoming opposition, for opening closed doors, we desire to commend this form of agency to those Missions which have not yet adopted it as a form of evangelistic work. We desire gratefully to acknowledge the splendid work which the Government is doing for the healing of the sick ; but as all that is being done is miserably inadequate for the wants of the people, we recommend a vigorous advance in all those districts where it has not yet found a place among the agencies at work for the evangelization of India. It is our firm conviction that even in large centres fairly supplied with Medical Institutions there is a place for this form of work, for by its means numbers of people can be brought within the reach of the Gospel who would remain untouched by other agencies.

RESOLUTION II.

That the Medical Missionary should personally organize the spiritual work in the Hospitals or Dispensaries under his charge, and should take an active part in it. That there should be daily teaching in the wards according to some well arranged plan ; and that in addition to this the Medical Missionary should aim at individual dealing with the in-patients. That the Christian medical assistants should be encouraged and trained to do spiritual work, though this should be regarded as voluntary on their part. That in large Medical Missions the co-operation of Clerical Missionaries and native evangelists is important ; and that these should endeavour to follow up the work in the homes of former patients, especially those who have appeared interested in the teaching.

RESOLUTION III.

Branch Dispensaries are a valuable extension of Hospital work, and are especially so in districts where Christians are scattered among the villages. Only well-trained men should be placed in charge of branches. The connection with the central Hospital should be close and the supervision thorough.

RESOLUTION IV.

Itinerations serve somewhat the same purpose as Branch Dispensaries, acting as feeders to the Hospital, and diffusing its influence over a wide area. They are desirable where trained men are not available for branches, or where it is undesirable to isolate them amidst a bigoted population. As a pioneering work they are specially useful and they also help to keep the Medical Missionary in touch with former patients.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved that it be the aim of every Medical Missionary to ensure that all the patients who attend even the out-door Dispensaries, and the friends and others who may accompany them, should have presented to them, clearly and affectionately, God's offer of salvation through His Son, Jesus Christ; that while the particular form of the religious service must be determined by the various circumstances of each mission, it is considered desirable that the Medical Missionary and his staff of medical assistants should, wherever possible, at least take part in it; and that it be recommended that the agency of preaching should be supplemented by that of Scripture selling, for which the medical work affords specially favourable opportunity.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved, with a view to facilitating extension of the work, and promoting a spirit of self-respect and independence among the people, every opportunity should be taken of encouraging those who benefit by medical missions to contribute to their cost, by the purchase of the medicines, etc., prescribed, and by donations of money and gifts in kind, it being always provided that no obstacle is placed in the way of the very poor receiving gratuitous treatment when necessary; that when fees are charged for private visits, they should be on the same scale as those of other European practitioners in the district; and that where possible private wards should be provided in Hospital for those who are able and willing to pay for them.

RESOLUTION VII.

That, recognising the importance of a uniform method of statistics in connection with all Mission Hospitals and Dispensaries, we recommend the appointment of the following Committee to consider this question, and publish the results in "Medical Missions in India":—

Rev. Dr. Macphail, *Convener*.
 Dr. Arthur Neve, Cashmere.
 Dr. Edith Brown, Ludhiana.
 Dr. Farrer, Biwani.

Preliminary Remarks to Resolution VIII.

1.—That a Medical Mission, once established, *never* ought to be closed, for the following reasons:—(a) To avoid disappointment to patients coming in from long distances for treatment, and the consequent bringing of the Mission into disrepute in the district from which they come. (b) To provide for the possible saving of life in cases of emergency, especially difficult confinement cases. II.—That Doctors are but human, and need holidays at least, as much as other Missionaries; and to provide satisfactorily for these, besides possible attacks of illness, without closing the Medical Work, a second Doctor is required. The strain of the responsibility of serious operation cases, &c., is also very trying where the Doctor is single-handed.

RESOLUTION VIII.

That in view of the facts briefly stated above, the necessity of having *two fully qualified Doctors* on the regular staff of each Medical Mission Station should be urged on the Home-Committees and Boards, especially in the case of Woman's Missions.

N.B.—I believe that most of the Home Committee would readily admit the *desirability* of the arrangement above advocated, but that very few of them have yet recognized its *necessity*, regarding it as a principle to be acted on in every case.

RESOLUTION IX.

Whereas the space and the means at the command of the Medical Missionary are limited, and the object of Medical Missions is to bring the knowledge of Christ to as many as possible, and whereas, many incurable diseases are of a nature that makes it unwise to admit patients afflicted with them into the wards of a General Hospital, resolved, that, as a rule, incurables should not be admitted into the wards of the Mission Hospital. Whereas the constant presence of visitors in the wards is detrimental to the patients, resolved, that in general the admission of visitors to the wards be restricted to two hours in the forenoon and two hours in the afternoon.

WORK AMONGST LEPERS.

The Mission to Lepers in India and the East, founded in 1874, is an Inter-denominational Body carrying on work in India, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon and Sumatra on behalf of the suffering Lepers in these countries. This Mission does not send out Agents of its own, but works through the representatives of various other Societies on the field. It is at present co-operating with 22 different Missionary Societies, and has its operations in 66 different Stations. In India and Burma alone the Society has 25 Asylums or Hospitals of its own and 13 Homes for untainted children. The objects of the Society are:—

1. To as far as possible relieve the suffering of the afflicted class for whose benefit it exists.
2. To supply their simple wants.
3. To bring them the comforts and blessing of the Gospel of Christ.
4. To rescue and save from the disease their untainted children.
5. Ultimately by means of segregation, if possible, to stamp out the dread disease from the countries where the Society is at work.

Since its foundation the Society has spent in the interest of the above work a sum of money exceeding £105,000.

It is estimated that there are in India alone about 400,000 Lepers, of whom 5,250 are being aided by the "Mission to Lepers."

To give greater facility and information to the Superintendents managing the Society's Asylums, a Conference was held in Wardha in February last, at which the following amongst other Resolutions were passed:—

1. "The Conference as a body and as individuals is convinced of the contagious character of the disease of Leprosy."
2. "The Conference regrets that the Leprosy Commission of 1890-91, whilst arriving at the same conclusion, saw fit so to minimise it as to state that under the ordinary human surroundings the amount of contagion is so small that it may be disregarded."

3. "The Conference is of opinion that taking the figures given by the Leprosy Commission in their Report, and in view of the extremely serious nature of the disease, Lepers should be segregated."

4. "The Conference expresses its satisfaction that Government, notwithstanding the conclusions of the Leprosy Commission, have passed a Bill for the segregation of Pauper Lepers, but it regrets that up to the present time Government have not seen their way to enforce it."

5. "That in the opinion of this Conference there should as far as possible be strict segregation of the sexes—both married and unmarried—in Leper Asylums."

"The Conference recognises that this may place untainted women who come with their husbands in grave moral danger, and consider that in such cases special arrangements should be made for their care."

"They strongly recommend to the 'Leper Mission' the advisability of building small wards where such women could be accommodated and assisted to earn their own livelihood. In special cases of married couples or close relations, when the woman is advanced in years, the Superintendent may use his discretion as regards segregation."

A set of Draft Rules dealing with the management of Asylums, and the prevention of Lepers emigrating from one Asylum to another, were drawn up for the approval of the Home Committee.

The question of the employment by means of light work of the inmates of Asylums was also discussed.

RESOLUTION I.

That this Conference is much interested to hear of the remarkable development which has taken place in work for the benefit of Lepers in many of the Mission stations in India during the past decade, recognizing it as one of the most beneficent forms of Christian activity, and takes the occasion of urging on the Government of India and the public generally its claims upon their hearty support and co-operation.

RESOLUTION II.

That viewing the success which in other countries and at different periods has followed the plan of segregating Lepers as a means of reducing, and perhaps ultimately removing from the land that most terrible affliction of humanity, the Conference would heartily encourage the workers in this particular field to go forward in the labour they have undertaken, and assures them of the sympathy and hopefulness with which it regards their self-denying efforts.

RESOLUTION III.

That this Conference desires to place on record its high appreciation of the work which is being carried on in India by the "Mission to Lepers in India and the East," and cordially approves of the inter-denominational character of the Society, co-operating as it does with all the evangelical churches in Europe and America, and with their representatives in the foreign field, and heartily endorses the policy of the Mission in not sending out Missionaries of its own, but working through the representatives of the various Missions on the

filed, allowing the Superintendent full liberty in the management of the institutions, provided that the general aims of the "Mission to Lepers" are secured.

RESOLUTION IV.

That this Conference strongly commends the strict segregation of the sexes in the Asylums, and the segregation of healthy children from their leprous parents.

RESOLUTION V.

That this Conference approves the measures taken by Superintendents of Leper Asylums for the prevention of emigration by inmates from one Asylum to another, and the encouragement given to their undertaking light work for their occupation and exercise.

RESOLUTION VI.

That this Conference having regard to the large measure of success and the evidence of Divine blessing which have followed the work among Lepers, and seeing the great need of similar efforts in many districts and entire divisions of India, urges the "Mission to Lepers" to expand their work by opening or assisting new asylums as far as possible.

RESOLUTION VII.

That this Conference views with much hopefulness the appointment of a special Medical Committee to investigate the "causation and treatment" of Leprosy.

RESOLUTION VIII.

That this Conference hails with much satisfaction the efforts that are being put forth by the "Mission to Lepers" to rescue and save the untainted children of leprous parents.

RESOLUTION IX.

That the Conference has learnt with much appreciation of the help already given by the Government of India to some of the Society's Asylums, but realizing the great need there is for the expansion of this beneficent work, would urge upon the Governments of the various Provinces the importance of more largely supporting and encouraging the Society's operations in the future, either—(1) by granting a capitation sum for each inmate of the Asylum, (2) by giving a liberal grant for medicines and school work among Lepers, or (3) by declaring part of existing asylums to be Government Retreats under the Act: provided that Government defray the expenses incurred, and leave to the Missionary in charge the general supervision of the whole institution (with such safeguards as may satisfy public opinion on the subject).

RESOLUTION X.

As the Supreme Government of India has passed an Act (III of 1898) which provides for the segregation and Medical treatment of Pauper Lepers

and control of Lepers following certain callings, this Conference is of opinion that this Act should be brought into force throughout the whole of India as soon as possible.

TRAINING OF MEDICAL HELPERS.

First.—The Committee would like to emphasize the great importance of spiritual training in conjunction with the Medical education of Helpers. This is important: (1) for the sake of the Helper himself, in order that he may be led to appreciate the necessity of self-sacrifice in the matter of pay; for his services, since few Medical Missions are able to allow the Government rates of pay; and (2) for the spiritual welfare of people whom he is called upon to treat or care for in the course of his work. Men of questionable reputation should be no more eligible for Medical Mission work than for any other form of Mission service. It may be conceded, however, that men not possessing spiritual gifts as teachers or preachers may become competent and influential Christian workers when trained as Medical Helpers.

Second.—With reference to Government qualifications mentioned in *Resolution first*, there is the objection to a Government diploma, viz., that those possessing Government certificates are more likely to leave Mission Service for that of Government or Railway Service, because of the pay inducement. It seems, however, very desirable that notwithstanding this tendency on the part of men trained at Mission expense, nothing less than the Government standard of qualifications should be aimed at. The remedy for the evil of forsaking Mission service seems to be in either of the following: (1) Education entirely by the Medical Mission without a Government diploma. (2) The legal binding of the candidate for a term of years. (3) The securing of spiritual qualifications by which the candidate will value Mission work, and that of helping to evangelize his own land, more than that of Government Service. Of these methods the last seems the most desirable, though possibly not the most practical.

Third.—With reference to *Resolution second*, the grades mentioned seem sufficient for the purpose of Medical Missions. In large institutions where more than one in the same grade are employed, the grade might be doubled by designating the Assistants: 1st, 2nd Assistant Surgeon, 1st and 2nd House Surgeons, and so on to Compounders and Dressers, the advanced positions being made dependent on experience and pay. Assistants of the 2nd grade after a year or more of Hospital experience would be competent to conduct independent dispensaries. With reference to grade of Compounders, these Helpers if they show aptitude for the work should be encouraged to improve their general education, so as to be able in time to enter training classes for House Surgeons or Hospital Assistants. The fourth grade Helpers are usually not men who can be encouraged to enter the next higher grade. With reference to Compounders it seems desirable that in addition to the regular work of Compounding, Compounders be taught to give an æsthetics, hypodermic injections, observe temperature, pulse and respiration, and conduct gastric analysis. Dressers may also be trained to give hypodermic injections, take temperatures, pulse and respiration, and act generally as male nurses.

Fourth.—A uniform scale of pay for Medical Helpers, as suggested in *Resolution third*, seems eminently desirable in view of the great variation in the pay scales of different Missions and in different districts. Mission comity on this matter if at all practicable also demands that something be done. The plan suggested seems to be the only one by which the proper adjustment of the pay problem

can be accomplished. It is hoped that this part of our subject will be finally discussed by the Committee on Medical Work.

Fifth.—The question of co-operation of Medical Missions in the education of Medical Helpers, as suggested in the *fourth Resolution*, is one that should be carefully considered, and if possible a definite conclusion arrived at. The question, we believe, affects mainly the more Southern Provinces, and probably Burmah as well. In the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, Medical Missionaries seems to have made satisfactory use of Government Institutions. The training of Medical Helpers by individual Medical Missionaries has not, on the whole, proved satisfactory to the work, and less so to the men in training. The adoption of a suitable Medical Mission standard of qualifications, both spiritual and professional, would be increasingly possible were co-operation in the work of training Medical Helpers adopted; and the problem of how to prevent Helpers leaving Mission service would thereby be simplified.

Sixth.—The occasion for *Resolution seventh* seems obvious, since it is only where organized efforts are made to look after the spiritual training of Christian students in Government Schools, that satisfactory arrangements can be made for their spiritual training. This work might in some places advantageously be put in the hands of the local Y. M. C. A. The Chairman desires to acknowledge the hearty and efficient co-operation of all the members of the Sub-Committee by whose aid and suggestions this report has been made.

RESOLUTION I.

That in the training of Indian Medical Assistants, Medical Missionaries should endeavour to maintain the Government standard of qualification. This we believe can only be satisfactorily accomplished in one of two ways: (1) by prospective Medical Assistants attending a Government Institution and receiving a Government diploma; or (2) by regularly established Medical Schools entirely under Mission control, and in which the Government standard of education is maintained.

RESOLUTION II.

That the following grades of Medical Assistants be adopted by Medical Missions in India. *First Grade*—Assistant Surgeons with degree of M.B. or L. M. & S. *Second Grade*—Hospital Assistants or House Surgeons holding a Government certificate or a certificate from a Mission Medical School in which the Government standard of education is maintained. Assistants who have served five years in the Second Grade might be eligible for the First Grade after passing Special Examinations in advanced Medical Subjects. *Third Grade*—Compounders having a preliminary education corresponding to the Government Anglo-Vernacular Fifth Standard. *Fourth Grade*—Dressers possessing ability to read and write.

RESOLUTION III.

That a uniform scale of pay of Medical Helpers be adopted by the united action of the Medical Missions in each of the following districts: (1) Madras Presidency; (2) Bombay Presidency; (3) Central

Provinces ; (4) Bengal ; (5) North-West Provinces ; (6) Punjab ; (7) Frontier Provinces ; (8) Burma ; (9) Ceylon.

RESOLUTION IV.

That in districts where the requisite spiritual instruction is not available, in addition to, and during the course of Medical study in Government Institutions, or when for any reason it is not desirable to make use of Government Medical Schools, Medical Missions should seek to co-operate in the training of Medical Assistants, making use of the most thoroughly equipped Mission Hospitals in those districts for the purpose of Medical Education.

RESOLUTION. V.

Experience seems to show that the classes of Medical Helpers known as Compounders and Dressers can most satisfactorily be trained by individual Medical Missionaries.

RESOLUTION VI.

During the course of Medical training, all Medical Helpers should be given systematic Bible instruction. Participation in active Christian work should also be required of each student in training for Mission Medical Work.

RESOLUTION VII.

Missionaries who find it desirable to send their prospective Medical Assistants to strictly Government Schools should seek to co-operate in establishing hostels, or otherwise arranging for the spiritual needs of their students during the course of Medical study.

TRAINING OF NATIVE ASSISTANTS TO WOMEN.

RESOLUTION I.

That true Christian character is a *sine-qua-non*, and should be borne witness to by those who have a real and long steady knowledge of the candidates. That their characters as to honesty, truthfulness, willingness to serve others, and ability to learn should be insisted on.

RESOLUTION II.

That for Nurses the Preliminary standard should be a good knowledge of reading, writing and Roman Urdu, but that it is important the girls should be bright and intelligent and handy. That good class, well educated girls, too, should be encouraged to take up Nursing ; age not under 17, preferably 18 to 30. For Compounders, Anglo-Vernacular Middle, or 7th Standard with English, age 17. For Medical Students, Anglo-Vernacular Middle at least, Entrance better, age 18 to 25.

RESOLUTION III.

That as far as possible the English standard should be aimed at in the various classes. That if they are to be expected to hold independent posts

they should certainly hold the qualification of Assistant Surgeon, but that at present the majority of Indian girls are more fitted to be good assistants as Compounders, Hospital Assistants, and Certificated Practitioners than to hold independent posts.

RESOLUTION IV.

That Compounders should have a good practical training, learning enough of *Materia-Medica*, Chemistry, Elementary Anatomy, and Physiology to enable them to do their work intelligently. That special attention should be given to their reading of prescriptions, and that they should prepare all tinctures, ointments, dressings, etc., which do not require expensive apparatus, or which do not need to be standardized. That they should receive instruction in bandaging and dressings, giving of anæsthetics and midwifery if possible.

RESOLUTION V.

That it is most desirable that Indian Christian girls should be trained apart from Hindu and Mahomedan men-students, that they should be taught in a Mission Hospital and by Christian teachers, as their training in evangelistic work is important; but that it is also necessary that such Mission Hospitals and Medical Schools should be large enough and sufficiently well equipped to afford a thoroughly efficient training. Christian teaching should be practical and spiritual, and not a Theological course. (Drs. Bernard, Farrer, Kugler, and Brown.)

NOTE.—Miss Pailthorpe disagrees with the above. She thinks that no Mission Hospital is large enough or has a sufficiently large staff to undertake the work, and that it is not advisable it should be made so. She thinks all that is needed would be accomplished by having a Christian Hospital near a Government School.

RESOLUTION VI.

That there would be some advantages in receiving non-Christian girls to teach with the Christians, provided it is practicable, and that such non-Christians are in the minority.

NOTE.—It is felt that this might be a help to the non-Christians by bringing them under Christian influence, and might be good for the Christian students, as not separating them so completely from their countrywomen.

RESOLUTION VII.

That it is advisable that the Christian girls go in for the Government standard and examinations as the non-Christians. That our trained workers should take a higher and not a lower standard than non-missionary ones.

NOTE.—The Committee feels that the temptation offered by the higher Government pay should not be too great for Christian girls, who have been trained under Christian influence, and that they will not be worth much as Christian workers if it is only the want of a Government certificate that keeps them in Mission work. Further, that as we all desire the day when there shall be compulsory registration of medical practitioners we should all work towards it.

RESOLUTION VIII.

That students trained on Mission funds should be bound for a certain period afterwards. That marriage should be discouraged during that period, but that it should be at the discretion of the Society to sanction it.

NOTE.—Miss Pailthorpe suggests the question whether to make a contract depend on all abstinence from marriage does not make that contract void in a legal sense.

RESOLUTION IX.

Trained workers should be carefully protected. Unmarried girls should live either in the Hospital building or in the Mission compound, and should not go out to city cases without a reliable female attendant.

RESOLUTION X.

That the possibility of some agreement among different Missions as to pay given to workers be discussed, and the scheme suggested in Medical Missions of to be presented for discussion.

RESOLUTION XI.

That it is desirable that nurses who are married be encouraged to do voluntary work in helping the sick in their houses. Dr. Bernard suggests that intending midwifery patients might register their names, pay their fee to the Hospital and a married nurse be sent, where needed, the nurse to receive half the fee, and medical attendance to be given free where needed.

RESOLUTION XII.

That as far as possible English habits, which are not demanded by considerations of righteousness, cleanliness and health, should be discouraged.

NOTES.—(1) It is considered that the following English habits are necessary: first, not to eat with the fingers; second, to change the clothes at night; third, to wear shoes; fourth to use handkerchiefs; fifth, to have more nourishing food than is usual in India for those who are not working and studying. (2) A neat uniform to be worn under the sari or chaddar seems to me to meet the question of neatness in dress. I would forbid lace and jewellery, but feel that if nurses and students are not tidy in their dress they are not likely to be tidy in their work. (Dr. Brown.)

COMMITTEE VI.—INDUSTRIAL WORK.

Names of Committee.

- Rev. A. Andrew, U. F. C. Mission, Chingleput.
 „ C. H. Bandy, Am. Presby. Mission, Fategarh.
 „ A. E. Carson, Am. Baptist Mission, Haka, Burma.
 G. E. Clark, Esq., Friends For. Mission Society, Hoshan-
 gabad.
 Rev. W. I. Edwards, Christian Advent Mission, Guindy,
 Madras.
 W. H. Farrar, Esq., Arni.
 Rev. M. B. Fuller, Christian and M. Alliance, Bombay.
 „ F. R. Felt, M. E. Mission, Narasingapur.
 „ W. H. Hollister, M. E. Mission, Kolar.
 „ Isaac Row, Industrial Missions Aid Association,
 Bombay.
 „ H. Kühner, Basel Mission, Calicut.
 „ F. Lamb, Wesleyan Mission, Indore (Nizam's Dom.)
 „ B. Lucas, L. M. S., Bellary.
 „ E. T. Pegg, C. M. S., Agra.
 „ W. E. Rambo, Foreign Christian Missionary
 Society, Damoh.
 F. D. O. Roberts, Esq., K. and C. I. Hill Mission, Ellich-
 pur.
 Rev. Dr. A. W. Rudisill, M. E. Mission, Madras.
 „ J. L. Shaw, Seventh-day Adventists, Calcutta.
 „ J. Shillidy, Irish Presby. Mission, Borsad.
 „ J. Smith, Am. Board, Ahmednagar.
 „ J. F. Taylor, Canadian Presby. Mission, Indore.
 „ D. T. Van Horn, Reformed Episc. Mission, Lalit-
 pur, U. P.
 „ C. S. Vaughan, Am. Board, Manamadura.
 „ J. West, Wesleyan Mission, Karur.
 „ C. W. Whiteside, C. M. S., Aurungabad.
 „ F. Westcott, S. P. G., Cawnpore, *Convener*.

A comparison of the statistics of Missionary Literary Educational Institutions and Industrial Schools as given in Dr. Dennis' centennial survey of Foreign Missions is sufficient to show, after all allowances have been made, how little has as yet been done for Industrial Education by Missions. Assuming that the proportion for Indian schools of the total number of the scholars in Mission elementary schools throughout the world, is the same as in the case of High Schools, we have 457,199 boys and girls receiving literary instruction, while only 5,190 are receiving an Industrial training. We recognise that these Schools and Colleges have done an immense work in delivering their pupils from the slavery of ignorance and superstition, and in training up a body of men whose trustworthiness and high sense of duty are generally recognised. We desire that what has been accomplished for the literary may be done for the industrial classes of India, especially for those of them who are members of the Christian community. The Christian workman has yet to take his place as the superior of his non-Christian fellow in honesty and industry. The recent famines have placed under the care of Missionaries some 30,000 children, whose presence in our Orphanages is at once an opportunity and a heavy responsibility,—an opportunity to give an Industrial training on the best lines unhindered by ancient prejudices, and the responsibility of giving them the best education in our power to fit them to fulfil their duties in life. If we are not now prepared to give them

the training which will enable them to support themselves, we had no right to assume the responsibility of their charge. If this responsibility is to be discharged at all, it needs to be promptly and adequately recognised.

The hindrances which beset the progress of the Gospel by no means arise solely from the religious, moral or social position of the people; the material condition of large masses of the population constitutes a serious difficulty which demands the earnest thought of Missionary Societies, and calls for strenuous effort for its amelioration. The extreme poverty, the indebtedness, and the insanitary dwellings of the depressed classes appeal for help to those who are charged with the proclamation of the Gospel of Life. We look for an India changed not merely in the matter of its faith, but renovated spiritually, intellectually, morally and physically. The Christian cannot live on the same meagre pittance as his non-Christian fellow and at the same time maintain moral and spiritual progress.

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference, recognising that the social progress and material well-being of the Christian community is a matter of the deepest importance to all Missions, is of opinion that the provision of efficient Industrial training, and the promotion of measures for the Industrial development of the Indian Christian community constitute an essential element in Mission enterprise, and would strongly urge the desirability of giving such work a recognised place among the agencies employed by Missionary bodies in India.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION II.

The scheme of Industrial training as it exists among the natives of India, makes no provision for any general education. The boy while still a mere child of only six or seven years of age is apprenticed to some master artisan, who imparts to him a knowledge of his trade, paying him a small wage as soon as his work becomes of any value. In the West on the other hand, it is generally recognised that definite trade instruction should rest on the basis of a sound general education. There are natural difficulties in applying this latter principle to Industrial training in India, among which the early age at which the sons of artisans are expected to become wage-earners is probably one of the most serious, but it should however be recognised as the true method to be followed. The extent of this preliminary general education will vary largely for different classes of boys, being determined not only by the ability of the particular pupil, but by the position he is destined to occupy, the age at which it is necessary for him to become self-supporting, and the general level of education in the Province in which he lives. The aim being to train artisans, it is unwise to give an education which will qualify the pupils for some form of clerical employment. The essential elements of the general education advocated are Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Drawing and Manual training. Other subjects, such as Object Lessons, calculated to develop the faculties of hand and eye, may be given in addition. The function of the manual training should be clearly recognised; it is not intended to impart a knowledge of any particular trade, but to develop those faculties which are of the highest importance for subsequently gaining such knowledge. The training generally consists in the execution of a series of graded exercises in wood, which are of most value to the pupil when they consist in the production of useful

articles. With the apprenticing of the pupil to learn a definite trade this general education will cease, the boy being transferred from the school to the workshop or factory.

RESOLUTION II.

This Conference is of opinion that all definite trade instruction should rest on the basis of a sound general education, the aim of which from the first should be to educate to their fullest extent the powers of hand and eye as being calculated to develop those faculties in the pupils which will be of the greatest service to them as artisans, and imbue them with a taste for manual pursuits.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION III.

On the completion of the general education referred to in the previous resolution, the pupil should be bound as an apprentice in some factory or workshop. No school however excellent its system of instruction can supply a practical, working knowledge of a trade. The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh has drawn attention in his last Report to the fact that boys passing out of the Mechanical Apprentice class of the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee with certificates of their fitness to hold the posts of foremen and maistris are refused employment in any factory except as apprentices on salaries ranging from Rs. 3 to Rs. 15 a month. Though the general education of the manual training school may be dispensed with, as doubtless it may have to be either wholly or in large measure in certain cases, yet in no case can the apprenticeship or term of service in the factory be omitted. The former supplies that preliminary training which is calculated to enable the apprentice to reap the fullest benefit from his practical course, but the practical course alone can enable a youth to become self-supporting.

Deficiencies in preliminary education may be made good in continuation classes held out of workshop hours, in which also further instruction in any particular subject which is likely to prove of help to an apprentice in his particular trade, and enable him to rise to a higher place in his profession, may be given. The very effort required to attend such classes after a hard day's work will develop those moral qualities which are as essential to the foreman as his technical qualifications. Difficulty has frequently been experienced in retaining apprentices sufficiently long to give them a thorough knowledge of their trade. This difficulty may in many cases be overcome by making use of the Indian Apprentice Act which provides for the regular binding of apprentices before a District Magistrate.

RESOLUTION III.

This Conference is of opinion that practical trade instruction can best be acquired under a system of apprenticeship in some well equipped and efficient factory, while any further theoretical training that is required after the completion of the Manual Training School course may be provided in continuation classes held out of working hours, and that apprentices should be bound under the Indian Apprentice Act, to secure the due completion of their training.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION IV.

Most missionaries have experienced the difficulties which attend the apprenticing of Christian boys in the

factories of India. Owing to caste prejudices it is seldom that either maistries or workmen will give them any practical instruction, while the low moral tone which is prevalent exercises a most deleterious effect upon the character of the boys at the most critical period of their lives. An eminent commercial man, manager of one of the largest factories in India, has said that Christian apprentices have but little chance of getting on in such a factory; however sympathetic and considerate the European foreman may be, the native maistries will put every obstacle in the boys' way to gaining a knowledge of their trade. Failing these outside factories, two other courses are open to the missionary: he may (1) invoke the aid of the Industrial Missions Aid Society, or he may (2) start his own factory. (1) The work of the Industrial Missions Aid Society is at present on a limited scale, being confined to the Carpet Factory at Ahmednagar, and the capital at their disposal is as yet limited. Before they will undertake any fresh enterprise they require the assurance that there is a reasonable prospect of its being self-supporting, and that it is of distinct missionary value. The latter assurance may often be more readily conveyed than the former. When the help of this Society can be secured, it is obvious that the Mission will be saved much trouble and initial expense.

There are however many cases in which the second course will be the only possible one, and it is important that every effort should be made to render the factory as efficient as possible. It is obvious that every Mission station which has an Industrial School cannot start a factory in connection with it, but as in educational work the various grades of village, and district schools culminate in the splendidly equipped college situated in some central town, so surely it may be in the case of those Industrial Schools which teach the more technical trades. The central factory will draw its apprentices from the smaller Industrial Schools. In starting such a Mission factory it is necessary (a) that it should be situated in a locality favourable to the success of the business in which it is engaged, (b) that it should be run on strictly business lines, and (c) that the superintending staff should be qualified practical men. It is not likely that one Mission would be able to found several such factories, but by mutual arrangement the different Missions interested in Industrial work might each agree to specialise in some special trade.

There are certain trades in which the caste feeling is less prominent than in others, such as many branches of the engineering trade—one of the most important of a country's trades. In such cases Christian apprentices might obtain their necessary technical training in some large workshop, while their moral and spiritual welfare could be provided for by the provision of hostels where they could live under due supervision. Such hostels have been provided in the case of medical studies, and a similar course would doubtless prove of value in Industrial training.

RESOLUTION IV.

Bearing in mind the strength of caste prejudices, this Conference is of opinion that the apprenticeship of Christian boys can in most cases be most profitably served in a factory connected with the Mission, provided that the staff is thoroughly qualified, and the equipment adequate. To secure such efficiency together with a sufficient range of trades, some system of co-operation between Missions in the same Province whereby the various Missions would

specialise in different trades, seems desirable. Where it is possible to secure the co-operation of the Industrial Missions Aid Society, the Mission would be saved the necessity of equipping its own factory; while in the case of those trades in which caste prejudice is less formidable, Christian hostels might be erected for the accommodation of apprentices.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION V.

An almost universal difficulty which confronts those in charge of Industrial Schools is the provision of instructors capable of training their boys. The higher grade Art and Technical Schools produce men who are frequently well up in their professions, but generally lack the moral qualities and disciplinary powers which are essential to the efficient instructor. Moreover but very few of these are Christians, who would have a natural sympathy with Mission aims. The urgent call for the immediate supply of teachers for the training of the boys in Mission Orphanages can thus only be met by the employment of European and American experts. Their place would be at the Central Industrial Institutions which they would manage but their function would not merely be to teach apprentices their trade, but also to train men as instructors to meet the requirements of the smaller schools. The employment of such experts would be a gain to the whole range of Mission work, for it would not merely raise the level of industrial skill, and save Missionary Societies from expensive and grave mistakes, but would set free for evangelistic effort the ordained missionary, who, for the lack of such assistance, is obliged to devote much attention to those subjects for which, in the majority of cases, he has no professional qualifications.

RESOLUTION V.

This Conference is of opinion that, whereas it is desirable that education in Industrial as in literary schools, should be in the hands of Christian instructors, and whereas in most Provinces of India efficient instructors of this class are not available, it is expedient that the services of European and American experts be entertained, who could be located at the Central Institutions which they would control, while training a body of teachers for subordinate schools.

PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION VI.

The following may be advanced as arguments in favour of the policy of founding Peasant Agricultural Settlements :—

1. Large numbers from the lower classes of the Hindu community have come over to Christianity in recent years. These for the most part belong to the agricultural population. The increase in the native Protestant Christians in the last decade, according to the Census of 1901, was about 339,985 or 64 per cent. The great majority of these were from the Pariahs and other similar castes, lying at the base of the Hindu caste system. The field of operations is very extensive, therefore,
2. The majority are poor, and frequently have to suffer persecution on embracing Christianity. They are unable, in many cases, to improve their condition through their own exertions, and therefore they stand in need of help from outside sources. A training and discipline are required, as their habits are formed and fixed, and as it is difficult to get them to alter their ways to suit a higher

and better state of things in harmony with civilised and Christian ways of thought.

3. The aim of Christian workers should be to raise the poor. While caring for village Christians in moral and spiritual things will ever be the chief concern of such workers, they have to be impressed with the thought that the work of improving their social and material condition is of great importance, and must go hand in hand with the other. For the needs of the body and the daily domestic wants may be so clamant and absorbing as to extinguish all anxiety regarding the welfare of the soul, and regarding the carrying out of the higher ends of life both in this world and in the world to come.

4. One of the simplest and best means of doing this is the founding of Peasant Settlements. In a Memorial sent by the Madras Missionary Conference about five years ago to the Madras Government, asking for grants of land for this purpose, it was said—(v) "That while not claiming that the founding of Panchama settlements can alleviate the misery of all the depressed classes, your Memorialists hold that no other solution of this very difficult problem is at once so effectual, so simple, and capable of such wide application; for such settlements would serve as model farms and training schools in agriculture, and would thus, in a most practical form, fulfil the wishes of Government in regard to technical education." These words present the subject in a clear light.

5. The material improvement of the condition of the village Christians by the establishment of such means will tend to make them better off, and to afford them an opportunity to contribute towards the support of the ordinances of grace, and towards the evangelisation of the non-Christian population around.

6. Agricultural settlements deal with the people in the mass. The Christian families are kept together in one common centre under predominant Christian influences. They come under the direct care of the Pastor, are subject to Christian discipline, come regularly to worship, enjoy Christian communion and mutual intercourse, and are to a large extent free from the worry and persecution incidental to life in the midst of hostile heathen neighbours. Christians without means, if suitable, can be drafted to the settlement, and provided with a means of gaining a livelihood. Thus those who may be poor can settle and earn an independent livelihood, and lead a decent Christian life.

7. The object should be to teach the settlers to be regular and industrious in their habits, and to be punctual, honest, and trustworthy in all business transactions. Mutual trust should be inculcated so as to disperse the suspicion, or want of mutual confidence, which ordinarily exists in the native mind, and which obstructs the development of a healthy industrial life and leads to poverty. If the settlement be conducted on proper lines its educative value will be of a high order.

8. The settlers should be taught to manage money, and to keep from falling into the hands of usurers. They should be taught to save in years of good harvest so as to insure against a failure of crops in years of scanty rainfall. They should be taught to avoid spending money on needless litigation, and to refrain from extravagance on festal occasions, and from increasing their expenditure in years of good harvests.

9. They should be settled on Mission land as tenants, and their occupation of the land should be secure so long as they are industrious and conform loyally to the rules laid down for the good of the settlement.

10. Industries allied to agriculture should be started so as to supplement what is earned in the fields. Such

village industries may be plantain and aloe fibre extracting, rope making, mat making and such like. These could be carried on by them when not engaged at work in the fields.

11. Caution, however, has to be exercised with regard to the founding of agricultural settlements. Certain factors are essential to their success.

(a) The climate and rainfall must be favourable. This is most important. With a scanty rainfall, and without well, river or tank water for irrigation purposes, they would end in failure. Many parts of the Deccan and of Rajputana are entirely unsuited for such a scheme.

(b) The soil must be of good quality, and manure should be easily available.

(c) The settlers should belong to the agricultural class. It is almost impossible to deal with those who have not been accustomed to field labour and to cultivation of the different kinds of crops. They may turn out to be listless and indolent, and though industrious may fail by not cultivating at the right time.

(d) They must be willing to work hard and supplement the endeavours put forth by the Mission on their behalf by doing their best to improve their position by their own exertion.

(e) Initial expenses in settling poor cultivators are considerable. The Government of Madras in G. O. No. 159, 23rd February 1894, describes what is implied in it in detail. Its remarks may be quoted as they cannot be put in a more succinct form.

“The colonists must be brought to the spot, houses must be built for them and their families; they must be provided with cattle for ploughing, the implements and carts for the conveyance of their crops to market; they must further be maintained for the period during which they will be engaged in preparing their fields for cultivation, ploughing, sowing and waiting for the crops to grow and for the produce to become fit for consumption; this will take at least a year, and it is possible that two years or even more may elapse before the colonist is in a position to support himself and his family.”

Help such as this is indispensable at the start, and is perfectly legitimate. It is analogous to the initial expenditure incurred in the erection of a school building to suit the convenience of pupils and teachers, or in the spending of money on the purchase of apparatus to teach science in a High School or College.

(f) The land of the settlement must be in the hands of the Mission, and be inalienable so far as the settlers are concerned. It may be wise policy to place those of the settlers who are capable and of tried experience on land which they can gradually redeem and possess as their own.

(g) The rent should be paid in kind, being a definite share of the produce of the crops. This share must without fail be taken at the harvest as soon as it is reaped. Advances for seed, etc., should be taken at the same time and in the same manner. Rent is easily got in this way. Rent paid in money is hard to get.

(h) A quit-rent should be charged for the house site and backyard in order to retain possession of the land, and an agreement entered into with each settler to the effect that he must leave the settlement when he is not acting in harmony with the rules in force, or when his conduct becomes obnoxious to the well-being of the settlement, or is scandalous.

(i) The tenants should be held responsible for the repair and upkeep of their houses. Grants-in-aid may be given when necessary to enable them to do this. Reasonable compensation for the amount they may have expended on

their houses or on the land should be given to them when they leave voluntarily, or are compelled to leave.

(j) Proper agents must be employed to supervise this work. This is indispensable to the success of the work. The agents must be strict, and carry out all instructions punctually to the letter. They must be absolutely impartial in all their dealings with the people.

12. An agricultural school should be opened in connection with the leading agricultural settlement in order to train all those boys who cannot be sent up to be trained as agents, or be put to learn trades in an Industrial school or factory.

Many boys are of this class. They require to be re-made in character, in habits, and in everything. They in this way are made to take kindly to the soil, and become rooted to it, and grow up to regard cultivation as their main business in life. A school of this nature has been started at Melrosapuram, with nine boys in it at present. The Mission Report for 1901 says regarding it—

“They are cultivating a certain portion of the settlement area, and grow their own grain and vegetables, so that after a time they may manage to support themselves without much expense to the Mission. The plan is to give them a four years’ course, teaching them everything connected with ordinary cultivation, and also market gardening. They will be taught how to keep accounts, and manage their own affairs, with a view to make them thrifty and independent. On the completion of the course arrangements will be made to settle those who have given satisfaction on Mission land as tenants on a certain rent. In this rent will be included a certain amount which will go towards redeeming the land from the Mission, and making it over to them as their absolute property in the course of about ten years. The aim is to form their characters on Christian principles, and so impart to them moral backbone and the power to manage their own affairs with profit. A renovation of life and character is essential to the success of our attempt to raise them.”

13. The moral effect a well conducted Christian Peasant Settlement has on the non-Christian population around is considerable. It exists as a tangible example of the beneficent effects Christianity is exercising on the lives and social condition of the people dwelling within its bounds. It depends however upon the spiritual state of the people whether the influence they exert is good and attractive. If the people are converted themselves they will be sure to influence others. A converted man becomes in many cases a new living and witnessing force in the midst of those who are unconverted. A regenerate individual has great power to move others to think of their souls.

At Andreyapuram, one of our settlements, the leading member was instrumental in bringing over fifty of his friends and relations to Christianity. Wherever he went he spoke about Christ and urged men to give their hearts to the Saviour. He did this work at his own desire, and without any remuneration. Such men are centres of living vital influences. They are the salt of the earth.

14. I would strongly advocate the employment of a trained and thoroughly competent agriculturist appointed from home, who is well up in all that pertains to farming, and who would devote the whole of his time to supervising and guiding the development of the settlements so as to make them a commercial and financial success. They could be financed by a Joint Stock Company at home as is done in the Basel Mission in Malabar. It is not possible for Missionaries to be conversant with all the details of agricultural operations, and with the best means of managing poor cultivators, and of teaching them how to pay up their

dues punctually and fully. One in fifty may have the requisite knowledge and ability, but that is about the proportion among men who have been trained for another occupation than agriculture altogether. It is not to be wondered at if some Christian Peasant Settlements happen to be failures. It could hardly be otherwise when they are conducted as they are. What is needed is the specialising of the Mission agricultural enterprise on an adequate scale. Every Mission may specialise as there is abundant scope for ready sales for the produce, and many mouths have to be fed in this densely populated land. With a tolerably large area for cultivation, and with the use of the latest mechanical appliances for raising water from wells on land which has not the benefit of tank irrigation water, a handsome profit in years of fair rainfall may be made, which might benefit the Mission financially as is done in the Basel Mission. My point is that expert skill should without fail be applied seriously to all schemes adopted by Missionary bodies for the purpose of ameliorating the unsatisfactory condition of our ordinary village Christians. We should cease to fritter away time and money in work that is very imperfectly done at the best.

The founding of Christian Peasant Settlements takes much time. The work cannot be rushed. The process is slow and if well managed it may produce much lasting benefit and much blessing to the people. If this be the result the end is worth the effort, and is in harmony with the mind of Christ.

A. ANDREW.

RESOLUTION VI.

This Conference, recognising that the improvement of the material and social condition of the Christian Community, in which are found many who have been drawn from the poorest and most degraded classes, is essential to the development of a higher spiritual and moral tone, would urge that in the founding of carefully organised Peasant Settlements we have at once one of the simplest and most effectual means for accomplishing this end. Such Settlements render the members of the community self-supporting and provide conditions under which the Christian character may be duly disciplined and developed, and further they may become centres of Christian influence among the surrounding non-Christian population.

PREAMBLE TO THE RESOLUTION VII.

The marked improvement in the moral and social condition of the peasant and artisan classes on the Continent, due to the establishment of Co-operative Banks on the model of the Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch Banks, has called attention to this question and suggested the possibility of a like improvement amongst the same classes in this country. It will be generally admitted that the organization of credit is one of the essential conditions in the improvement of the position of the agricultural and artisan classes of this country. The Government of India have for some time had this matter under careful consideration, and their final decision may be shortly expected. It seems likely that the action of Government will consist almost entirely in providing facilities for the establishment, and in fostering the growth, of such Popular Credit Associations as private effort succeeds in initiating.

The social improvement of the Christian community is largely dependent upon agricultural and technical pursuits, and as the community grows in numbers this will be increasingly the case. The Missionary Societies are rightly

being urged to give more attention to agricultural and technical education, upon which it is seen that the welfare of the community, including the self-support of the Church, so largely depends. The organisation of credit amongst our Christian people therefore is becoming increasingly important. For the successful prosecution of the pursuits taught in technical schools, model farm, and agricultural settlements, the Mission Co-operative Bank is indispensable.

From a missionary point of view the moral improvement effected by the Co-operative Credit Associations of the Continent is a very strong recommendation for their introduction into this country, and especially amongst the Christian community. Such associations are calculated to give practical effect to the spirit of mutual help and brotherly assistance characteristic of the Christianity we profess, and thus to present a striking object-lesson to the non-Christians amongst whom our people live. At the same time they provide a means of escape from the rapacity of the money-lender, by whom so many struggling peasants and artisans are ruined.

It should be recognised however that the work is distinctly an educational one, and that much time and patience and wisdom will be needed to make the Mission Banks a success. Experience can alone enable us to avoid mistakes, and escape pitfalls, and experience must be paid for. There are however certain principles which the working of the Continental Popular Banks have brought to light, which should be borne in mind in conducting experiments in this country. These banks, though started and supervised by the Mission, must be the people's own. Unless the people themselves share in the financial responsibility and in the management, the success of the bank is endangered, and more than half the educational advantages of the bank is lost. They must also be of a co-operative character, that is, the purposes for which loans are granted must be strictly limited to those of a productive character; and the rate of interest must be so regulated that the banks shall not degenerate into mere usurious loan societies. Finally they must be conducted on strictly business principles, not in the sense of great profit-producing concerns, but in the sense of the strictness with which the repayment of loans and the just discharge of engagements is enforced. If these principles are faithfully adhered to, there is no reason why the same success met with on the Continent, should not be met with in this country.

B. LUCAS.

RESOLUTION VII.

The Conference views with very great interest and cordial appreciation the efforts that are being made by the Government of India towards the establishment of Co-operative Credit Associations, believing that such associations are essential to the development of the industrial and agricultural pursuits of the people. Recognising that such associations are a very important factor in the moral elevation of the people, and that especially in the beginning the work must be largely of an educational character, the Conference is of opinion that Missionary Societies have a splendid opportunity of establishing Mission Banks of a co-operative character amongst the Christian Community, which will add greatly to the moral and social advancement of their people, and at the same time provide useful object-lessons which will greatly assist the Government in its very laudable object.

COMMITTEE VII. PUBLIC QUESTIONS AND COMITY.

DRAFT PREAMBLES AND RESOLUTIONS.

Names of Committee.

- Rev. Herbert Anderson, B. M. S., Calcutta.
,, W. Bader, Basel Mission, Tellicherry.
,, H. J. Bruce, Amer. Board, Satara.
Archdeacon Caley, C. M. S., Travancore, Kottayam.
Rev. Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, Arcot Mission, Ootacamund.
,, C. W. A. Clarke, C. M. S., Madras.
,, Dr. J. N. Cushing, A. B. M. U., Rangoon.
,, Dr. D. Downie, American Baptist Mission, Nellore.
,, A. Gehring, Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission,
Tranquebar.
,, C. H. Gill, C. M. S., Allahabad.
,, I. H. Hacker, L. M. S., Neyur.
,, W. H. Hannum, Amer. Presby. Mission, Miraj.
,, W. H. Hart, Wesleyan Mission, Calcutta.
,, J. G. Hawker, L. M. S., Belgaum.
,, T. S. Johnson, M. D., M. E. Mission, Jubbulpore.
,, W. Kiefel, Gossner's Mission, Govindpur P. O. Kara
(Ranchi).
,, E. Martin, W. M. S., Lucknow.
,, J. H. Messmore, M. E. Mission, Pauri, Garhwal.
,, W. J. P. Morrison, Amer. Presby. Mission, Dehra
Dun.
Dr. Nundy, Secunderabad.
Rev. Henry Rice, Church of Scotland, Arkonam.
,, G. Herbert Smith, S. P. G., Madras.
N. Subrahmanyam, Esq., Madras.
Bishop Warne, Calcutta.
Rev. Dr. L. B. Wolf, American Evangelical Lutheran
Mission, Guntur.
,, J. S. Woodside, D.D., Am. Presby. Mission, Mus-
soorie.
Right Rev. Dr. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras.
Rev. J. S. Chandler, American Board, Madura, *Convener*.

PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

As this is the first Conference to meet in the new reign, let us lay a wreath of loving remembrance on the grave of the gracious Queen during whose auspicious reign missionary work in India attained its present stability, and place a crown of loyal welcome on the brow of His Majesty King Edward.

In doing this we recognize the large measure of protection the rising Christian community has received from the Christian Government, and the justice and equity manifested by the Government in its attitude toward the Missionary enterprise.

No Christian community would be worthy of its name were it unwilling to bear persecution, and the infant Church of India has shown itself able to endure such trial. We know that the primary causes of persecution are the rigid and oppressive system of caste, the almost universal prevalence of superstition and ignorance, and the intolerance of the Hindu and Muhammadan religious authorities.

Undoubtedly unjust discrimination is exercised against Christians in the enjoyment of common rights that should be shared with all other classes in the community. Many village wells are not available for Christians; many courts are not open to the presence of Christian witnesses; many schools are closed to Christian children, or are open only under oppressive conditions; many tracts of saleable land cannot be purchased by Christians. In all these cases

the discrimination is not against Christians alone, for it is practised equally against the non-caste population. And the indignity is just this, that Christians are classified with the out-castes. Where Christians of caste descent are not excluded from these privileges the result is a pressure upon the Christian community to divide itself into caste Christians who may be treated as Hindus, and non-caste Christians who must be treated as pariahs, a division that no self-respecting Christian community can tolerate.

The opposition to Christians is effective in some Native States in preventing Native Christians, and even Missionaries, from preaching the Gospel, and in depriving converts of their land tenure and rights of inheritance; with the result that many who wish to become Christians are prevented from doing so, and others who do accept Christianity are compelled either to emigrate, or to accept the status of coolies.

And universally there are difficulties in family relationships liable to arise at any time from the marriage laws if one member accepts Christianity. A Christian wife may be held in bondage to a Hindu husband who openly treats her as a concubine among his other wives. A Christian husband, married in Hinduism before conversion, may see his wife go off with a Hindu and have no opportunity of divorce, because he cannot get a Hindu divorce, nor she a Christian one.

While these adverse conditions prevail it is inevitable that there should be many calls upon Government to secure to Christians the rights granted by law. Here is where there has perhaps been most evident failure. And yet such failure as may have occurred is to be attributed not to the Government of India so much as to lack of appreciation on the part of individual officials of the force of the adverse influences wielded by the non-Christian community in depriving Christians of their rights. The power of the community to do this was shown in the case of a Christian landholder, who was repeatedly driven to the courts to protect his property from encroachments, and as often sustained by judicial decisions in his favor; and yet his Hindu enemies were able to prevent his getting the decrees enforced, until at last his mind gave way and he became a lunatic.

If some officials are not only indifferent, but even hostile to the Christians, on the other hand many are towers of strength to all who are oppressed and down-trodden, and thereby render to Christians the only aid they need, viz., practical justice.

Sometimes the attitude of an official is sufficient, either to encourage the oppression of Christians, or to secure to them ordinary justice. And here we think that a word from Government might relieve a difficult situation. Undoubtedly there are Government officials who are deeply concerned at the restrictions, real or imaginary, in respect of taking the part they would like in Christian and Missionary service. Such service, entirely apart from their public duties, and without prejudice to them, would show that the religion they professed was a part of their private life, and thereby would encourage the attitude of honesty to one's convictions, whatever they may be.

We therefore propose as our first resolution:—

RESOLUTION I.

In view of the fact that considerable uncertainty exists as to how far the exercise, by those officers of the Indian Government who hold the Christian Faith, of freedom of speech and action in religious matters is not incompatible with their public duty;—

And believing that it is the will of the Government to accord religious liberty in equal measure to all in its service without distinction of religious creed or professions ;

This Conference of Christian Missionaries and Laymen, with all loyalty and submission, respectfully prays the Government of India to state that the policy of Religious Neutrality was not designed to silence personal conviction or fetter liberty of religious profession in their personal and unofficial capacity of the Christian servants of the Crown, but leaves to them that freedom of religious utterance and action which is freely exercised by so many officers of the Government who profess other religious faiths.

Since the last Conference the Opium Traffic has been made the subject of investigation by a Royal Commission ; and it must be confessed that the results are most disappointing. The disappointment arises, not so much from the fact that the Commission seemed to come to the conclusion that the use of opium, for purposes other than medicinal, was not only harmless but beneficial (a conclusion which we can never accept), but rather from the apparently interested attitude of the Government to secure judgment in favor of itself ; as if Government were the Defendant in a suit in which the Anti-opiumites were the Plaintiff. Of course, so far as that impression prevails, so far is the Report of the Commission deprived of value.

We are glad to note that the net opium revenue, as reported from the House of Commons Return 203 of 1900, has decreased from £4,630,987 stg. in 1889-90 to £2,230,308 in 1898-99. But our satisfaction is abated when we see that this decrease is accompanied by an increase during the same time of 5,358 chests manufactured in Government Factories in Bengal, of 87,636 acres of land under poppy in Bengal, and of three lakhs of rupees paid to cultivators of poppy in the same Presidency. [*National Righteousness*, June, 1901.] So it appears that the decrease in revenue is caused by bad years, and not by any decrease in the production and distribution of the drug. Surely it cannot be the intention of Government to secure minimum revenue with maximum consumption.

We cannot but believe that the Royal Commission of 1893 have failed to get at the root of the evil, and that the attitude of the Directors of the East India Company in 1817 was more nearly the true attitude, when they expressed "their desire to restrain the use of this pernicious drug," and then went on to say, "Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purposes of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind.

With this we will put the statement of China's distinguished Viceroy, Chang Chih-Tung, "Assuredly it is not foreign intercourse that is ruining China, but this dreadful poison [opium]. Oh, the grief and desolation it has brought to our people !.....In its swift, deadly course it is spreading devastation everywhere, wrecking the minds, and eating away the strength and wealth of its victims. The ruin of the mind is the most woeful of its many deleterious effects ;.....in the deadly drug we are self-steeped, seeking poverty, imbecility, death destruction."

Furthermore its injurious effects are not all restricted to adults. Babies are quieted by it very generally to the detriment, if not complete wreck, of their strength and

vitality. Careful investigation by the Rev. H. J. Bruce of Satara in the Bombay Presidency revealed an astonishing prevalence of the custom of feeding opium to babes in order to keep them quiet while their mothers were away at work.

We recommend therefore, as our second Resolution :—

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved, That a Committee on Opium be appointed by this Conference to investigate the effects of its use and other questions pertaining thereto, to publish the results of its investigations from time to time, and to report at the next Decennial Conference :

That this Committee consist of the Rev. Herbert Anderson of Calcutta (Convener), Dr. D. Downie of Nellore, Rev. H. J. Bruce of Satara, Rev. W. Kiefel of Govindpur, and Dr. R. Stewart of Jhelum.

The Liquor Traffic is a difficult subject to deal with fairly, because of its universality, its relations to so many questions of administration of government, and its pernicious tendency to strengthen itself at the expense of the best interests of the community.

Repeated statements by the Secretary of State have placed the Traffic on a basis that is theoretically unexceptionable. In his despatch No. 28 (Revenue) dated the 19th of April, 1888, the Secretary of State writes :— “ In the interests of the Indian people, as well as in the interests of the Indian treasury, the Excise System of India must always be based on the considerations.

(1) That the extension of the habit of drinking among the Indian people is to be discouraged :

(2) That the tax on spirits and liquors should be as high as possible without giving rise to illicit methods of making and selling liquor.” To these orders the Secretary of State adds, “ I am confident that your Excellency's Government will adhere strictly to these principles in any measure you may think fit to adopt, and that you will do all that lies in your power to insure that they shall be observed by all who are engaged in the work of the Excise Department.” In a later despatch he assures the Viceroy that these views are in entire accord with the views of the House of Commons of all parties.

In 1890 Lord Cross (then Secretary of State) also wrote, “ While complete local option is not feasible, yet weight should be given and is given to local option in regard to licensing liquor shops.” “ Sites of liquor shops should be as far as possible from market places, bathing ghauts, hospitals, factories, &c.” “ No genuine expression of public opinion should be ignored in deciding whether a liquor shop should be opened or not.” “ Any extension of the habit of drinking among the Indian population is to be discouraged, and the tax should be as high as may be possible.”

The Government of India expressed similar sentiments in 1889, when it said, “ We are of opinion that no genuine expression of public opinion should be ignored in deciding whether a liquor license should be granted or not, and particularly in determining the location of the shops.”

The Government policy is theoretically, “ Maximum revenue with minimum consumption.”

But when we look at the actual working of this department of administration, and even at the records, such as the Administration Report of the Madras Abkari Depart-

ment for 1900-1, we cannot reconcile the facts with the theories.

In Bombay there is what is called "the minimum guarantee system," the chief feature of which is that permission is given by competition to the highest bidder to supply a given district with liquor who engages to turn out so many thousands of gallons of liquor annually. If he fails to sell all he has produced, he has to pay the duty on the minimum number of gallons agreed upon all the same. The contractor who agrees to produce the greatest number of gallons gets the contract. In Poona one contractor pays five lakhs for this privilege.

In the Administration Report of the Madras Abkari Department for 1900-1 in the Introduction it is said, "It had become more and more difficult to dispose of the arrack vend areas in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and to make the renters open shops close to the French frontier, as liquor is so much cheaper in the French shops that those on the British attracted no custom. The result was a serious fall in the consumption, and as a remedy the rate of excise duty in these limited areas of the South Arcot District was lowered from Rs. 3-1-0 to Rs. 1-5-0 per gallon." On page 4 of the Report we are told that a contractor was fined Rs. 200 for allowing his stock to fall below the prescribed minimum. On page 5, para. 14, it is said, "Four hundred and forty-seven depôts were licensed for the wholesale vend of country spirits against four hundred and five in 1899-1900 at an annual fee of Rs. 15 each." In para. 18 we are informed that there was a "Net increase of 34,820 gallons" of country spirits consumed over that of the previous year. In the G. O. reviewing this Report, para. 3 says, "Another reform, which was introduced in view of meeting the competition of cheap liquor in Pondicherry, was the reduction of duty.....The result was an increase of nearly 26,000 proof gallons in the consumption of the South Arcot District." In the next para. it is said, "It is satisfactory to find that the revenue increased under all heads except opium."

To our minds this looks, not like reform, but rather like a practical policy of seeking the maximum revenue without regard to consumption, or even through increase of consumption; and we believe that a minute and searching investigation throughout the different districts of the land would reveal that as the actual policy of the Abkari Department.

In fifteen years the revenue from this source has increased from £2,840,000 to £4,127,000, or nearly 50% ; or bearing in mind the fall in the rupee it has more nearly doubled.

Contrary to the rules, liquor shops and outstills are very generally situated close to bazaars, temples, churches, and schools.

We are therefore forced to the following conclusions :—

1. That the consumption of both native and foreign liquors is enormously on the increase in all sections of India ;

2. That the increased consumption is accompanied by increased drunkenness and consequent demoralisation of the people ;

3. That the present attitude of Government encourages subordinate officials to strive for an increase in the number of shops for the sale of liquor, and by every possible means to increase the revenue regardless of consumption.

We therefore propose as our third Resolution :—

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved, That this Conference appoint a Commission, consisting of members from each of the

Provinces represented in the Conference, to prepare a Memorial to the Government of India, praying for such action as will secure to the whole land all possible restriction of the consumption of liquor consistent with the avowed policy of the Secretary of State.

COMITY.

RESOLUTION I.

Inasmuch as it has been found by past experience that abstract declarations by Missionary Conferences on the subject of Mission Comity are ineffective, this Conference is of opinion that the governing bodies of the various Missionary Societies here represented should officially endorse the following body of general principles and special rules connected with this subject, these being in its opinion amongst the most important at the present time requiring such endorsement.

A. That a Board of Arbitration for all India should be elected at each Decennial Conference to which all questions of Comity in dispute between Missionary bodies here represented might be referred. This Board should consist of representatives of all the Missions officially recognising it; vacancies to be filled as they occur by the Society concerned. The representatives of definite geographical areas to settle disputes specially concerning those areas, unless it should be otherwise agreed. Questions affecting wider areas to be settled by representatives chosen by the whole Board.

B. That all actions of individual workers in one Mission objected to by workers of another Mission affected by such action should be referred to the governing bodies of the two Missions concerned for decision and should not be persisted in by the individual Missionary, unless supported by the governing body of his Mission. When the governing bodies of two Missions cannot agree as to the settlement of any question, it should then be referred to the Board of Arbitration, as provided for above.

RESOLUTION II.

1. Whereas serious and sometimes scandalous difficulties have arisen in the Mission Field from the disregard of considerations of Missionary Comity, this Conference affirms its cordial adherence to the traditional principle of territorial divisions between fields of labour occupied by different Missionary organizations, and urges its adoption in cases where, for any reason, it may not have been hitherto observed.

2. That where the Missionaries of one Society claim to be in possession of a field of labour, another Society should not (except in Presidency cities and other large towns) enter it without their cordial consent. But such consent should be given if the former Society is neither at present effectively occupying the field itself, nor likely to do so in the near future.

3. That when a Society has an isolated station in any district, and is unwilling or unable to extend its Mission there; and meanwhile another Society is willing and able to occupy that station or district more effectively and extensively, the former Society might with propriety transfer such station to the other. In some cases an entire re-consideration and re-arrangement of Missionary limits might be advantageously carried out.

4. That a geographical division may sometimes require to be modified by considerations of language or relationship. Villages just beyond the border of the usual operations of one Mission may be closely connected with the villages of that Mission, and may, therefore, be more advantageously worked by it than by its neighbour.

5. That where the converts of one Mission take up their abode within a territory occupied by another Mission, the agents of the former should be deemed at liberty to visit and minister to them, if they desire it, it being distinctly understood that such visits are purely pastoral and not for evangelistic purposes.

6. That where there is difference of opinion as to the merits of any of the above-mentioned cases, no time should be lost in referring the matter to arbitration as provided for in Series II. In some cases the Missionary Conference connected with the field concerned may with advantage be asked to deal with the matter in dispute.

7. That this Conference would (a) emphasize the desirability of the Arbitration Committee's having prepared a map or series of maps with statistics of population, so colored as to indicate areas of country at present either wholly unoccupied, or so little occupied, as to be suitable spheres of work for newcomers; (b) emphatically deprecate the interference of workers who do not consider themselves responsible to any Home Committee, or refuse to be bound by the wholesome rules and restrictions adopted by this Conference.

RESOLUTION III.

1. The representative Missionaries assembled in this Decennial Conference from all parts of India pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavor to obtain; among the Missions working within the same sphere of influence, the enactment of a rule, to determine that no worker shall be transferred from one Mission to another without reference to, and without the consent of, the Mission from which he seeks release, and in case he has contracted obligations for his training and education, without continuing to discharge in his new position such obligations as may be mutually agreeable.

2. That, in case a worker has been proved to have done wrong, or been guilty of gross immorality, and has in consequence been suspended or dismissed, he be not employed by another Mission, until he has made amends, fulfilled the terms of his discipline, and in other ways satisfied the said Mission.

3. That, while there will be considerable difficulty in grading the workers of our Societies in the various Provinces with anything like absolute fairness so as to secure a satisfactory grade and pay for workers of the different Societies, because of varying local conditions, it is desirable that Missions working near each other and among similar classes should communicate with each other, with a view to obtain as much uniformity in pay and status as the circumstances and conditions of the various Societies will admit.

4. That, as a tentative guide in settling status and pay the educational qualification of workers be considered, especially at the start, a reasonable basis within limits: and that the following be suggested as a fairly satisfactory standard for grading and pay:—

Primary School Grade...	...	Rs. 6 to	Rs. 9
Lower Secondary School Grade	...	" 8	" 12
Upper Secondary, or Matriculate Grade	...	" 12	" 20
Collegiate, First-in-Arts	...	" 15	" 40
Collegiate, B. A.	...	" 40	" ...

5. That, in transferring a worker it be recognized as a cardinal principle that his pay be not raised within a year of such transfer over that of the Mission from which he came, except for the best of reasons, which should be made known to the Mission from which the worker seeks transfer.

RESOLUTION IV.

1. That no one who belongs or has belonged to the Church, with full rights and privileges of membership, be received into the fellowship of the Church of a sister Mission, without reference to the official representative of the latter, or the Mission with which the applicant is or has been connected.

2. That, if, as the result of such reference, there seem good and sufficient reasons on account of which delay should be made in receiving such applicant, he at least for a year should be kept under observation until by his satisfactory conduct he has shown himself worthy of reception into full membership.

3. That, in case an applicant is under discipline for sufficient reasons or has been temporarily suspended from the privileges of full Church-membership, or has been excommunicated for gross immorality, he be not received into another Church until he has satisfied the Church authorities under whose discipline he rests that he has determined to amend his ways, or until he has fulfilled the punishment, to escape which his desire to change Church connection has arisen.

4. That in the interests of Church discipline and harmony the Missions laboring over the same spheres of influence, pledge themselves to a willingness to seek definite agreement and urge their respective governing bodies to pass a rule which shall exclude excommunicated persons from admission into Church-membership, until the bar has been removed by the Church which has excommunicated them.

DRAFT REPORT OF COMMITTEE VIII.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

Names of the Committee.

Rev. H. Gulliford, W. M. S., Tumkur, Mysore Province,
(*Convener*).

„ A. H. Bestall, W. M. S., Mandalay, Burma.
J. P. Cotelingam, Esq., M.A., L. M. S., Bellary.
J. Ferguson, Esq., Colombo, Ceylon.
Rev. W. Hooper, D.D., C. M. S., Mussoorie.
„ E. V. John, C. M. S., Kottayam, Travancore.
„ Canon Ledgard, S. P. G., Bombay.
„ K. S. Macdonald, D.D., U. F. C., Calcutta.
„ C. G. Marshall, L. M. S., Salem, Madras Presidency.
„ J. McLaurin, D.D., A. B. U., Coonoor, Nilgiris.
J. Murdoch, Esq., LL.D., C. L. S., Madras.
Rev. S. W. Organe, Bible Society, Madras.
„ J. E. Robinson, D.D., M. E. C., Calcutta.
„ G. H. Rouse, D.D., B. M. S., Darjiling.
„ A. P. Veeraswamy, C. B. M., Cocanada.
„ H. U. Weitbrecht, D.D., Bible Society, Lahore.
„ T. S. Wynkoop, Bible Society, Allahabad.
Wylie, Esq., Ludhiana.

The members of this Committee were associated for the purpose of discussing literature with the following Committees:—(1) The Native Church; (2) Evangelistic Work; (3) Education and Work amongst the English-speaking; (4) Women's Work.

As the Conference is above all to be practical, your Committee desires (1) to briefly state what has been approved and accomplished by previous Conferences in regard to literature, and (2) to describe the existing situation and set forth how the work is to be accomplished.

APPROVED PRINCIPLES AND ACCOMPLISHED FACTS.

Nearly all the published reports of Missionary Conferences have considerable space devoted to Christian literature. The papers are of varying degrees of merit, but of considerable unanimity of sentiment. The principles according to which the work should be done are generally recognised, but the organisation for the accomplishment of the task has been most inadequately provided. In spite of this a vast amount of work under peculiar difficulties has been performed in English and in nearly all the vernaculars, and for this we are devoutly grateful to Almighty God. The papers submitted with this report reveal to a large extent the greatness of the work done.

It will be well to recapitulate in brief compass the principles most generally accepted by missionaries.

(1) The production and distribution of Christian literature is an essential part of mission work, and each missionary should take his share in both.

(2) To meet the great and growing need for Christian literature, men should be set apart to organise the preparation of suitable books, tracts, and leaflets and to increase their circulation. In every large language area one or more persons should be set apart for this purpose, and in the smaller language areas a missionary with literary aptitudes should be relieved of other cares as much as possible, that he may give the larger portion of his time to literary work in that vernacular. This will require men of special gifts and wide culture, who should not only be able to write effectively themselves but also to stimulate and guide others in this direction.

(3) These men should be provided and supported by the Missionary Societies, as the various Literature Societies have not funds for this purpose.

(4) The literature provided should be especially prepared for the people of the land. Much discussion has taken place regarding the use of translations, and it is

generally agreed that except the Bible very few English or other books will repay the labour of a close translation into an Eastern tongue. The translator must be free to add, alter, adapt, and reject as he proceeds. The preparation should be ordinarily in the vernacular itself; but in some cases English may be used by those who are familiar with the thought of the people, and then translations made into different vernaculars. The writers must be prepared to recognise everything helpful and true in the literature, customs and practices of the people; and in all their preparation they must have ever in view the persons among whom the publication is to circulate.

(5) The literature must be thoroughly idiomatic, abounding in illustration and imagery, and well understood of the people.

(6) The publications should be neatly and clearly printed, and where possible suitable illustrations should be inserted. It need not be said that the picture should illustrate the letter press and not the letter press the picture. Cheapness, however, is essential.

(7) The style of binding is not of so much importance now as formerly. Leather bindings may still in some cases be objected to; but caste prejudice in this respect has nearly disappeared. Binding should be strong, serviceable and cheap.

The work accomplished is set forth in the catalogues of books, tracts, and leaflets published in the different vernaculars of India. Thanks to Dr. Murdoch's incessant and indefatigable efforts, the following have been published:—English, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tulu, Badaga, Toda, Kois, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Mikir, Ao Naga and Angami Naga, Garo, Manipuri, Tangkhul Naga, Khasi, Khond, Santali, Mundari and Uraun, Malto, Nepali and Lepcha, Marathi, and Urdu. Hindi, Gujarati and other catalogues are in preparation. These catalogues will be of invaluable service to missionaries and others, enabling them to see what has been done and where the works can be obtained.

In a separate paper will be found a list of Mission Presses and Publishing Houses. We believe this list will be of great use for reference, for it indicates what languages are printed at these presses. It also shows that many Missions have not been unmindful of their duty to supply the people with food for the mind.

Christian newspapers for the general public have been established in several vernaculars. A complete list is desirable, but information is not to hand at present.

Some Missionary Societies have recognised the pressing needs of literary work and have set apart missionaries for this special purpose. The following are those thus designated:—Baptist Mission, Rev. Dr. Rouse; Church Mission, Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht; Wesleyan Mission, Rev. E. W. Thompson, M.A.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE WORK TO BE DONE.

Mission work has vastly developed during the last decade. Every department has been strengthened and extended. The many schools and colleges scattered over the country are yearly sending forth thousands of boys and girls, young men and women, who must have suitable literature provided for them, or their education will have been largely in vain. Hence the cry for literature comes from every quarter and from nearly every class of the community. The Christian congregations need books to enable them to understand the Bible and stimulate their spiritual life. Christian preachers and teachers especially require books to help them in developing the Church. The Hindus educated in English have, it is true, the whole field of English literature to roam in, but much of this cannot be understood, and it is absolutely

necessary that special literature in English should be prepared for this large class of readers. The youth of both sexes that leave the vernacular schools have very little useful literature except that supplied through the agency of missions. These must have books, tracts, newspapers of a healthy tone provided for them. The Muhammadans require a special literature, and much that has been written is now more or less out of date. For every class of the community, for both sexes, for old and young, the need for sound literature is clamant. Every one recognises the necessity for action.

Literature is a field where missionaries of all societies can readily combine without raising prejudices. Denominational literature, as such, will necessarily and always be provided by the denominations themselves. But outside such literature there is ample scope for combined missionary enterprise.

Your Committee is not unaware of the invaluable work achieved by the various Tract and Literature Societies. It is familiar with the fact that Committees for Literature exist wherever there is a publishing society. These Committees are generally small, because it is necessary to have on them experts who can readily meet together. Organisation on a larger scale is the need of the hour; but this does not involve the setting aside of that which already exists. The present Committees may form the nucleus, or executive committee, of a much larger body, which should comprise all who are in any way interested in the production and circulation of Christian literature. The time has come for a united forward movement in Christian literature. To help in fostering this movement, your Committee is convinced that a wider and more detailed organisation of the missionary forces is imperative. It therefore recommends the Conference to pass the following resolutions :—

RESOLUTION I.

That a large, representative, and permanent Literature Committee, embracing missionaries, mission workers, and persons interested in missions, be formed in each extensive language area in India, Burma, and Ceylon. Such Committees shall consider the needs of the area with regard to literature for Christians and all classes of non-Christians, and shall arrange for the production and circulation of suitable pure, instructive, interesting literature.

Formation
of Literature
Committees.

RESOLUTION II.

The languages for which Committees shall be formed are—(1) Bengali, (2) Hindi, (3) Urdu, (4) Hindustani, (5) Panjabi and kindred dialects, (6) Assamese and kindred dialects, (7) Santali, Khond, and kindred languages, (8) Oriya, (9) Gujerati, (10) Mahratti, (11) Tamil, (12) Telugu, (13) Kanarese, (14) Malayalam, (15) Sinhalese, (16) Burmese and languages in Burma, (17) English, (18) also one for Muhammadan literature. [This list is of course tentative.]

The Lan-
guages for
which Com-
mittees are
formed.

RESOLUTION III.

(1) The Committee for Bengali shall consist of....
.....with power to add to their number. The
Convener is.....

Committee
for Bengali.

[A similar resolution will be framed with regard to each language. Will representatives come prepared with names of persons suitable to serve on these Committees?]

RESOLUTION IV.

A Conference of workers in each language area recommended. In order that the production and circulation of literature may be more systematically and effectually carried on in each language area, the Conference strongly recommends each Committee to convene a Conference of all missionaries and mission workers in that area, together with any who take an interest in Missions, to thoroughly discuss the needs of that particular area and to arrange for ways and means of supplying them.

RESOLUTION V.

A paid Secretary recommended. As the work of literature in each language area develops, the Conference urges each Committee and Conference to discuss the feasibility of appointing a paid Secretary for that area, who shall devote the whole of his time to the work of literature. While no one Missionary Society may feel called upon to provide the total cost of such a Secretary, each Society working in that area may be prepared to subscribe a proportion of the cost. A subscription from each Society varying from £20 to £50 yearly for literary work will in most cases meet the necessary expenditure.

RESOLUTION VI.

Subjects relegated to the Committees. To the Committees as above appointed the Conference relegates the following subjects, which it especially commends to them as necessary and urgent:—

- (1) The establishment of newspapers conducted on Cristian principles for the benefit of non-Christians, or the general public.
- (2) The establishment of undenominational weekly journals for Christians.
- (3) The preparation of selections from vernacular classical works for the use of schools, &c.

RESOLUTION VII.

A General Committee of Literature appointed. To prevent unnecessary waste of labour and to unify as far as is desirable the work of the various Language Committees, the Conference appoints a General Committee of Literature. It shall consist of—The Conveners of each Language Committee, together with.....The Convener is.....This Committee shall in consultation with the Language Committees initiate and arrange for the production of works that may first be prepared in English and then translated into the different vernaculars. It shall keep, as far as possible, a record of all publications in English and all the vernaculars, and shall be the means of communication between the different Language Committees.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Subjects relegated to the General Committee. The Conference relegates the following subjects to the General Committee for disposal:—

- (1) The production of a better apologetic Christian literature in a series of small books, in which

there shall be little or no antagonism to Hinduism or Muhammadanism, as such.

- (2) A Manual for enquirers, stating briefly the elements of Christian truth.
- (3) Scripture portions or Books on Christian Evidences best suited for the class instruction of non-Christians.
- (4) A Handbook of Hinduism for Theological Students.
- (5) Books suitable for Evangelists.
- (6) Devotional Literature for Christians.
- (7) Literature for the Home.
- (8) The Scripture Instruction Scheme formulated by the South Indian Conference.

RESOLUTION IX.

The Conference especially commends to the attention of missionaries and mission workers the various catalogues of English and vernacular works that have been compiled under the direction of Dr. Murdoch. They describe with sufficient accuracy what has been done in literature by Missions during the Nineteenth Century, and they form an admirable starting-point for the work to be accomplished in the Twentieth Century. Missionaries and others will be able readily to find out what books have been published in their vernacular, and thus be able to materially assist in their distribution.

Catalogues
of English
and Vernacu-
lar Litera-
ture.

THE CIRCULATION OF LITERATURE.

The foregoing resolutions deal chiefly with the production of literature. It is very possible to provide a large stock of publications, which will remain on the shelves of the depôts to be discoloured by damp and devoured by white-ants. The demand for literature is great, but not so large as it ought to be. This arises partly from the poverty of the people, who have little money to spare for things not absolutely necessary, and partly from the general apathy and indifference that prevail in the East. The people need books, and when these are provided they must be taken to the people. Missionaries and Christian workers of all kinds must perform this necessary duty.

The Committees that have been appointed will be able to stimulate the circulation of the literature produced. They will suggest methods suited to their particular localities. There are, however, plans that can readily be adopted by all. These are briefly enumerated.

(1) A stock of books, tracts, and leaflets should be kept in every station, and where possible a book-shop opened.

(2) The Missionary should see that each Evangelist takes with him a supply of suitable literature for sale or free distribution.

(3) After every preaching service books should be offered for sale.

(4) A person should be appointed to sell in every local market; for then the people have money and are more likely to buy. In some places it will be possible to visit the railway station for a similar purpose.

(5) School Teachers, Zenana Visitors, Bible-women, and Workers in Hospitals should be encouraged to sell publications.

(6) Colporteurs should be appointed where a proper number of books can be sold.

Further information regarding the opening of Book shops and the employment of Colporteurs may be obtained from the nearest Bible or Tract Society, or Christian Literature Society.

In view of the pressing importance of increased circulation of Christian Literature, your Committee recommends the Conference to pass the following resolutions and to send to each Missionary and Mission Worker the accompanying appeal.

RESOLUTION I.

Importance
of circulating
good Literature.

The Conference is profoundly impressed with the importance of disseminating everywhere and by all means pure wholesome literature in order to counteract the pernicious effects of the impure unhealthy literature so largely circulated and to place before the people the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.

RESOLUTION II.

Means to be
employed for
circulating
Literature.

The Conference affectionately urges upon all missionaries and mission workers the duty of keeping for sale a stock of Christian Literature, and of seizing every opportunity by means of shops, preaching services, markets, schools, colleges, hospitals, railway-stations, &c., for the disposal of books and tracts. The employment of colporteurs, wherever possible, is strongly urged.

RESOLUTION III.

A record of
the number
circulated to
be kept.

The Conference is further thoroughly convinced that the circulation of literature would be greatly increased if each missionary would cause to be kept in a simple tabular form the number of books, tracts, and leaflets circulated monthly by himself and his fellow-labourers. The expenditure of time involved would be but slight, while the gain in accuracy and definiteness would be considerable.

RESOLUTION IV.

An appeal
to be sent to
Missionaries
and Mission
Workers.

The Conference also resolves that the following appeal shall be sent to every Missionary and Mission Worker in India, Burma, and Ceylon :—

[As it is possible that appeals regarding other question may be issued by the Conference, the form of the present appeal takes the shape of paragraphs that can easily be embodied in such general appeal.]

The question of the production and circulation of Christian literature occupied much of our time and attention. The Kingdom of God has made extensive and substantial progress during the last decade, and efforts were put forth to make the supply of Christian literature keep pace with the development of the work in other departments. We are, however, deeply conscious that the results have not been commensurate with the requirements.

The needs are notorious. The Christian Church is rapidly increasing, not only in numbers, but in spirituality, intelligence and influence. To develop these still further, books are urgently required to make plain the teaching of God's Word, to quicken devotion, to elevate home life, to stimulate the intellectual powers, and so extend the influence of the Church. Large numbers of people have come under Christian influences, and in one way and another indicate that they wish to know more of the Christian Faith. Books suited to their state must be provided. The schools and colleges are yearly sending forth tens of thousands of young men and women whose

minds have been quickened by contact with Western thought and methods of study, and whose hearts have felt to some extent the unsatisfying nature of the religion of their fathers. These must be supplied with instructive, interesting, stimulating, helpful literature that the work begun in them may be carried on. In some cases the school books need careful revision and brought up to date, so that learning may be made as attractive as possible. The many religious communities in the land have been more or less influenced by the new life that has come to them from the West; they feel the pressure of the new thoughts and ideas; and a spirit of enquiry has been evoked. Publications suitable for the members of the various Somajes, the different sections of the Hindus, and the large Muhammadan community are earnestly called for. Everywhere the cry is for more light. Books of all kinds to meet the needs of all ages in all states of mental development are urgently required. Boys and girls, young men and women, adults of both sexes, the aged and the infirm, all ask for literature suited to their state.

Experienced missionaries will find their powers taxed to the utmost to meet the pressing needs. These do not always voice themselves in clear, definite, articulate tones; but the cry is increasing in volume and intensity. Will each missionary and mission worker listen as if the cry were addressed to him personally? Will each ask himself, "What can I do to answer this cry?" Workers of both sexes, who can use the pen, are earnestly invited to write for their less favoured brethren and sisters.

We call your attention to the Committees that have been formed to undertake this holy enterprise. The organisation is brought near to your station. Will you not take counsel with your brethren, and join in their efforts to supply the people with pure literature? We were not in a position to form ideal Committees; but we feel we can confidently appeal to you to work with them and perfect the organisation that has been commenced. Will you not communicate with the Convener of the Committee in your language area, offer your services, and render any help in your power? The work is the Lord's, and He hath need of you.

We would also affectionately urge upon you the duty of circulating Christian literature. If you do not feel equal to the task of writing tracts or books, you can at least assist in the distribution of what is provided by others. This work in its way is as important as the other. If the people are to read, the book must be put where they can easily get it. Ingenious love will find many methods for disseminating the truth. The preaching service, the visit to the home, the school, the college, the hospital, the religious fair, the market, the railway station are all places where much precious seed may be scattered in a quiet way. The leaflet, the tract, the book will remain when your voice is silent. In every large station it will be possible to open a book shop. The Secretaries of Tract and Literature Societies will render you every possible help. If suitable men are available, employ them as colporteurs; but utilise the services of every worker in the distribution of good literature.

It will be of considerable help, if you enter month by month in a simple tabular form the number of books, tracts, and leaflets sold or given away by yourself and your fellow-workers. The table may reveal at first the poverty of your efforts and so stimulate you to greater diligence, or it may greatly encourage and cheer you by showing how great a number of silent messengers have been sent forth to minister to minds diseased by sin and oppressed by sorrow. This portion of a missionary's toil,

though unromantic, is likely to be most effective. We ask you to circulate the printed page and pray that God's richest blessing may attend your labours.

RESOLUTION V.

An appeal
to the Home
Societies.

In order that the Home Societies may undertake their share of the work of providing literature for the people, the Conference directs that the following appeal be sent to all Mission Boards and Committees in Europe, America, and elsewhere, and through them to the supporters of missions:—

[It is possible that other appeals may be issued to the Home Boards by the Conference, and therefore this appeal is prepared in the form of paragraphs that may form part of such a general appeal.]

The Decennial Conference has given much thought to the needs of the people in regard to literature. God has abundantly blessed the labours of those whom you have sent to this land to preach glad tidings of good. They and their fellow-workers have under the blessing of God founded Churches, which are growing in godliness, intelligence, and usefulness. Their labours in many forms have also awakened a spirit of enquiry in the minds of thousands, and everywhere there is a desire for more light. From the schools and colleges conducted by your missionaries, by Government, and by other agencies, is coming forth a continual succession of more or less educated young men and women. To continue the work in the Christian Church and among the awakened thousands of the people and the millions of educated youth, suitable literature must be provided. You are aware that the indigenous literature will do but little to stimulate and satisfy an awakened conscience and a quickened intellect. Those who have brought the new spirit into the East must meet the new needs that have thus been called into being. In other words, your missionaries and their fellow-helpers must provide the publications that will give clear views of God's Word, quicken devotion, develop the intellectual life and form character. Some of your missionaries are admirably fitted for this work. Will you not relieve them to a great extent from other branches of mission work that they may give themselves to this one thing?

We have passed a series of resolutions on this question, which we commend to your thoughtful and prayerful attention. We have mapped out the land according to the languages spoken; we have appointed Committees to undertake the task of providing and circulating Christian literature in those language areas; and we look to this organisation for a great development of this branch of mission activity. As these Committees get to work, they will doubtless find it necessary to set apart a missionary in each area as secretary to develop this important undertaking. We believe all the missions working in each language area will unite for this purpose. It will be necessary for the various Home Societies to countenance and help the enterprise. If a request comes to your Society for a subscription, will it be prepared to co-operate with other Societies working in that area, and subscribe from £20 to £50 yearly for the support of a secretary and to generally aid literary work? If any Committee should ask that one of your missionaries be set apart to undertake the duties of Secretary, will your Society be prepared to set him free for that position? and if your Society cannot support him entirely, will you be prepared to bear a proportion of the cost? Your best men will be asked for, as the work demands men of wide experience, varied culture, and choice gifts. Your Mission may appear to be weakened by the relinquishing of such men for literary work,

yet the Kingdom of God in India will be strengthened, and in the ultimate blessings vouchsafed by such labour your Mission will largely share. Some Missionary Societies have already set apart men for literature, and if your Society will follow their example and show a practical interest in this necessary part of mission work, it will greatly cheer the hearts of the labourers on the field.

Your Society would also encourage the work of circulating Christian literature, if it made enquiries as to the extent its missionaries prepared and distributed tracts and books. They would then know that your Society was interested in this department of mission activity, and would the more gladly strive to meet your wishes. We would respectfully ask you to call for and study the reports of your missionaries in this branch of mission labour, so that when the request comes for help, you will be able intelligently to respond with liberality. We urge you to foster this holy enterprise, and pray that God's richest blessing may rest upon the labours of your Society and upon its supporters.

Christian Literature in all its phases, Bible work in all departments, and the best methods of distributing publications have been discussed in many Conferences and in articles written for Missionary Magazines. We append a full list of references as far as Missionary Conferences are concerned; and a list of articles that have appeared in the *Harvest Field* during the last twelve years.

1. BIBLE WORK AND TRANSLATION.

Bible Translation in Bengal, by Rev. Dr. Wenger. (Report of Allahabad Conference, 1872-3, page 389.)

Sketches of Madras (Rev. S. W. Organe), Bangalore (Rev. B. Rice), Jaffna (Rev. J. Brown), Colombo (Rev. D. Wood), Auxiliary Bible Societies. (Report of South India and Ceylon Missionary Conference, Bangalore, 1879, Vol. II., pp. 341-367.)

The Missionary in Relation to Bible Societies. (Report of the Centenary Conference, London, 1888, Vol. II., pp. 284-315.)

The Scriptures, by Rev. S. W. Organe. (Report of Decennial Conference, Bombay, Vol. II., p. 637.)

The Bible given to the Nations. (Report of Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900, Vol. II., Ch. XXIV., p. 7.)

The Most Precious but the Worst Edited Book in the World, by Rev. E. P. Rice. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. I., 1889-90, p. 291.)

Statement of Principles adopted in the Tentative Translation of S. Matthew's Gospel in Kanarese. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. IV., 1892-3, p. 107.) This was published separately by the Bangalore Bible Society.

Translation—Bible and other, by Rev. H. Haigh. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. V., 1893-4, p. 648.)

The Need of a Revision of the Tamil Bible, by Rev. J. P. Jones. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. VI., 1895, p. 41.)

Work of the Bible Society—Condensed Report of a Conference of Bible Society Secretaries held in Madras. This was published as a pamphlet by the Bible Society, 1897, p. 206.

Bible Revision with special reference to Tamil. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. IX., 1898, pp. 361 and 441.)

These papers contain the opinion of many Missionaries and others.

Rhenius on Biblical Translation, by Rev. W. Goudie. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. X., 1899, pp. 349, 384.)

Rhenius' Pamphlet on Bible translation was republished by the Bangalore Bible Society about the year 1898.

Revision of Vernacular Versions by various Indian Christians. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. X., 1899, p. 136.)

2. GENERAL CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

(a) Vernacular.

A paper by Rev. J. Long in the Report of Conference of Bengal Missionaries held in Calcutta, 1855. I have not seen this.

Papers on Vernacular Christian Literature, by Rev. B. Rice and Rev. J. Hoch, with Resolutions. (Report of South India Missionary Conference, Ootacamund, 1858, pp. 265—282.)

In the Report of the Conference on Missions held at Liverpool in 1860 there are no papers, but several references to literature.

Paper on Vernacular Christian Literature, by Rev. J. H. Budden, with discussion. (Report of the Panjab Missionary Conference, Lahore, 1862-3, pp. 268—291.)

Paper on Christian Vernacular Literature, by Rev. T. S. Wynkoop; The Press in Bengal, by Rev. J. E. Payne; Sunday Schools and Sunday School Literature, by Rev. T. J. Scott, with discussion. (Report of Allahabad Conference, 1872-3, pp. 396, 412, 426, 438.)

Sketch of the Tract Societies and Christian Vernacular Education Society in South India and Ceylon, by Dr. Murdoch. (Report of Bangalore Conference, 1879, Vol. II., p. 368.)

Sketches of Vernacular Christian Literature—Tamil (Dr. Murdoch), Telugu (Rev. E. Lewis), Malayalam (Rev. E. Diez), Kanarese (Rev. B. Rice), Singhalese (Dr. Murdoch). (Report of Bangalore Conference, Vol. II., pp. 377—415.)

Sketch of Christian Knowledge Society, by Rev. C. E. Kennett. (Report of Bangalore Conference, Vol. II., p. 416.)

Papers on the Production of Vernacular Literature, by Rev. J. Hewlett and Dr. Scudder, with discussion. (Report of Calcutta Decennial Conference, 1882-3, pp. 337—354 and 378.)

The Missionary in Relation to Literature (2) General, (3) Tract and Book Societies. (Report of London Conference, 1888, Vol. II., pp. 257—283, 316—340.)

Paper on Vernacular Literature, by Rev. H. Haigh, and on Christian Literature, by Rev. G. P. Taylor, with discussion. (Report of Bombay Conference, 1892-3, Vol. II., pp. 664, 701, 725.)

Remarks and Resolutions on Christian Literature. (Report of South Indian Conference, Madras, 1900, pp. 64—9.)

Literature as an Evangelising Agency. (Report of New York Conference, 1900, Vol. II., Ch. XXV, p. 37.)

Plea for Christian Literature. (Report of New York Conference, 1900, Vol. II., Ch. XXVI, p. 63.)

Christian Literature in the Vernaculars, by Rev. J. Padfield. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. III., 1891-2, p. 1.)

Literature for Native Preachers, by Rev. Ernst Just. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. III., 1891-2, p. 248.)

Literature for the Native Church, by Rev. H. Haigh and Mr. A. Ezra. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. IV., 1892-3, pp. 321, 348.)

Literature, a review of the Bombay Decennial Conference, by Rev. H. Haigh. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. IV., 1892-3, p. 301.)

Literature for Native Christians, by Miss L. Marston. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. V., 1893-4, p. 361.)

Work to be done in Christian Literature in India, by Dr. Murdoch. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. VIII., 1897, p. 201.)

Christian Literature still needed for India, by Rev. E. P. Rice. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. VIII., 1897, p. 285.)

Hindi Christian Literature, by Rev. E. Greaves.
(*Harvest Field*, Vol. X., 1899, p. 212.)

Necessity for Cheapness in Price of Books in a
Letter, by Dr. Murdoch. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. XI.,
1900, p. 272.)

Christian Contributions to Tamil Literature, by Rev.
C. H. Monahan. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. XII.,
1901, p. 174.)

Various Pamphlets, by Dr. Murdoch.

(b) *English*.

Paper on English Literature, by Dr. Murdoch.
(Report of Bombay Conference, 1892-3, Vol. II.,
p. 674.)

3. CHRISTIAN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

In most of the reports and discussions of the Mis-
sionary Conferences the need of these is referred
to, and suggestions made for establishing them.

Christian Vernacular Newspapers, by Rev. E. W.
Thompson. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. XI., 1900, p. 272.)

A Minute on Christian Vernacular Journalism, by
Rev. E. W. Thompson. The opinions of many
writers are recorded. Also correspondence on
the same subject. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. XI., 1900,
pp. 339, 349, 387.)

4. DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.

Paper on Colportage in India, by Dr. Murdoch.
(Report of Allahabad Conference, 1872-3, p. 420.)

Papers on Tract Colportage (Dr. Murdoch), Bible
Colportage (Rev. A. Theophilus), and discussion.
(Report of Bangalore Conference, 1879, pp. 404,
409, 419.)

Papers on the Distribution of Vernacular Literature,
by Revs. G. O. Newport and Dr. Johnson. (Re-
port of Calcutta Conference, 1882-3, pp. 355, 368.)

Speeches on Colportage, by Revs. A. W. Prautch,
J. Austin Thomson, Dr. Weitbrecht, Dr. Johnson.
(Report of Bombay Conference, 1892-3, pp. 707,
711, 716, 719.)

Scripture and Tract Distribution, by Rev. A. W.
Prautch. (*Harvest Field*, Vol. II., 1890-91,
p. 161.)

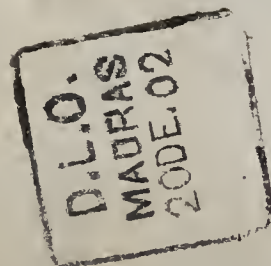
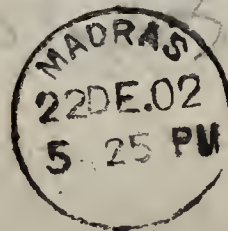
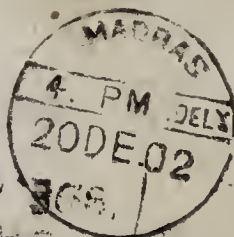
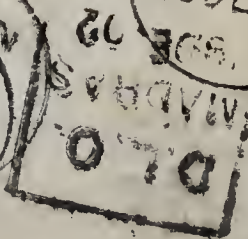
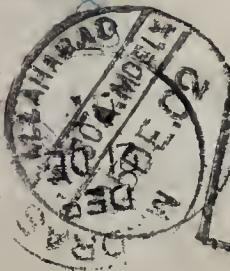
The above statements, resolutions, and appeals are all
that can be prepared before the Conference meets. They
are sent to you with the earnest hope that you will care-
fully study them, thoroughly criticise them, and be pre-
pared to add or amend them in the Committees of the
Conference. It will greatly help the despatch of business,
if any suggested alterations are sent to me in writing
before the Conference meets. There would then be time
to examine them carefully, and embody them, if thought
desirable, in the final draft to be presented to the Com-
mittee.

H. GULLIFORD, *Convener*.

TUMKUR,

10th November, 1902.

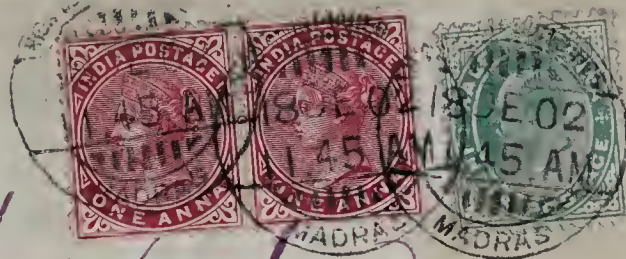
Station



D.L.O.-10. *Rev'd T. S. Wynkoop*
Secy & Treasurer

UNCLAIMED LETTER.
North India Bible Society
(Allahabad)
FROM THE MADRAS DEAD LETTER CASE

To *Allahabad*



Allahabad
Robert Spear
Sec. Presb. Bd. for Miss.

-- Missionary Journey in Laos.--

Lampoon, Laos,
July 7th. 1893.

A week after the Annual Meetings of Presbytery and Mission at Lakawn, Dr. McGilvary and I left Cheung Mai, on Tuesday Jan. 3rd. for the long tour to the North. Our party consisted of our selves, three elders, four carriers, a cook and a table-boy, four elephants and a pony. We were provided with five months' provisions. Tuesday evening we camped on the farther edge of the Cheung Mai plain at a small village called Ban Luang shown on the map by a small cross red line. All our camping spots are indicated in this way. Wednesday we passed near to Ban Maa Dawk Deng where we have a flourishing church. We did not stop however. I had a new experience in riding the elephant's head. It was old S'daw, Dr. McGilvary's own elephant, a wise rascal who took advantage of the fact that my feet were unaccustomed to do the titillation act and so were soon tired, to take his own gait and browse along the way. The Doctor who is a good elephant rider seemed to enjoy the novelty as much as S'daw. The road here is in the mountains for three days and it would be hard to find a more disreputable highway. It is simply a succession of climbing boulders, scaling steep, slippery mountain sides, or wading streams. It took us nearly a day to cross a mountain supposed to be presided over by a female deity who is kept appeased by the most revolting and degrading offerings. These filthy offerings were planted thickly along the way. Just after we crossed this mountain we met a Haw caravan with horses for sale in Cheung Mai and Maulmein. We bought a rupee's worth of walnuts from them. Shortly after we encountered a fly, the Meng Koon, whose bite caused a breaking out in a few minutes. On Friday we reached Ban Pung Kri. We have one Christian here, an old man afflicted with rheumatism, but happy amid his sufferings. An old couple whom Dr. McGilvary expected to receive on this trip had "gone back" because their relatives could not be prevailed on to give their consent. At Pa Bong we had a cordial welcome. The Church is in a flourishing condition and has a chapel. We spent the Sabbath there and baptized four adults and two infants. Monday we called on the officials in the city (Weang Papow) half an hour north and returned to Ban Pa Bong. In the evening we had a delightful gathering for worship; all the five elders and some of the church members voluntarily led in prayer. From the first this church has been subjected to petty persecution by the authorities. They bear it all bravely and no one's faith seems to be shaken. "The north wind only makes the spices flow out." "After all, does not the Gardener know?"

We reached the chapel at Maakawn on Saturday. There is a small chapel here and eleven Christian families, but the work is not in a very prosperous condition owing mostly to the indifferent lives of some of the Christians. Shepakaw's village of Moosurs worship at this church, though they have a chapel at their own mountain home. We visited them on Tuesday wading up a rocky stream, barefooted and with pants rolled up in the old-fashioned way, for three quarters of an hour. What fun we had! and what a stiff mountain climb afterwards! The memory of it almost makes my legs ache. They gave us a right royal reception. Only three of them can speak our language a little bit, but we understood each other. Love needs no interpreter. We spent two delightful days among them and

and left with regret. There is no more hopeful work than among this warm-hearted, simple tribe. We spent the next Sabbath at Cheung Hai where we have only one Christian family but which is the important centre of this region.

At Maa Kee we spent a night with the one Christian family there. They are very lonely. On Friday, the 27th. we reached Cheung Saan and bathed in the cold, swift Cambodia. What a magnificent river, almost three-quarters of a mile here. We were rowed up its broad bosom to the two villages that contain most of the Christians of the Cheung Saan church to spend the Sabbath. Three children and two adults received baptism. A day's climb brought us into the first Moosur village. We found only the family of Chuwn, the others having gone to Kin wa, i.e., to celebrate the new year, at another village. This is an inopportune time to visit the Moosurs as no outsider is allowed admittance to their village. However, we had no trouble in entering the next village Saan Boon Huen's on the understanding that we would not leave till the celebration was over. We found the same free, familiar cordiality so characteristic of this people. Several of them understood the Laos and seemed to delight in interpreting. All listened with the greatest interest. Were it not that they fear the political consequences they say they would "come in" as a tribe. We also visited a Kooey village, and met with the same eagerness to hear the Gospel story. Finding that it was not expedient to pursue the work further among these tribes at this time, we returned to Cheung Saan and proceeded northward hoping on our return to visit them again.

We spent the next Sabbath at Muang Ko and had a large number of listeners and a few inquirers. One man, Noi Turmawong, staid with us a day and till nearly midnight. A great many came for medicines. Many Ngeeos or Shans came to beg books. We had only one copy of a Ngeeo Catechism and we gave them that.

Monday, Feb. 13th., we had a long day's travel through fine shady woods and reached Muang Lane at dark. This city is composed of three divisions, inhabited respectively by Ngeeo, Kurn, and Lew peoples. It is rather noted for its turbulent and lawless element. It is British territory and the independence and self-assertion of the people are in marked contrast to the cringing subjection of the southern countries and to a less extent of the Sip Song Punna. We staid a week here, received visits from all classes told the story many times, and made excursions into the mountains to the Kew villages. The Kews listen well and take pleasure in interpreting to those of their number who do not understand the Laos language, but do not seem much disposed to give up their "paw maa" (father mother) by which they mean the religion of their fathers. Like the Moosurs and Kooeys, they worship an unseen and supreme Being whom they do not attempt to represent, but, unlike those tribes, they also worship demons under the most grotesque forms. Opium and whiskey have degraded them but they are a kind-hearted and sociable people.

On Friday we reached the "little city" Weung Mi, a short distance from the city of Yong Nyawng. The people pressed us so hard to stay and as we were very tired we decided to remain there till Monday. We had a crowd from morning till night. A young Ngeeo became interested and wanted to study, but said that he would have to return to Cheung Toong with his caravan and settle up his business first, then he would come to Lampoon and study. I hope he will come. We also met a number of the Lew people from the far north of the Sip Song Punna who listened with astonishment. They never had heard anything like it.

A young man came to me late at night in great distress

begging to be delivered from the pee (demons). I told him I could not do it but I knew One who could. I do not know whether he has sought His aid or not. I was inclined to think at the time that the man was fleeing from some crime.

We reached Muang Luang at dusk on Saturday and remained till the following Wednesday. This is one of the largest Muangs in the Sip Song Punna and is also wealthy. They have large houses, well built, broad streets with a stone walk in the centre, two good stone bridges, and a fish pond. The government is well administered. Theft, they say, is almost unknown. Crowds thronged us all the time. The four days from Muang Luang to Cheung Hoong were full of interest. It would take a letter to tell of this alone. The road lies at the base of the mountains along a broad rice plain and is a line of villages all the way. News of our coming had preceded us and often a crowd of people would be on the road waiting for us, others would run out to meet us and beg us to stay and teach them, and when they saw that was impossible they would beg a book. How keenly we felt that our number of books was severely limited. Many followed us all day to our camping place in order to hear more of the Gospel. This was our general experience. On the other hand we saw much drinking, gambling and opium smoking.

It seems proper to give a word regarding the country called the Sip Song Punna. It extends from between Muang Loevey and Muang Luang how far north, east and west I do not know. There are eleven muangs or districts (perhaps counties) would be the best word, on the west of the Cambodia and thirteen on the east. It may extend quite to the borders of China, more than a month's journey from Cheung Hoong. It is almost independent paying only a nominal tribute, which they refuse to call tribute, to the Hays (Chinese) country and to the Burmese. Each Muang has its own ruler, makes its own laws and conducts its own internal affairs, but owes allegiance to the central power in Cheung Hoong. They all seem thoroughly loyal to the King. The people are Laos. With the exception of the mountain tribes there are remarkable few other people living among them. A few Hays live in the northern cities, a few Kurns, Laos and Ti Luangs, all nearly related to the Laos and speaking the same language are scattered throughout. We met only one Ngess in the country. The language is practically the same as the Laos, having only dialect, verbal and tonal difference. It seems impossible that the country can long remain in its present political situation. With the Chinese pressing in on the north, the French on the east, British on the west and Siamese on the south, there is neither strength nor unity enough to hold the country intact. To whatever power it may fall it is equally imperative upon the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to occupy it for Christ. The people are now in a receptive attitude.

We reached Cheung Ha just in time to escape a heavy rain which lasted all night and nearly all next day. The people of this city thronged to hear the Gospel and to see the koola kows that could speak their language. Their eagerness was almost painful to see. Next day we crossed the Cambodia to Muang Hui. At this city princes, priests and people were much interested and begged us to stay at least another day, but we had to press on. The road eastward for more than half a day lies in a rich and populous country. The people, too, were very friendly, often coming out in crowds to talk with us. We had a kindly reception at Muang Kawn, and had I not been so impatient to get on we would have spent another day. Next day was market day and had we waited we would have seen the mountain tribe of K'leam, a large tribe of three thousand fighting men. Muang Noon is one of the largest muangs in the Sip Song Punna. ~~We spent the most interesting days there. The Chow Mawni,~~

We spent intensely interesting days here.

(governor) invited us because it was our sacred day, but we suggested that if he would invite us to worship at the palace we would be glad to go. The messenger returned almost immediately with an invitation and we went and had a very pleasant service. The chow and his household, courtiers and officials, were present besides us and as many as the people as could crowd into the large room. They all listened attentively and asked many questions. The chow was so well pleased that he invited us to come again next day and hold another service, and we did. On Tuesday he called on us at the wat (temple) and staid for service. Many of the people and more of the priests begged books and we could only refuse for we had yet many muangs to visit and our stock was running low. A young priest promised to come and study next year. We left here with many earnest requests to come again and stay. Pong is a large muang as large as Noon or Luang, laid out with broad, regular streets. It has three large temples. The Chow Mawn is a brother of the Chow Mawn of Noon and very much like him in cordiality. We worshipped in his palace and received him and many of the courtiers. People from the country villages came in to assist in the preparations for the New Year's celebration and many of them heard the story of the Cross for the first time.

We staid a week at Sing, held by the sickness of one of our men. The city people were not very eager to hear our message, but the outside villagers came in often. On market day, which came on Sunday, we met great crowds all day. Nyows and Maas, mountain tribes, came to market and proved our listeners. The Chow Fa, (governor) is a keen, deep man. He asked pointed questions to get at vital truths and tried to uphold Buddhism. In order to know how we worshipped he invited us to hold service at the palace. He evidently was pleased. There is a large village of Ti Muang a little south of the city. They are a very pleasant people. Their original home is near the Haw country. Their language differs from the Laos and Laos only in tone or dialect. We had no difficulty in understanding each other. Their written character is quite different.

We spent the Sabbath at Cheung Koke on the edge of a fine forest overlooking the majestic Maa Kong and the rushing Maa Mah. Sunday afternoon we had a terrific thunder-storm. In the evening several families visited us and brought with them a little hare-lipped Kaw child they had adopted. The Kaws have a cruel custom of killing hare-lipped children. The grandfather of the child had succeeded in protesting it for several years but on account of some distress the neighbors demanded its death and the grandfather gave it away to these Laos people. It was a very bright child.

In this tour, the longest ever taken, we visited twenty-four provinces belonging to three different countries, preached the Gospel not less than sixteen different tribes with about twelve different languages (not dialects). There was throughout the earnest desire to hear the Gospel. The whole field to China, to Burmah, and at least half way to the China Sea is wide open and inviting us to enter. We ought to do so at once. While there are many languages in the field it must be remembered that they are spoken by the isolated mountain tribes and that practically there is only one language, the one we speak, and which some in every tribe understand.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Robert Irwin.

The Comrade.

The Future of Islam

III.

LAST week we endeavoured to refute the charge of Professor Margoliouth and the *Pioneer* that Islam is "less exacting" than Christianity and "starts from a lower level" and instanced the Islamic injunctions as regards prayers and fasting and the prohibition of the use of intoxicants and intercourse of men and women which would prove far too exacting for modern Christians. We could add to these many other instances, including the compulsory Poor Rate of Islam, the *Zakat*, and the prohibition of gambling. In England we have seen the difficulty of taxing the rich for the benefit of the poor, and the hysterics and bombast of the Western India Turf Club have spared us the labour of supplying instances within the experience of our readers which show how exacting is Islam's prohibition of gambling. We discussed the advice of those who propose its defecation to a mere transparency as well as of those who pretend to regard its schisms and sects as the signs of its spiritual strength, and then went on to deal with the temporal history of Islam, contrasting its rise in the past with the present condition of its decline. We quoted the views of European Christians on the nature of the present danger to the worldly power of Islam, and drew the obvious conclusion that under the existing circumstances we could consider Pan-Islamism only as a force for purposes of defence not of defiance.

But Professor Margoliouth ignores this distinction when he says:—

It is the thought of an offensive and defensive alliance between 300 millions of Moslems against the European rulers of Asia and Africa which renders the phantasm alarming. And the alarmists are so far in the right that this is the end which the movement called Pan-Islamism compassed and compasses. Whether the spirit which it summons from the vasty deep will come or not may be questionable; but it certainly summons them.

So far as the phantasm is aggressive, it is certainly, as the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali said, "created by Europe to create a prejudice against Islam." But the Moslem historian was careful to add that "intelligent sympathy between Moslems in each other's trials and tribulations should appeal to all who have a spark of humanity." If that is Pan-Islamism and alarming, the spirits of mischief which it may summon from the vasty deep, whether they will come or not, would be the Franksteins created by Christian Europe itself. In India, as Mr. Ameer Ali has said, "no Moslem thinks of disloyalty under Great Britain," and when the fruits of victory had been cruelly snatched from the hands of Turkey after the unprovoked war foisted upon it by Greece, and there was a general stir in the restless elements on our North-West Frontier, Mussalman soldiers, including many Afghans, fought against their own co-religionists for king and country, and elicited from Lord Elgin the remark that "in the course of these unfortunate disturbances we have again seen what we have often seen before—the loyalty and gallantry of Muhammadan subjects and soldiers of the Queen." Even the *Pioneer* is forced to remark that,

In the past the misfortunes of any part of the Turkish Empire sent a wave of sympathetic unrest through all countries where the Moslem element was at all strong. The French have known the feeling in Algeria and the British in India and in their African possessions and both have been anxious as to the attitude of their Muhammadan subjects. To-day the sympathetic tremor is felt, but neither in Algeria nor in India is it accompanied by the familiar signs of political unrest and disaffection.

No sane person who appreciates the extent of the responsibility would like to answer for the actions of the 300 million Mussalmans of the world in all conceivable and inconceivable contingencies. But so far as we know the Mussalmans of India, we are prepared to say, as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had said years ago, that the attitude of the Mussalmans of India towards their British Rulers would depend wholly and solely on the treatment meted out to them in this country. So long as their rulers give them the blessings of peace and provide them with opportunities of attaining spiritual salvation and temporal prosperity, as they have done in past and continue to do to-day, there is not the ghost of a chance of the Mussalmans of India being anything but a great asset of loyalty. After the Mutiny, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan at one time contemplated retirement to Egypt. But better reason prevailed, and he decided to share the fate and improve the condition of his co-religionists in India. The result of that choice is obvious to-day and he who runs may read it. We trust no one would contemplate retirement to Turkey to-day, for not only is the proper place of an Indian Mussalman in India itself, but in these more peaceful days the future is far more certain than it was fifty years ago, and we have no hesitation in saying that it is a hopeful and a progressive future. At one time it was the dream of Syed Ahmad Khan and Theodore Beck to make Aligarh the nursery of Islam's missionaries of progress who would raise their co-religionists in other lands also. Although Aligarh has not yet been able

to realize that dream, there is no reason why it should not do that in the future; and from the point of view of the rulers too it would be better if Aligarh sends out its missionaries to backward Moslem States than if Moslem India has to import Enver Beys to uplift the Mussalmans of India.

But there are passages in the leader of the *Pioneer* which cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. It says:

Islam for centuries had only one aspect. It was a universal conquering religion which identified itself with political supremacy. The Moslem's creed taught him that he must either subdue a "hostile" land or quit it. . . . By degrees Islam acquires in his mind another aspect. He begins to concern himself with the extension of its spiritual influence, and is satisfied if he obtains a just share of political influence in the state of which he is a citizen. As the idea of a Messianic Kingdom gradually faded away among Christian communities, so the educated Moslem sees that in the modern world the idea of a universal Islamic state is impossible of realisation. He is learning to accept the principle of a constitutional and neutral polity, in which he finds his own place as a member with equal civil rights irrespective of religious belief. It is hard to discard the notion of a divine theocracy, for this colours the whole body of Koranic doctrine. But the Moslem, like the Christian, is amenable in the long run to the hard facts of the society in which he lives, and he is assimilating, even faster than he imagines, the notion of the civilised creedless state, and of civil rights which do not depend on religious observances.

If by this the *Pioneer* means that the Mussalmans of to-day are departing from the original tenets of Islam, in the matter of peaceful obedience to their non-Moslem rulers, it is wholly mistaken. Islam as a spiritual force was never dependent upon temporal dominance, except in the way of regarding worldly dominion as the handmaid of the Faith. And although Islam had for centuries been "a universal conquering religion" in most parts of the world, we cannot ignore the Titanic Empire of China, where there are no less than forty million Mussalmans who have obeyed and prospered under Chinese and Manchu rulers, and where Islam has not been the forced growth of a temporal power, but the vigorous banyan developing from a tiny seedling into a whole forest of sturdy growth. It must also be remembered that no land is "hostile" where perfect religious freedom is permitted to the true believer. Hali, the great Moslem poet of India, regarded temporal power only as a useful adjunct of the Islamic mission, and not as its essence, for he complained in his famous *Musaddas*:

ادا کر چکی جب حق اپنا حکومت *
دھی پھر نہ اسلام کو اوسکی حاجت
مگر حیف اے نذر آدم کی امت *
ہوئی آدمیت بھی ساتھ اوسکی رخصت
حکومت تھی گویا کہ اک جہول تم پر *
کہ اورتے اوسکے نکل آے جوہر

(When temporal rule had done its work, Islam no longer had need of it. But fie, O followers of the pride of Adam, your humanity has also departed along with it. As if temporal power was but a covering, and that removed your reality is at last betrayed.) The same idea is expressed in another way by Iqbal, who says:

توحید کی امانت سیڑوں میں ہے ہمارے *
آسان نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا

(The message of the unity of God is a trust locked up in our breasts. Hence it is not easy to obliterate our name and all traces of us.) In the days of Islamic rule the Faith followed the Flag much more naturally than the commerce of European countries follows their conquests to-day. Mussalmans cannot be expected to despise such a powerful safeguard of their missionary rights, and neither their own fate nor that of the Jews can encourage them in the belief that the loss of temporal power would have no effect on the progress of Moslem missionary efforts.

The treatment of the Moors in Spain cannot be forgotten, nor does the constant clamour against Mormonism in England as well as in America give any assurance that the propagation of the Quran would not be tabooed as "the inculcation of doctrines subversive of morality." In fact, we need not go so far for the illustration of a very real danger. Does the *Pioneer* know how many Hindu States under the "protection" of the British Government place difficulties in the way of the Mussalmans desirous of performing their religious duties in peace? Does it know how many mosques have been usurped in the past and are still withheld from Moslem worshippers, and how many have been desecrated in recent times? We have with us several letters from correspondents writing from such States the publication of which is certain to be considered by a large section of the Hindu press as tending to "accentuate religious differences." The Muezzin is not permitted in several States to call the Faithful to prayer, and similar custom, dating from the time of the Sikh rule in the Punjab, is paramount even in portions of British India. As for the slaughter of cows for sacrificial purposes, no mention is needed. It is undreamt of in Hindu States; but in British India itself Mussalmans are not immune from worries, as the recent case of Meerut would show, where the sacrificed animal was interred in the ground

by order of the Magistrate, and many Mussalmans who had slaughtered it in good faith, even if not in accordance with custom, were harassed for long with a criminal prosecution. The "principle of a constitutional and neutral polity" is almost as difficult of realization as that of the equality of all States according to International Law or the policy of the Open Door in international trade. At a time when even the most powerful European States believe in an armed peace, and are trying to outpace each other in the race of armaments, and when Retaliation is declared to be the only serviceable weapon in combating protection, how delightfully appropriate to expect the Mussalmans "to renounce the world, the flesh and the devil" and concern themselves only with the thoughts of the world to come.

If Professor Margoliouth's own view was to prevail it is certain that Islam would get short shrift in this world. For referring to the persecutions of the Prophet before the Hijrah to Medina, he writes in his *Life* :

A measure which seems both natural and harmless was taken by the Meccans ; the Moslems were kept out of the precincts of the Ka'bah. When they came there their devotions were rudely interrupted.

And although the other adviser of Islam, Sir Harry Johnston, says that "no civilized man or woman wishes to revive any idea of religious persecution or disability," and points out that "no European Power that has achieved predominance over a country essentially Muhammadan has, since the eighteenth century, persecuted Muhammadans by forbidding polygamy or compelling them to abandon any of their rites or ceremonies," what guarantee is there that, when once the fear of a Moslem alliance for defensive purposes is wholly gone, Sir Harry Johnston's vague exception "in regard to such religions or religious tenets as by international opinion are voted to be indefensibly cruel and harmful to human development" would not be applied to religious tenets of the Mussalmans which fail to secure the approval of Europe's changing fashions. According to Sir Harry, "somehow or other Jews and Christians have found a way of evading the trammels of their religious beliefs where they, in process of time, grew to be inconvenient or out of harmony with the enlargement of man's outlook and the firmly based revelations of science." But Islam has never pretended to be equally *à la mode* and whatever may happen to "man's outlook" or the "revelations of science" which supplant each other with bewildering rapidity, Mussalmans must hold fast the rope of Allah, trust in His unchanging and steady outlook, and shape their conduct according to the revelations of their religion, which are far more firmly based on the rock of Eternal Reason. Christendom has permitted the defecation of Christianity to a pure transparency, and has evaded even the trammels of an antinomian creed already made facile by the teaching of St. Paul. Many regard Mr. Rudyard Kipling as embodying in his powerful verse the spirit of the Christendom of to-day. But it is a European and a Christian who calls him three parts Pagan and only one part Christian. When the Imperialism of Mr. Kipling and the pan-Christianism of Sir Harry rule the world as the sole arbiters of its destiny, what chance is there for the Quran, which, in the opinion of Sir Harry, "was, like the book of Mormon, a kind of parody of the Old Testament?" Would any toleration be then shown for a religion in which, according to this advocate of European morals, "lustful man was to find for thirteen centuries a warrant for polygamy and an excuse for uncontrolled sexuality?" Do we not see already, though yet dimly, the unthinkable future in the words of the writer when he talks of "the intolerable seive of the narrow mentality of Muhammad, an illiterate, uneducated, bandit-mystic of the seventh century, A. C.?"

Prof. Margoliouth has done his worst in the vilest biography of the Prophet that has yet been written by a Christian to prove that in the character of the "bandit-mystic"—a phrase confessedly based on the Professor's researches—mysticism was a secondary feature and brigandage the main purpose of his life. He writes that "one mode of acquiring a living is open to the very poorest, when there is impunity ; and that is robbery," and adds that when persecuted by the Meccas he migrated to Medina, "even then he expected to have to fall back on plundering their caravans." According to him, the battle of Badr was a bandit's raid, and at Medina the Prophet was "at the head of a robber community." In the words of Sir Harry Johnston, "the appetite growing with the eating," Muhammad "sought to transform the successes of a bandit into the foundation of a kingdom." This line of reasoning is, of course, based on the Professor's own interpretation of the character of the Prophet of Islam. We have already quoted his summary of Muhammad's career, in which he is stated to have "founded an empire with a religious and political capital," and to have given to his followers "a rallying-point in their common religion and therein discovered a bond more permanent than a dynasty." This is the view of Sir Mortimer Durand's "knowledgeful interpreter of Islam," and so let it be. But if a being whom a sixth of mankind regards as immaculate and a paragon of virtue and humanity, and of whom three hundred million people can say with assurance,

"Whatever record leap to light,
He never shall be shamed,"

if such a being was a bandit and had put himself at the head of a robber community, then those who have inherited their predatory habits as well as mysticism from him shall not readily allow other and more cultured bandits to snatch away the booty. If the appetite grew with the eating thirteen hundred years ago, it has not grown so dull with the diminishing sustenance of the last two hundred years that it can now reconcile itself to the promise of complete starvation. If Mecca was then made the religious and political capital of Muhammad's empire, is it right to suppose that what the *Pioneer* promises so innocently would reconcile the Mussalmans to the sight of the Cross floating over the Sacred Stone? If the Prophet of Islam had given them a rallying-point in their common creed, are we to believe with that "friend" of the Mussalmans that "the unity of the Moslem world is a barefaced fiction"? If, in the faith of his followers Muhammad had discovered a bond more permanent than a dynasty, are we to understand that Professor Margoliouth is right, and an appeal to the Brotherhood of Islam is as futile as an appeal in cynical Europe to the Brotherhood of Man? To our mind Islam and Pan-Islamism are one and neither is aggressive and provoking. But even the proverbial worm turns, and those who calculate on the acquiescence of peaceful Mussalmans in every aggression on the part of Europe and Christendom seem to believe that human nature is one thing in a Christian and quite its contrary in a Moslem. So far as India is concerned, we have no faith in a conventional, passive loyalty, and shall ever work for an active devotion to a King that is the Sovereign Lord of seventy million Mussalmans of India no less than of the forty-five million Christians of Great Britain and Ireland. But only a perverse judgment would base loyalty on anything but a rational basis, and it is difficult to believe that the mentality of British statesmen has become so warped as to call up wantonly the spirits of mischief from the vasty deep. No doubt that clouds have darkened the horizon. But we are inveterate optimists, and our unalterable belief that the Unity of God has yet to prevail throughout the universe, and that the Message of Islam is still only partially delivered, makes us certain of the silver lining to these dismal clouds.

This hope brings us to an aspect of the matter which seems to have been wholly ignored. Islam has never encouraged a lacerating distinction between this world and the next, or between things temporal and things spiritual. It is the prayer of Islam that the Faithful may receive good in this world and good in the next, and just as every Moslem is, or, at least, can be, a missionary, so also Islam does not require Moslem kings to renounce the good things of the world, like the great Buddha, before they can become useful missionaries of Islam. According to the Moslem view, a strict adherence to the spiritual precepts of Islam would not only ensure to the pious salvation hereafter, but temporal power in this world also. Viewed in this light, the loss of temporal power would betray a want of religious piety, and conversely, the extension of Islam's spiritual influence is certain to bring it political predominance also. These aspects of Islamic belief have evidently escaped the notice of those of its friends and advisers who would encourage it in the continuance of schisms and give it the opiate of security for its spiritual influence. Who that has read the history of Turko-Persian struggles in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries can mistake the significance of the remark of Busbequius, Ferdinand's ambassador at the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, that "Tis only the Persian stands between us and ruin. The Turk would fain be upon us, but he keeps him back. This war with him affords us only a respite, not a deliverance." As for the soothing syrup of spirituality, it is a little strange that its dispensers should be those who call themselves the disciple of a Messiah who said that his was not the kingdom of this world.

To the Mussalmans we shall say that, in the words of Kiuprili and another Turkish Minister, the God who hath poised upon nothing Heaven and Earth and by Whose aid Islam has so long struggled not altogether unsuccessfully against its foes, will come to the assistance of the Mussalmans only if they will follow His dictates. Unconditional loyalty to a temporal sovereign accords ill with the hope of unconditional assistance from the source of all power, temporal no less than spiritual. One of the greatest truths of the Quran is that which the greatest leader of Indian Mussalmans prominently put before them throughout a long and arduous career. It is this: "God never changeth the state of a people unless they change it themselves." It is the old, old story of the camel and the confidence in God.

بر تو کل زانوئے اشتر بیند

(Tie up the camel's knee and trust it to God.) Cromwell, too, who very nearly approached a pious Mussalman in his ideals and actions, succeeded in attaining more than one "crowning grace" by making his Ironsides trust in God and keep their powder dry. It is this lesson that has to be taught to the Mussalmans painfully frequently all the world over.

Lest we forget ! Lest we forget !

I came across these two articles clipped from the Calcutta Comrade, the leading Moslem weekly in India and I thought that you might care to keep them as they give an insight into the educated Moslem attitude. An editorial in the Allahabad Pioneer was their occasion.

10th February '12

Stanley Arthur

The Comrade.

The Future of Islam.

I.

THERE are national and racial temperaments, as there are individual temperaments, which prefer the contemplation of life to living it. To such vague speculation concerning the future has a charm all its own, and while many a dainty rainbow-hued gossamer is spun by the philosophic brain of the optimist, many a dismal nightmare also leaves the pessimist with his chronic fit of "blues" more dejected than ever. Islam never encouraged that depth of contemplation which left the thinker too impotent to act. But, then, no religion has yet attained that universal sovereignty over the feelings and ideas of its believers which could make even occasional excursions into undesirable realms of thought an impossibility. The strange happenings of to-day in the world of Islam must be a great temptation to the pessimist to draw the gloomiest picture of the future of a once world-conquering creed and to give way to that dismal contemplation of what may be which paralyzes the power to determine what should be and shall. But beyond a certain lassitude in the work of collecting funds for the Moslem University, we see no signs of that paralysis in India, and speculation as to the future is not as rife as it might have been expected to be. However, the occasion for speculation has not been allowed to pass away in England, and two bitter opponents of Islam have come forward to enlighten the world about the character of Islam and, incidentally, about its future. In a previous issue we have dealt, though in a general way and far from exhaustively, with the views of Sir Harry Johnston, who seems to voice the hopes and fears of a large section of the Christians and of the British people, and now we have to notice the exposition of Pan-Islamism by Professor Margoliouth.

In noticing the Oxford Arabic Professor's dissertation on the question "Is Pan-Islamism a Power?", read before the Central Asian Society, in its issue of the 3rd instant in a leading article entitled "The Future of Islam," the *Pioneer* refers to Sir Harry Johnston as "by no means a friend of Islam in general." But its correspondent thinks that Professor Margoliouth's lecture "was in no sense an attack upon Islam as Syed Ameer Ali was inclined to think", and states that "Sir Mortimer Durand, presiding on the occasion, while sympathizing with the Right Honourable gentleman's spirited defence of Islam, emphatically supported Professor Margoliouth as in no sense an adverse critic but a knowledgeable interpreter of Islam."

We do not think that the personality of the interpreter matters very much when we have the interpretation itself to deal with. But when claims are put forward for the interpreters themselves by those who are disposed to agree with them, it is a clear rule of the law of evidence that such claims can be repudiated, and evidence rebutting friendly statements is admissible. As regards Sir Harry Johnston we need say little, for the late Governor of British Nigeria has fully established his claim to a description far more forcible than "by no means a friend of Islam in general" by his article in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, in which the Prophet of Islam has been called the bandit-mystic of Arabia. But many Mussalmans in India are still in the dark about the attitude of Professor Margoliouth towards Islam and its Prophet, and for their enlightenment we may mention that the learned Professor is anything but a devotee of "undenominationalism and indifferentism" which characterize so many eminent Christians in England and specially the *savants* of the country.

He is, we believe, an ordained clergyman, although he takes, so far as we know, no practical part as such in directing Christian worship. As his name indicates, he is of eastern extraction, and the knowledge of Arabic and other Semitic languages comes naturally to him. Besides other works, he is the author of a treatise on Islam which is not likely to commend itself to Moslem readers, and of a life of Muhammad published by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons in their well-known series of "Heroes of the Nations." The latter is perhaps the subtlest of attacks on the Apostle of Islam, for the Professor has studiously avoided the too apparent fanaticism and virulence which characterize most of the Christian indictments of Muhammad. But although he refers to the "confessedly Christian bias" of Sir William Muir, who wrote so skilful a life of the Prophet that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was compelled to write a most scholarly refutation thereof and publish it under the title of "Essays on the Life of Muhammad" (خطبات احمدیه) in order to save Moslem youths from influences designed to undermine their faith, Professor Margoliouth's own "Life" is far more dangerous. Under the cloak of the appreciation of "Muhammad as a great man, who solved a political problem of appalling difficulty,—the construction of a state and an empire out of the Arab tribes", and of doing justice to "his

intellectual ability" and observing towards him "the respectful attitude which his greatness deserves," Professor Margoliouth has hidden, though not always successfully, a worse Christian bias than Sir William Muir's, and in the praise of the hero has sought to kill the prophet. There is an insidious undercurrent running throughout the book and the virus is skilfully mixed in every page. But the following extract, though somewhat long, which relates the events of the last days of the Prophet and his fatal illness, would give a much better idea of the Professor's attitude towards the Apostle of God than any words of our own:—

The journey from Medina to Mecca . . . appears this time to have been more than the Prophet's strength could support; and he is said to have felt signs of ill-health immediately after his return . . . It would appear that his mind became somewhat unhinged because of his illness; at dead of night, it is said, a fit took him to go out to the cemetery called Al-Baki'; and ask forgiveness for the dead who were buried there. This indeed he had done before; Ayesha once followed him like a detective when he started out at night, supposing him to be bent on some amour: but his destination she found was the graveyard . . . There he raised his hand to heaven and interceded for the dead in a lengthy prayer, after which he congratulated them on being better off than those who remained behind. He then returned to Ayesha who complained of a headache; he also complained of one in answer and asked Ayesha whether it would not be better for her if she died first, since she would have the advantage of having her obsequies performed by the Prophet of God; to which she retorted that he would also be able on returning to instal a fresh bride. He then spent the night restlessly wandering over his harem till he collapsed in the chamber of Maimunah; whence he begged to be transferred to the chamber of the favourite Ayesha. Thither he was carried in a high fever, by some of his relations or followers . . . It appears to be certain that he fell ill on a Thursday and died on a Monday . . . The length of time occupied by the fever is uncertain; but probably it was not more than five days. There is nothing surprising in a man of over sixty succumbing to a fever. But his collapse may have been helped by his excesses, or (as many thought) by the poison of the Jewess of Khaybar; or by his belief that water could not be contaminated, whence he drank unhesitatingly from a well that served as a sink; or finally by the anxieties of royalty . . . His political work was not left half finished at his death: he had founded an empire with a religious and political capital, he had made a nation of a loose agglomeration of tribes. He had given them a rallying-point in their common religion, and therein discovered a bond more permanent than a dynasty . . . Twenty-three years had transferred him from his shop in Mecca to the throne of an empire which threatened to engulf the world . . . He held that chances must not be thrown away, and while regularly profiting by other men's scruples, allowed no scruples between him and success.

This long extract would at least serve to show how far the Professor—who is more fitted for the task of compiling a *chronique scandaleuse* than the life of a Prophet whose faith is the consolation of a sixth, at least, of the whole human race—has observed towards him "the respectful attitude which his greatness deserves," and what sort of justice Islam can expect from its latest "knowledgeful interpreter." What but a perverse mind could give currency to an insinuation so senseless and vicious as the one which contrasts so violently with the solemn and affecting scene in the graveyard?

In dealing with Pan-Islamism Professor Margoliouth turns to Syed Rashid, Editor of *Al-Manar*, for "a definition of the somewhat difficult word." We should have thought that those who had coined the "difficult word" would also be the persons best able to give it a suitable "definition." But in the topsy-turvydom of modern politics it is the editor of a rather detached literary and ethical magazine of Cairo who is the last refuge of those whose equanimity is disturbed by a bogey of their own creation. As for the "definition" itself, it is the strangest of its kind. According to Syed Rashid, Pan-Islamism "is a phantasm abstracted from the Moslem profession of religious fraternity and magnified by the European imagination, while it is embraced by Moslems owing to their supposed need of it." "The Syed adds," continued Professor Margoliouth, "that both the fears of the Europeans and the hopes of the Moslems on this subject are futile because as a matter of fact phantasms do not materialize." If anything so vague can be called a "definition", then the definition of "definition" itself would have to undergo material alteration. But as the opinion of an enlightened Mussalman about the bogey of Christian Europe, the quotation from Syed Rashid is entitled to respect and consideration. All the same, the strangeness of the so-called definition, which the Professor accepts, is not lessened by the fact that, according to him, "the personage who is credited with originating the pan-Islamic idea is the Afghan, Muhammad Jamal-ud-din", and that Syed Rashid himself is "the one who may claim to be doing most to carry out Jamal-ud-din's ideas." If the Editor of *Al-Manar* "has shouted himself hoarse in proclaiming the unity of Moslems", and if "the eminent reformer," according to the *Pioneer*, is the chief apostle of one kind of Pan-Islamism, "a comparatively sedate and probably impracticable movement for softening differences between Muhammadan sects and creating increased religious unity among Moslems throughout the world," then we may well believe that his utterance about the futility of Moslem hopes and about phantasms never materializing is the pathetic wail of one who ardently believes in that "phantasm" himself, but whose saddening experience in a far from ideal world makes him despondent.

Him who destroyed the People of the Elephant and made them like a chewed blade of corn? This time it is the assailants of the Ka'ba that have a sort of *lair* (bird) on their side and the stones that it can drop are more potent than those of the earth. But the resources of Heaven are not limited, nor is it always neutral. And it is only to the unbelieving and the cowardly that Heaven appears to be on the side of bigger battalions.

WE HAD announced some time ago that by arrangement with the Gramophone Company at Calcutta we had requested a young gentleman from Aligarh to sing Dr. Iqbal's famous Ode for the Company with a view to the manufacture of Gramophone records of the same, on the sale of each of which the Company had contracted to pay a royalty of As. 6 to the Moslem University. We have now to announce that up to the end of the year 1911, only 388 such records had been sold, and the Company has paid us Rs. 145-8-0 which have been duly forwarded to Mr. S. Sultan Ahmad, the Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Moslem University Fund. Although every additional pice contributed to the fund gives us pleasure, we must say we do not find it in our heart to rejoice over this small contribution, for it is far below our expectations. We have advertised the records regularly since they were placed on the market, and it will not perhaps be amiss if we say that the actual cost to us of printing the advertisement has far exceeded the royalties paid to the University. Other papers have done the same and continue to do so, but the response of the purchasers is feeble to a degree. It is not altogether a charity, for the record, which is available at every branch of the Gramophone Company, and can in any case be obtained direct from their Calcutta Head Office, is excellent. As for the Ode itself, it is above our praise. Its popularity is such that it must have been repeated a hundred thousand times a day in India during the last few months. We should have thought that a thing of beauty, which, thanks to the gramophone, also happens to be a joy for ever, would have created a demand far beyond the capacity of supply. But it now appears painfully evident that lovers of Indian music, who crowded at the doors of the Theatre at the Allahabad Exhibition a year ago, are not equally keen in bidding for a pearl without a price.



The Recent Changes and the Mussalmans.

BY HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E.

THE recent changes came so suddenly that it is not strange that the Mussalman public should have hesitated in deciding how it should receive them. That they will have considerable effect on Islam's future destiny in India is an evident truism. Yet I doubt if there be a single individual, outside the small circle of the authors of these changes, who has not passed through different emotions since he heard the royal announcement.

I, for one, however, after a careful consideration of every aspect of the question have come to the conclusion that the Mussalmans do not lose anything of consequence, while India as a whole and the Empire will gain considerably. The gain of India must be the gain of the Mussalmans of India, provided no direct Moslem interest is attacked. We must take the changes *seriatim*, look at their probable results, and determine how India, and then the Mussalmans of India, will be benefited, or otherwise, by each. The change of capital in itself will have the great advantage for Mussalmans of bringing the Government of India nearer to the centres of Moslem intellectual activity and to the most virile portions of the Moslem community in India. It will, in the next place, bring the Viceroy nearer to the Moslem University, an institution in the welfare of which as the Chancellor of the University he is directly interested. For India as a whole it will be a great gain that the seat of Government should be, so to speak, in a neutral and central position, and removed from any great section of people or province that may have interests of its own not identical with or always friendly to those of other equally great and important sections of people or provinces. For Calcutta, with its great commerce, and tapping as it does the richest "Hinterland" of Southern Asia, it cannot be anything more than the loss of the social attractions of Government House.

Then comes the undoing of the Partition. No doubt the Mussalmans were in a distinct majority in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and this unique position is now lost. But looking at the position of Islam in India as a whole, I doubt if it will be

found that it was a good thing to be in a clear majority in one province and a minority in almost every other. The disadvantages of such a situation are obvious. Islam in India is one and indivisible. It is the duty of a Moslem to look not only to the immediate interests of his own locality but to those of his co-religionists as a whole. But if we look upon it from a still wider point of view as Indians, we shall find that the old Partition had deeply wounded, and not unnaturally, the sentiments of the great Bengali-speaking millions of India. Anything that permanently alienates and offends the sentiments or interests of millions of Indians, be they Moslem or Hindu, is undoubtedly in itself an undesirable thing and should not only be avoided by the Government but also opposed by all communities of India. Viewed in this light, the undoing of the Partition which has satisfied the great Bengali-speaking people ought to be in itself a cause of congratulation for all Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, and I think we should all be deeply grateful to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for this great act of statesmanship which has removed a grievance from one important section of His Majesty's Indian subjects. From the point of view of the greater good of India and the Empire, the removal of the capital and the undoing of the Partition, or, rather, the creation of two new Provinces, have been masterstrokes of statesmanship.

But there still remains the question of the real needs of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam. These needs can all be summed up in one word,—“Education.” However, since Lord Hardinge's Government has promised a University for Dacca—a University that we most sincerely hope will be a teaching and residential one—I doubt if there is left unredressed any real grievance of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, provided, of course, that the new Government of Bengal sees to it that the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 are carried out both in the spirit and the letter. For with facilities for education provided in that province, the Mussalmans can raise themselves to a position in which it will be impossible for anyone to deprive them of what is rightly their due. Some have no doubt asserted that the new University will perhaps compete with the great Moslem University at Aligarh. Nothing could be more absurd. For the great Moslem University is to be a central residential institution for the *élite* of the community, while the other is to help forward all those who might be left behind in the race of life by the supersession of Dacca by Calcutta. Competition between two such different institutions would be as absurd as a race between a bird and a fish. Calcutta and India as a whole will also gain educationally, for no university can be really efficient that has to cater for a population of over 100 millions and rush through more than 8,000 examinations. It must necessarily become mechanical.

So resuming the facts, we can put the gains as a neutral and central capital, the satisfaction of the sentimental grievance of the great Bengali nation, and the protection of the only real interest of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal. The loss comes to be limited to the loss of the social importance of Calcutta, but neither the loss of its trade nor of its prosperity.

Under these circumstances, I feel it my undoubted duty to advise my co-religionists to welcome the changes and be grateful to the Government that has initiated them. The need for this is all the greater since the Mussalmans will thus show their real and sincere sympathy with their Hindu brethren of Bengal and their readiness to respect Hindu and Bengali sentiment. Are not the feelings animating the promoters of the Hindu and Moslem University schemes those of fraternal and healthy rivalry? And above all, by working for the success of these great changes loyally, wholeheartedly and without any *arrière pensées*, Moslems will best prove their loyal devotion to their gracious and beloved Sovereign, the King-Emperor, and their loyal appreciation of the sympathetic Government of Lord Hardinge that has removed the great sentimental grievance of the Bengalis and has yet protected, by promising a University at Dacca, all the real interests of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal.

In India, too, and we believe elsewhere also in the Moslem World, there are similar, though far too few, ardent spirits that are devoted to the pursuit of Syed Rashid's formula of the spiritual unity of Islam. They look forward, possibly more hopefully, to a future when sectarian differences would be so far softened that doctrinal differences such as those of the Shiah and the Sunnis—the believers in the infallibility of a spiritual guide (*Imam*) and the dissenters that consider all men other than prophets fallible, but permit individual interpretation (*Qiyas*), while guiding their conduct according to the consensus of opinion among the faithful (*Ijma'-i-Ummat*)—would not be a bar to co-operation in working out the temporal salvation of all Mussalmans. Such a desire is far from that “undenomination-alism and indifferentism” by which alone, according to Professor Margoliouth, “the specific differences of Islam can be glozed over.” The Professor has a most ingenious argument wherewith to commend to its followers the existing state of affairs in Islam and its sectarian divisions. “It is absurd to suppose,” says the Reverend Professor, “that a religious bond can be strengthened by thinning the strands which make it up..... That form of Government is best suited to men's religious needs which permits the greatest exuberance of religious variety, which, so to speak, admits of the exactest accommodation of the spiritual medicine to the individual soul Co-operation between units is necessary for the existence of a nation, but religion is the concern of the individual mind.” According to Sir Harry Johnston, on the other hand, “the only hope of the raising of the peoples now Muhammadan to absolute equality, intellectual and social, with the leading Christian Peoples lies in the ‘defecation of Islam to a pure transparency.’” It would thus seem that while one physician would kill the Moslem World slowly with the disease, the other would do the same more expeditiously with the remedy.

Whatever the motives of the physicians, one of them, at least, does not seemingly possess true knowledge of the temperament and the constitution of the patient. Islam is not only a creed but also a social polity, and the bond of Islam, however enfeebled by narrow schisms, still binds three hundred million people of different races, colours and countries as no other bond in the world's long history has yet done; and the sharp contrast between “religion” and “nation” which Professor Margoliouth draws has not the same application to Islam as to Christianity. The young Under Secretary of State for India is, we must admit, a better exponent of its extra-territorial patriotism than the Oxford *savant*. We can, therefore, take leave of this self-constituted spiritual adviser of the Moslem World with little regret, and commend to the Mussalmans a return to that spiritual unity of which the early days of Islam have given the world an attractive, even if also a far too fleeting glimpse. It was only a couple of months ago that Dr. Muhammad Iqbal declared in the strongest possible terms, and in the compelling accents of sincerity, his belief that Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple rationalism purge it of the dross of superstition as well as of godless materialism. And shortly afterwards, our contemporary, the *Zamindar*, has published his “Prayer,” which must be echoed by all Moslems who have the faith that moves mountains.

یارب دل مسلم کو وہ زندہ تمنا دے
جو قلب کو گرما دے جو روح کو تریا دے
پھر وادی فاران کے ہر ذرہ کو چمکا دے
پھر شوق تماشا دے پھر ذوق تقاضا دے
محروم تماشا کو پھر دیدہ بینا دے
دیکھا ہے جو کچھ مین نے اورون کو بھی دکھلا دے
بہتکے ہوئے آہو کو پھر سوئے حرم لے چل
اس شہر کے خوگر کو پھر وسعت صحرا دے
آتش منشی جسکی کانتون کو جلا ڈالے
اس باد یہ پیما کو وہ آبلہ پا دے
پیدا دل ویران مین پھر شورش محشر کر
اس محمل خالی کو پھر شاہد لیلا دے
اس دور کی ظلمت مین ہر قلب پریشان کو
وہ داغ محبت دے جو چاند کو شرما دے
رفعت مین مقاصد کو ہم دوش ثریا کر
خود داری ساحل دے آزادئی دریا دے
بے لوث محبت ہو بے باک صداقت ہو
سیفون مین اُجالا کر دل صورت مینا دے
احساس عنایت کر آثار مصیبت کا
امروز کی شورش مین اندیشہ فردا دے
مین بلبل نالان ہوں ایک اجڑے گلستان کا
تائیر کا سایل ہوں محتاج کو داتا دے

Who knows that this brilliant young man, Doctor of Philosophy and Poet, may yet prove that the “phantasm” which Syed Rashid has not been able to “materialize” may not still be a reality, that the denizen of the town may not yet achieve the vastness of the desert, that all those who, like the modern Qais of Nejd who lives a recluse in Cairo, cry themselves hoarse in praying for spiritual unity may not yet discover their Leilla in the inmost recesses of their hearts? When others are troubled by the strange and disturbing succession of events in the political world, this true Moslem does not forget the real spiritual needs of his co-religionists, and prays that the danger of the morrow may be realized in the unrest of the day. Who knows that the تائیر which Syed Rashid with his college of missionaries has not yet attained may not come to the eloquently persuasive poet for the mere asking?

The Aga Khan on the Recent Changes.

WE HAVE no doubt that the views of His Highness the Aga Khan on the recent changes, which we are happy to publish elsewhere, will be read with that attention and command that respect which his intellectual gifts no less than his unique position have earned for them through a brilliant public career in recent times. Those who come in contact with His Highness cannot fail to be impressed by his breadth of view and intellectual charm which remind one in a manner of Lord Roseberry. They are a good corrective of the narrowing tendencies of party politics and journalistic polemics and it will be difficult to overrate their value.

We would earnestly commend to the Mussalmans his view, that “the gain of India must be the gain of the Mussalmans, provided no direct Moslem interest is attacked.” This is, of course, nothing new; but in the heat of controversy a truism is only too often neglected as obsolete and old-fashioned. On the other hand, we would like other communities also to remember that the gain of the Mussalmans is not the loss of India unless some great and universal interest of the country is thereby sacrificed. Where people are apt to be misled by party prejudice or ignorance of reality is that what is claimed for the nation so often becomes, when achieved, the privilege of a few or the private perquisite of a caste. We trust the magnanimity of the Aga Khan's view that the satisfaction “of the great Bengali-speaking people ought to be in itself a cause of congratulation for all Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans” would be appreciated throughout the country and hasten that unity which every friend of this country must wholeheartedly desire. It may, no doubt, be said that minorities can ill afford to be too magnanimous. But it must also be remembered that it is only the poor that are really charitable, and if the Mussalmans give the first proof of a noble spirit, so much the more creditable to them. But we would insist that there should be no sham charity, no cant of magnanimity, but the genuine article itself. The Mussalmans must show, not once nor twice, but frequently, that they make no virtue of necessity, and are sincerely and without secret reservations prepared to go a long way to meet the Hindus. If they cannot find it in their heart to do so, they shall not only be sacrificing sincerity, but also depriving themselves of the dignity which a community such as theirs must greatly prize.

As regards the recent changes, we have never disguised our strong disapproval of the procedure adopted by Government. Much can undoubtedly be said on behalf of the Government, but more can be said against them. The times are gone when everything could safely be done for the people and nothing by them. With the increase of education the self-confidence of the people has also increased, and the spirit of the Arab saying : نحن رجال وهم رجال (We are men and they are men), is the spirit not only of the non-official European community, but of educated Indians as well. The progress of social and political intercourse, in spite of its snail's pace, has increased the friendliness of the people towards their rulers. But increased familiarity has robbed the latter of much of their superstitious solemnity and public men are no longer content to say with Hafiz :—

امور مملکت خویش خسروان دانند

(Rulers alone understand the affairs of their dominions). Government is no longer an Isis hid by the veil, although the loss of a dreadful divinity is more than made up by the gain of humanity. We believe that the financial interests of Government could have been protected even otherwise than by the secrecy observed by the authors of the change of Capital, and the argument that a public discussion of the changes would have given rise to endless controversy betrays a disproportionate assessment of the dangers of controversy and of the value of the co-operation of the rulers and the ruled. But whatever may be said for the Government's procedure regarding the changes announced at Delhi, there is not a vestige of argument in favour of the secrecy observed as regards the “boon” announced at Dacca. It is indeed

strange that when in England both Liberals and Conservatives are becoming discontented with the secrecy of the Foreign Office, we in India should be expected to reconcile ourselves to the methods of diplomacy in the settlement of the country's internal affairs. It was not an enviable frame of mind in which Macbeth resolved that,

"The flighty purpose never is o'ertook,
Unless the deed go with it; from this moment,
The firstlings of my heart shall be
The firstlings of my hand."

As regards the merits of the changes, we are disposed to agree in the main with the views of H. H. the Aga Khan about the transfer of the Capital, though we shall not minimise the immediate loss that would be suffered by the owners of house property in Calcutta who could have reasonably counted on the prescription of a century and a half. But the gain to India as a whole far exceeds the loss, and so far as the Mussalmans of India are concerned they have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

As regards the undoing of the Partition, however, are we to believe with His Highness that the old Partition was a mere sentimental grievance? The Government of India, at any rate, do not say so, and although they have failed to specify the reasons why the Hindus of Bengal—not *all* the Bengali-speaking people—opposed it so vehemently, we have reason to believe that Government know them as well as we do. And however natural the opposition, are we sure that it is silenced now, and that the sentiments and interests which were then permanently alienated and offended are now satisfied and placated for ever? In 1905, the old Bengal and Assam were given two Lieutenant-Governors instead of a Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Commissioner. In 1911, they get a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Commissioner. In 1905, they still had a single High Court, but after the announcement of 1911, it is certain that they will have two. In 1905, they had a single University, but in 1912 they get two, and there is every hope that in a few more years the loyal and sturdy Beharis, who now happen to be backward also, will ask, and rightly so, for a third. Our opinion of the Hindus of Bengal will certainly be wholly falsified if these "boons" will be received in the spirit of unqualified thankfulness. On the contrary, the fear is—and we sincerely wish we may be proved to be a false prophet—that most of the reasons, weighty if also selfish, which masqueraded as "the sentiments of the great Bengali-speaking millions of India" may still remain alienated and offended, and that more deeply even if less openly, while the success achieved in the ripping up of one "settled fact" may encourage their leaders to work for another and a still greater triumph. Should things turn out as His Highness the Aga Khan seems to predict, Lord Hardinge and his colleagues would have earned the gratitude of the whole of India, and we hope and believe the Mussalmans would not then betray a narrowness which is foreign to their traditions. But we must wait and see, and we trust that those who have now decided upon the undoing of the Partition have a good deal of the spirit of those who do good by stealth and blush to find it fame. All the same, in spite of the advice of Polonius to Laertes, "never a borrower or a lender be," we are prepared to give the Government a fairly long credit of gratitude, and it rests with the Hindus of Bengal rather than with Mussalmans whether our draft will be honoured by the people's bank.

We fully agree with His Highness the Aga Khan that the real needs of the Mussalmans can be summed up in one word—"Education." But it is difficult to believe that the only form which the assistance of the Government to the Mussalmans of Bengal could have taken was the promised University at Dacca. While we are prepared to judge the gift on its merits, we are surprised that if this is the sole panacea for all the ills of Eastern Bengal, it did not occur to the Government during the six years when Eastern Bengal had a separate Local Government, and that it should have been carried out so suddenly just at the time when the costly buildings erected at Dacca needed an occupant. Is it so easy to get rid of the feeling which underlies the verse of Ghalib?

جب میکده چہتا تو پھر اب کیا جگہ کی قدر
مسجد ہو مدرسہ ہو کوئی خانقاہ ہو

(When the tavern is deserted, what matters the place? It may be a mosque, a school, or the abode of the saints.) We are ready to accept that Eastern Bengal is not always fairly treated by the University of Calcutta and that Moslem educational interests would be better safeguarded by a University at Dacca and by the retention of the post of its Director of Public Instruction. But what guarantee is there that when the Government did not safeguard these interests in the Calcutta University in spite of the plenary powers which they possess under the Universities Act, they would adequately safeguard them in the Dacca University? What the Mussalmans need is more liberal State assistance for poor but deserving Mussalman students and larger grants-in-aid to such institutions as attract Mussalman boys and girls. Another University does not necessarily guarantee all this; and even a Director at Dacca is not

free from influences to which the Director at Calcutta has only too often succumbed.

But beggars cannot be choosers. The gift horse must not be examined too closely and the most servicable animal is one's own shanks' mare. The Hon. Chaudhri Mohamed Ismail Khan has set an excellent example to his co-religionists, and we hope that instead of grumbling the Mussalmans would emulate his praiseworthy policy of self-help and self-reliance. We still believe that neither the Mussalmans of Western Bengal nor those of Eastern Bengal are so poor that they cannot found and maintain a first grade residential college at Calcutta and another at Dacca, and if they do so they will be better able to give to the Government an opportunity of proving in an unmistakable manner their desire to give adequate encouragement to Moslem education. Had the Government at this juncture followed the policy to which the Sanscrit College owes its existence and prosperity, and reformed and enlarged the Madrassas at Calcutta and Dacca, all would have been well. Since they have not done so, the Mussalmans should themselves attempt the more difficult task which we have suggested, and urge the Government to devote half the expenditure incurred by it on higher education out of public revenues as grants-in-aid to the proposed Moslem Colleges. In the meantime, the Mussalmans are too hungry to spurn half a loaf because a full loaf is denied to them, and they must accept the Dacca University and the Dacca Director with the gratitude that is really shown only by the meek in spirit.

As regards the effect of this "boon" on the proposed Moslem University—alas! still "proposed"—if the Dacca University cannot be a rival, it can much less be a substitute. The Mussalmans must have the direction of their secondary and higher education in their own hands, and this can only be effected by a University at Aligarh controlled by the Mussalmans themselves—though subject to the general supervision of Government—and with ramifications throughout India. So far as the Government have hitherto spoken out their mind, they do not seem to relish the idea of the Moslem University affiliating even efficient residential institutions outside Aligarh though conducted on Aligarh lines. Would the creation of a University at Dacca directly controlled by Government make it any easier for the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal to affiliate a College of their own to the University at Aligarh? Again, is there no fear that local Moslem charity, which Mussalmans cannot afford to make a local or provincial monopoly, may be altogether diverted from Aligarh to Dacca? Moreover, would not the favourite argument of the opponents of the Moslem University, that across their system it would cut its own deep ruts, and that it would break up or injure the territorial University, be repeated with still greater bitterness when Bengal has two Universities than when it has only one? And then, if Dacca, thanks to its untenanted Secretariat, is to have a residential and teaching University, will not the Moslem University be depreciated in value because one of its distinguishing features will cease to be part of its *differentia*? These are questions that must be considered carefully before the sceptics can be convinced that Aligarh has nothing to fear from Dacca. The race between the bird and the fish of His Highness the Aga Khan's simile no doubt appears absurd. But if instead of a race we think of a meal, the appetite satiated by the *chingri* may not be whetted even at the sight of roast fowl.

Aligarh cannot certainly satisfy all the educational needs of Moslem India, specially on account of the tremendous distances. But Aligarh cannot rigidly be confined to the *élite*, nor should we attach too much importance to mere distance. All roads at one time led to Baghdad, as they did to Rome, and there were no mail trains annihilating distances in those days, nor was the Imperialistic ticket-collector the only bit of nuisance on the roadside. And many a doctor and divine of Islam was the poor man's son who studied borrowed manuscripts under the lamp of a mosque or the passing torches of aristocratic cavalcades. Practical difficulties are bound to make Aligarh in the main the centre of the *élite* of Islam, but hitherto Aligarh has done more to help the indigent Moslems even in outlying provinces than local State assistance, and it will indeed be an evil day if Aligarh, when it attains its full stature, forgets its past traditions and belies the fair promise of its childhood. We are sure that H. H. the Aga Khan would be the last person to suggest anything of the kind, and that is why we felt it necessary to correct a possible misapprehension. So much for education.

But although education, more education, and better education is the ultimate remedy for all Moslem ills, Mussalmans have their immediate needs no less than other communities, and these cannot be ignored. While the root malady that has undermined the constitution of the patient has got to be attacked, and none but a quack would neglect it, at a time when the patient appears to be sinking, immediate remedies, restoratives, and even artificial respiration, cannot be dispensed with. It is true that a Moslem majority in one province could not avail the Moslem minority of other provinces very much. But a majority even in one province is not a valueless possession, and if it has got to be acquired even for public purposes and is readily relinquished, it is by no means necessary that a present should be made of the compensation as well.

The Indian Witness.

EDWARD G. SAUNDERSON,
Editor.

Calcutta, Thursday, January 23rd, 1908

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Editorial

The Indian Congress, Old and New

The old Congress is dead. The new has scarcely begun. For nearly a quarter of a century from time to time men supposed to be leaders have come together to talk of matters concerning the good of the people of India. It was as near to being a representative body as any that met in India; though it was not really representative in the Western way, as there was no regular constituency, no general election, nor any method of selecting the members that corresponded to Western standards. Associations of people here and there chose their representatives, it is true, but the Congress was without a constitution, and was very largely a voluntary body. But it did to a degree represent the sentiment of the better educated portion of the people of the land.

For weeks past the public have been hearing of differences between the moderates and extremists among those in charge of the arrangements for the then approaching Congress. The force of this contention will be better understood when it is remembered that the committees had not only to arrange a place of meeting, but to nominate a chairman and arrange for topics, resolutions and the like. Thus in a way the Congress was not a meeting for free, untrammelled discussion and resolutions; but ordinarily, for the ratification of a programme practically prepared in advance. Finally the place of meeting was changed from Nagpur to Surat, and a man selected for chairman.

The next distinct note of the storm that was brewing was the attempt in Calcutta by public meeting to induce the President-nominate, Dr. Ghose, to resign in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. The meeting was held, moderates protested, the resolutions were adopted and all effort made to secure the desired result. But the direct aim was frustrated by Lajpat Rai refusing to be considered for the place, and threatening not to go to the Congress at all if the idea was pressed.

Then came the bursting of the storm at Surat. Accounts differ. Each party puts the blame on the other. Certain it is that after the seating of Dr. Ghose as chairman a disturbance began which ended in the police clearing the hall, and the ending of the old Congress.

It is of little moment now whether there was blame to both parties or not. The moderates were in control. They were decidedly in the majority. The extremists insisted on concessions as the price of peace. Whether they were right in claiming that their rights were disregarded, or whether they were unreasonable and extravagant in their demands and insurrectionary in their methods, the result is the same. The significant fact remains that there was such a disturbance of the peace, and that the police interfered and ended the meeting.

The completeness of the breach between the parties is shown by the fact that no serious attempt seems to have been made to patch up a peace and go on with the meeting and the congress. Each party held its own meeting subsequently and adopted its resolutions. In

neither case were these the resolutions prepared for the regular meeting. Each group seemed not to consider itself as the regular Congress or as prepared to assume that it could perpetuate the old organization. The nearest approach to this was the action of the moderates, who adopted resolutions looking practically to a new Congress selected and organized on lines laid down in the resolutions.

The essential difference between the two groups is fairly represented by the two names they have chosen for themselves. The moderates call themselves Constitutionalists, and declare that the goal at which they aim politically is self-government on colonial lines within the Empire, which goal is to be attained by agitation and other action within constitutional limits. The other party call themselves Nationalists, and aim frankly at independence, without waiting to say very clearly within what limits they are prepared to confine their efforts to that end.

Just what the Nationalists are prepared to do in promoting their avowed object can be easily deducted from their conduct at Surat. Taking their own account of the disturbance and the causes which led up to it, it is clear that, when denied a hearing for one of their number who proposed to oppose the carrying out of the programme adopted for the meeting, he and the rest of his party were prepared to use force in attempting to secure the hearing he desired, even to the length of destroying the meeting and the Congress itself. The trite expression, rule or ruin, describes their attitude. Nothing for which the Congress stood was too sacred to be sacrificed to their ends. To say the least, their methods were revolutionary, whether their object was or not. It is not usual for intelligent men to use revolution except for revolutionary purposes. Children sometimes do.

This lays bare the alarming fact and feature of the event. There is in India a body of men which went about the forcing of their ideas upon a majority of their fellows by revolutionary means. These same people and their sympathizers who were not at Surat, and such others as they may be able to induce to see matters as they see them may be depended upon to make as much mischief and disturbance as they can in the country at large and to do their utmost to embarrass both their law-abiding and constitutionally-proceeding fellow-countrymen, and the Government in all efforts for the improvement of the condition of the people and the advance of self-government on constitutional lines. Those who have spared not the Indian National Congress will spare nothing in their personal ambition and revolutionary purposes.

The extent to which they may be able to carry on their mischief-making will depend on their methods. If they are foolhardy enough to be as open elsewhere as they were at Surat soon they will be guilty of such overt acts as will put them beyond the protection and under the power of the law, and their power for evil will be speedily reduced to a minimum. Should they be shrewd enough to keep within the limits of the law they can make much mischief by secret, tacit and unscrupulous ways, sowing discord and strife, if not open rebellion.

The fact is clearly demonstrated that there is a seditious faction in the country, revolutionary in spirit, without sufficient intelligence, self-restraint and regard for others to understand that they would be wiser to keep on terms with their own fellows in the Congress, and unscrupulous and to the means they adopt to bring about their ends. That these men are intelligent in an intellectual way no one doubts. That they have good judgment as to the best methods to promote their desired ends few will agree. That they have moral sense and a proper regard for the rights of others no well-balanced man believes. The fact to be remembered by all concerned is that this element, with all its weaknesses, defects, and dangerous elements is in the country and must be reckoned with.

On the other hand, the cause of India's advance has been splendidly served by the occurrences at Surat. The very unmasking of the true character of the self-styled Nationalists is itself a thing to be desired. Their power for evil is partly destroyed by the attitude they have assumed and by the light in which they now stand. Only the ignorant will hereafter be deceived by them. The unselfishly patriotic of their fellow-countrymen and all others concerned know now just where to find the Nationalists.

The Constitutionalists have served their country well in being firm in refusing to agree to resolutions that breathed of sedition and in defining their goal and method as being within the constitution of the British Empire. They do well in another particular. We understand that it is proposed to adopt a constitution for the Congress, and to make it much more truly a representative body. This is very wise. They have the opportunity now to carry out a suggestion made in these columns some time ago. If it were proposed to-morrow to give India the largest possible degree of self-government it would be absolutely necessary to limit the franchise to those who were intelligent enough and loyal enough to use it properly. The Constitutionalists have defined their position as to the end and method of their efforts. Let them establish a franchise on the basis of loyalty to that end and those methods, and a proper degree of intelligence for the use of the franchise. Let an enrollment of such men be made and a public election be held to select the representatives to the future Congresses. Thus will come at once a test, a drill and a demonstration. An India National Congress, made up of men elected by intelligent and loyal Indians, without respect to religion or caste, making wise recommendations for the public good, supporting and promoting general popular education and industrial development, would be a power in India and in the councils of the British Empire.

The lesson for all true lovers of the people of this land is clear. The destructive element must be recognized, reckoned with and opposed. All constructive elements must work together for the best and most rapid development of the people in all ways that make for personal living that is worth while and for such mutual regard and respect as will insure peaceful community life. Social ethics must be taught. The seditious agitator will find his opportunity among the ignorant or the intellectually

quicken who have not learned to love their neighbours as themselves. The fusing, subduing, uplifting, inspiring influences of the truth and grace of the Son of God must be given to all the people.

No lingering remnant of doubt can remain in the mind of any that the old days are past, when India dreamed away the days and slept away the nights. For good or ill, we are launched into a new era. The situation has been cleared by the storm at Surat. Sinister forces are unmasked and defined. Constructive needs and opportunities are revealed. The friends and enemies of India among her own sons stand in different groups and can be located. Danger is minimized by being located and exposed. Never was there a brighter day for India, provided those who see act with proper discretion and energy. The Christian opportunity and duty were never so large and imperative as now.

A Defective Analysis

The *Indian Standard* seems to think that there are only two policies possible for Missions and Churches in India or any other mission field. The one is to perpetuate at least indefinitely the close relation of the new churches organized on the mission field as parts of the denomination sending out the Mission. The other is to keep distinct from the first the function, organization and operation of Church and Mission. Conclusions based on a defective analysis are apt to be erroneous; into such error the *Standard* falls when it says:—

Quite manifestly there are two ideals contending for the mastery in Indian Mission circles at the present time. There is the ideal which is favoured by our Methodist brethren—that of a great Western Church spreading itself by means of its missionaries over the whole heathen world, counting its converts by thousands, and expecting from them loyalty to the particular standards that are revered at Home. And there is the ideal favoured by the Presbyterians of a great Indian Church, gathering into itself all the groups of converts of the various missions and welding them into a national Church with as complete freedom as may be from the shibboleths of the West, and with a polity and church life indigenous to the soil. The former is a fascinating picture for Western missionaries, exalting, as it does, their own particular branch of the Church universal, and making their tiny Missions important as contributories to its greatness in the eyes of the world; but the latter is a truer and more spiritual ideal and we do not doubt but that it will conquer in the end.

We publish an extract from the *Kaukab-i-Hind*, to which our attention has been called by a Methodist friend as containing a clearer statement of their position than that hitherto attained by the INDIAN WITNESS. The demand is for federation of Missions before union of Churches. But is that not to defer the question of union to the Greek Kalends? For the Missions represent various Western nationalities, with deep-seated historical differences and idiosyncrasies that cannot easily be composed. Has it not been in the past most difficult to get some Missions to adopt the ordinary rules of comity with any heartiness? But the Indian Churches, within each area, which we are anxious to unite, contain, as a rule, converts from the same classes of the people, between whom there is a natural disposition to unite, along with a complete ignorance of the points of difference that keep the padri sahibs apart. By all means let us aim at federation of Missions, but while we are trying, on an Indian soil, to adjust differences that belong to a quite different continent, let us for God's sake encourage all who are brethren in Christ in the same district to organize themselves in one great living Church. Does any man among us really believe that it is in harmony with the mind of Christ that in one town there should be six separate companies of believers all looking askance upon one another, and named by our poor Western names of Methodist and Baptist and Presbyterian and what not instead of six branches of one Indian Church Council or Presbytery or Synod, call it what you will? What saith the Scripture? "Now this I mean that each one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptised into the name of Paul? For Christ sent me not to baptise but to preach the Gospel." Let the missionaries preach the Gospel, but let the converts be baptised into the Church of Christ in India.

The first error of the *Standard* is to hold that the connection of the local churches in the mission field with the Home denomination

must be permanent if once established. So far as the Methodists are concerned they have demonstrated the fact that they see another course. Their churches in Japan were as closely bound to the parent body as they are now in India; yet when the time came they freely opened the door for them to go forth into union with other Methodists in Japan. In Canada, years ago, Episcopal Methodists were permitted to separate themselves from the parent body in the United States to organize an independent body. Methodists in Korea and China are planning for union with other Methodists, for its own sake, and looking to yet larger and wider unions when the conditions are ripe.

The third possible course missed by the *Standard* in its analysis, is that at the early stages of mission work, while the new churches as a whole are yet in a condition of infancy, the distinction between Church and Mission should be ignored, but should be developed with the growth of self-sustaining power in the new churches.

A practical working of this principle is to be found in the actual working of the plan for making the appointments of preachers to churches in the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. In the early days, when churches were small and preachers not well known, the bishops made the appointments as well as fixed them. In these days the smaller churches still leave these matters to the bishops, while the larger churches usually assume the responsibility of a principal voice in this matter. In that land Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist churches receiving help from Home Mission funds usually receive with the money suggestions as to who may come to them as pastors, and act on the advice. We are of opinion that a Presbyterian church in India being-aided in its evangelistic work by money supplied from abroad and applied by the missionary acts pretty much under the advice of the missionary.

There is a period of childhood for the local church and for the general body of Christian people in the mission field. It is quite possible for the missionary to be a part of that church and act as a member from within, as one of the company, who has come to identify himself fully with the people and their interests and yet, at a later period, withdraw entirely as a missionary and see the church become independent.

Unfortunately the *Standard* has not only fallen into the error of a defective analysis, but of an unwarranted conclusion, to say nothing of an unfair and untrue characterization of a neighbour with whom it has professed to wish to be on good terms. All this will not hinder the Methodists from treating courteously all proposals for union coming from the Presbyterians. There is an advertisement in a journal quite widely circulated among missionaries to the effect that the *Indian Standard* advocates church organic union on a Presbyterian basis. For it the case is closed as to the merits of any other plan or polity. For this we are sorry. People are much more apt to agree if one of them does not insist in advance that the agreement shall be on terms he prescribes.

So far, neither the *Standard* nor anyone else has come forward with any startling evidence of the good that has come from the kind of union the Presbyterians have. It would help some of us who believe in the theory of union if they would do so.

In the meantime the *Standard* has no right in fact to declare that the Methodists are likely to the end of the chapter to bind their Churches in India to the mother denomination, even if they decline at once to proceed to the revolutionary task of rending apart church and mission, now so harmoniously blended and so successfully working as a whole. At the same time the Methodists can be counted on for fair and courteous treatment of their neighbours for federation and co-operation on mission work, in the development of intelligent and independent competence in their Indian churches and to be ready to contribute their quota as early as any to a strong, self-contained, self-propagating evangelical Indian Church.

Empire and World

The Indian Empire

An Iconoclastic Element

Has the Government of India and others been justified in considering that there was an iconoclastic element in the country which could not be restrained by ordinary considerations, and would yield only to vigorous measures? Let the storm at Surat answer. The *Indian Patriot*, of Madras, which is represented as naturally sympathizing with Mr. Tilak, says:

"There can hereafter be no place either for Mr. Tilak or his followers in any constitutional body of Indian gentlemen. They have made this impossible by their own conduct, by their wanton violation of all canons of propriety, by their deliberate defiance of constitutional procedure, by their daring disregard of all rules of polite society. It is most distressing to think that men like Sir Pherozshah Metha, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, and Messrs. Wacha and Gokhale have had to seek escape from the shoes of Mr. Tilak's followers—and they were Deccan shoes, we are told—for the safety of their person and life, and that hundreds of self-sacrificing men who had gone from distant parts of India in the performance of a serious national duty should have been made to gape in wonder and dismay at the barbarous methods of civilized men." Referring to Mr. Tilak's message that the Extremist version is still in preparation our contemporary duly observes: "The delay, however, suggests doubts as to the certainty of facts upon which they are to construct their story." The *Madras Standard* whose editor was present in the Congress Pandal at the time of the last scene, writes:—"So far as the Congress is concerned, Tilakism is dead. Mr. Tilak may issue his manifesto. He may issue scores of thousands of manifestoes. But the country now knows him too well. He and his irreconcilables have wrecked a movement which the constructive genius of several loyal citizens has developed. He now stands revealed. He will never more be allowed to interfere with the new organization. No sane Indian, Moderate or Extremist, will have anything to do with a man who is responsible for what we may call the Surat tragedy."



A Remedial Scheme

Sir Andrew Fraser, it is stated, is now devising a scheme for the criminal tribe of Orissa, known as the Pans, on the model of the Mughaya Dome settlement in Behar. Mr. Mehta, I. C. S., will probably be deputed to carry out the work.



A Plea for Compulsory English

A "representative Mohammedan" has been writing in the daily press in favour of making English a compulsory language in the schools of Bengal. He is not at all sure that this policy would be popular with the Mohammedans at first; but is sure that it is the wise course, and that its wisdom would soon be recognized. He pleads for English as a medium for education on the ground of its being more exact, logical and practical and making for sound scholarship.

It is worthy of note that English is so popular both with students and parents. In a day school in Calcutta, attended by 240 Hindus and Mohammedans only one parent out of the whole number approached by letter expressed a preference for the use of Bengali rather than English as the language of instruction.



Bad Advice

Discussing the future of the Congress, the *Indian Spectator* says:—

While we are glad that the Imperialists have resolved upon framing rules for the Congress, we must point out that the troubles of the past will be perpetuated if the first declaration in their Surat manifesto, regarding "the goal of our political aspirations" is not given up. It is not that personally we have reached the stage of

THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT.

CONFERENCE OF LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN BOMBAY.

THIS Conference, one of a series now being held in India, convened on Thursday, January 9th, in the Y.M.C.A. Rooms, Apollo Bunder, Bombay. We gave some account of the opening meeting in our last issue. The spiritual tone and intense earnestness which characterised its opening were well maintained to the close. Many have expressed their belief that it has been the best Conference ever held in Bombay, and that its spiritual results will be wide and far-reaching. On Saturday the sittings of the Conference were removed to the Money School, a more central position, besides giving the advantage of more accommodation, but the room was not so good to hear in, on account of its situation amidst the busy traffic of the city.

We are glad to be able to present our readers with a fairly good sketch report of the whole proceedings from our own reporters; except for two early morning meetings, and the farewell on Sunday night. We learn that the devotional gathering on Friday morning was addressed by Rev. H. A. Crane, of the Bowen Church, and that on Sunday morning by Rev. H. J. Bruce, of Satara, who gave an excellent talk on Divine Guidance.

The farewell meeting at 9 p. m. on Sunday consisted of testimonies from missionaries as to the helpful character of the Conference, and some exhortations. Also a few testimonies from the Indian delegates, students and teachers, as to the spiritual benefit they had received. Four testified to having accepted Christ at the meetings.

THE FRIDAY MORNING SESSION.

The first to address the meeting was Rev. N. H. Russell, of Mhow, C.I., his subject being "God's strength made perfect in weakness." At the very commencement he laid before the meeting the truth that God is more willing to give than we are to receive, and went on to illustrate by Bible characters the conditions which are essential to our receiving. After reading Psalm lxii. 11, "God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God," he spoke of David, how he learnt that power consists not in human strength or human intellect, but in the Lord. Jacob came next; a man of many natural parts, wealthy, and shrewd in business matters, but not to be accounted successful until God had smitten him. Next, mentioning Moses, Mr. Russell pointed out that it was not the graduated Moses, full of all the wisdom of Egypt, but the humbled, crushed and meek Moses that God used. Then Gideon, who accomplished his work not with a multitude or with the sword, but with the shout and the light and "the sword of the Lord." The last illustration was the household of Jesse when the prophet would have chosen the first or the second son, but the one in the field, reckoned not worthy to be called, was the one God had chosen. Thus it is, that "Not many wise men, . . . not many mighty, not many noble are called," but, as Christ said, it is the little children of whom the kingdom of Heaven is made.

Taking now two New Testament characters, the speaker mentioned Peter who received strength after his terrible denial, and Paul who received strength after his infirmity. To the latter, God said, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for My strength is made perfect in weakness;" and

Paul was enabled to write, "When I am weak, then am I strong." Those who are children of God have doubtless been similarly dealt with.

Again quoting from Paul's epistles, Mr. Russell showed how entirely we in our weakness, must get our strength from God. Power came to Christ after His resurrection, so Paul sought to be made conformable unto His death, that he might know something of the

POWER OF HIS RESURRECTION.

As for the conditions for receiving the promise of God's strength, we find two of them in Isa. i. 19: "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land." The speaker here related a remarkable instance of obedience which was somewhat as follows: A Christian merchant in an American city who took part in Sunday-school work, once asked an evangelist the reason of his lack of power in the work. The reply was that perhaps something had been wrong in his past life which was yet unconfessed. This was the case. The merchant related how years before when employed in another town, when he balanced the accounts a certain sum of money remained. As no error could be detected he put this sum of money in his pocket, and the theft was not discovered. The evangelist told him to restore the money, and when the merchant urged that this course might ruin all his commercial prospects, obedience was insisted on. Not without misgiving the merchant visited his former employer and told him all, with the result that he was forgiven. When next he took his place in his Sunday-class, he told them that though their opinion of him was high yet he had done wrong, but that he had confessed it, and was forgiven. The result was such an outpouring of blessing that every one of his scholars was converted. But this was not all. Mr. Russell said that in a gathering of soldiers in Mhow this story had been given, and one of them who five years before had borrowed Rs. 10 came and confessed, and paid the debt. Another soldier went to a *bania* in the bazaar, told him how he had secreted a silver ring, and explaining the size asked the *bania* the value of it, and paid the amount. A third soldier sent home to England and paid a debt that had been contracted many years before. These instances had come to the speaker's knowledge, and again he urged that without perfect and implicit obedience there will be no power.

Rev. T. S. Stevens, of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, was the next speaker. His address was based upon the words, "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because He laid down His life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." (1 John. iii. 16). When the speaker came to India, and left behind him his country and his friends, he felt that he had literally laid down his life, and that any sacrifice in India would be as nothing in comparison, but he found, as others do, that new interests and new ties are formed in a new country, and these have to be continually laid down. Sometimes the hardest sacrifice of all is the laying aside of cherished hopes, as we see other workers taking the place we had filled, quietly putting aside our plans and making others which succeed while our's have failed. Let us remember that this laying down of our lives is for the brethren, and that in the corn of wheat there must be death before there is fruit. The Christians of old laid down their lives in martyrdom for Christ and the church, but our death of self is for the brethren, and this must take place every day. After other illustrations, Mr. Stevens concluded with the words of Christ, "I lay down My life that I may take it again," and it is the same with us. In the daily lay-

ing down of our lives it will mean the receiving of new life—Christ's

PERPETUAL RESURRECTION LIFE.

Rev. R. S. Heywood, C. M. S., Poona, spoke shortly of three young men mentioned in Scripture, Joash, Daniel and Samuel. 2 Chronicles, xxiv, gives the account of the reign of Joash. The careful bringing up of Joash by his uncle, Jehoida the priest, was likened to the guarded lives of children to-day who are brought up by Christian parents. The Bible account of how Joash did right as long as Jehoida lived, and afterwards fell into sin, finds its counterpart in only too many to-day who do right only as long as they are under the influence of Godly people.

Mr. Heywood proceeded with a few details of the familiar narratives of Daniel and Samuel. He pointed out that Dan. ix. 2, which speaks of Daniel studying the Scriptures, probably gives us the reason why he was able to remain steadfast unto the end.

The secret of Samuel's steadfastness may be found in his obedience in apparently very little things.

At this point in the meeting, special prayer on behalf of the nominal Christians in the colleges and churches of this country was requested, and all united, as one present led in vocal prayer.

The last speaker at this meeting was Mr. Robert P. Wilder. "Holiness" was the subject of his address. What took place outwardly, he said, in the Old Testament Church, in the history of the Jewish people, is taking place inwardly to-day. The people went up out of Egypt, but they were in the wilderness and wandered there many years before entering the land of promise. To-day the question has to be answered. Is there a Canaan in this world for the Christian, or must we wait until heaven is reached? The Scriptures supply the answer, in the commands, "Be filled with the Spirit," and, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation" or, "all manner of living." (R. V.) God expects us to be holy, for He says, "Be ye holy, for I am holy" (1 Pet. i. 16).

In conclusion, Mr. Wilder remarked that some Christians are like cripples, who do not help others but receive help from others,—alive but crippled. To such is the command, "Rise up and walk," also the words of Christ, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

FRIDAY EVENING.

Two very excellent addresses were delivered at the evening session of Friday. The first by Mr. Charles F. Reeve of Poona, on the "Importance of Days of Prayer." The second, by Mr. John R. Mott, on "Bible Study in order to Personal growth."

Mr. Reeve commenced by alluding to Acts vi. 4. He noticed that prayer was given the first position, before that of the ministry of the Word. Like the Apostles we should give ourselves continually to prayer. Pentecost came after ten days of prayer. Jesus spent nights in prayer. All the great revivals of modern days were preceded by much united prayer.

It was good to give a regular day to prayer. Some say they have "no time," but the fisherman must take time to mend his net; the woodman must take time to sharpen his axe, and all must take time for rest and recuperation. God has so ordered it. It is of equal necessity that our spiritual life and work should be sustained by prayer. We cannot be successful without it.

After sketching, in a few incisive sentences, what prayer is not, Mr. Reeve went on to

emphasise the importance of definiteness in prayer. If we go to Government with a request, we make a very definite affair of it. When we come to God in prayer, we ought to know exactly what we want. It is a good plan to put your requests in a book; we then become more definite, and the record of answered prayer is encouraging to faith. We ought to pray for all missionary effort, to know enough about every new departure in missions, and all special services, meetings, conventions, &c., to be able to intelligently pray about them. Consider in this connection these two passages, Eph. i. 22; and iii. 17, 18. Christ the Head, all saints the body. We get one-sided if too much alone, if we drop coming together as a church.

Some missionaries have to go home to get warmed up, they get fresh life and fire from such gatherings of God's people as those at Keswick and Northfield. Every missionary centre ought to have its days of prayer. Nothing will do so much towards breaking up deadness and coldness, worldliness will melt away—the half-hearted will drop off, saying "these people are enthusiasts—they are mad!" That need not trouble us, God wants holy enthusiasm. The days of prayer at Poona had resulted in much blessing; let other missionary centres try it.

"BIBLE STUDY IN ORDER TO PERSONAL GROWTH."

For a full hour intense interest was sustained in the masterly handling of this topic by Mr. John R. Mott. His terse, clear cut sentences, every word laden with the eloquence of earnestness, makes him a speaker who holds the interest of his listeners as few do. He speaks in a plain, feeling way, as a student to students.

He said he was not going to speak about Bible Study for teaching others, but for sustaining one's own spiritual life; not for our growth in knowledge or in intellectual power, but for growth in things spiritual—such Bible study as will enable us to see God and hear His voice; and that will open up the vistas of a life hid with Christ in God.

Its importance. Abiding in Christ is necessary to true discipleship. Take heed lest the light in thee be darkness. The light must be fed from the Word of God. We need to study the Word of God in order to realise the needs and the possibilities of our spiritual life. Why should we be satisfied to journey along on a dead level when God would have us up among the mountain peaks. If you would overcome any besetting sin study what the Bible says about that sin. There are enough of minimum Christians, we want more maximum Christians. The Bible is a literature of knowledge and a literature of power.

Meditation without Bible study makes a man morbid. The Bible is the great searchlight. Prayer may become mechanical without much Bible study. In this we give God an opportunity to speak to us. It takes two to have communion.

We must study the Bible if we would work without friction, without strain, without worry. We may work fewer hours, but our work will stand the fire, it will not be as stubble. Would we shape our work and not be shapen by it, would we move with the Holy Spirit, we must make ourselves subservient to Him.

A vinedresser told him that all grapes grew on new stock, on fresh shoots, this illustrated the case in point, also the thought that the Bible was like a channel of irrigation, from which all our little rills must be supplied.

Supposed hindrances. The chief hindrance students alleged against this personal Bible study was want of time. But we must take time to do the will of God. It is the will of God that a man should grow spiritually? At his suggestion many hundreds of students had put it to the test, spending the first half hour of the day with the Bible, and he had yet to meet with one who confessed to standing lower in his classes in consequence. Many have said that it quickened their minds and enabled them to get over their studies more easily. There

was nothing in any literature so sublime as Paul and Isaiah for intellectual stimulus.

Many asked if the usual Scripture lessons in the college curriculum would not be sufficient. But he contended that this could not take the place of personal work. Each man has his own life to live, his own battles to fight, and needs his own special spiritual sustenance.

Others said they were reading devotional books, was not that sufficient? While he would be the last to decry books of this class, from which he had received much good, he dare not say they could take the place of personal study of God's Word. Why should we be content with second-hand teaching; why not go to the fountain for ourselves?

Some young men, he found, were afraid of this Bible study. So will you be, if there is "any secret thing with thee." If one studied the Bible, he feared he would have to give up Government service and go into Gospel work. Others would be rebuked for indulgence in secret sin.

How to commence. Begin with the more devotional books of the Bible. The Gospels, Colossians, Hebrews, Psalms, Isaiah and Deuteronomy had been given to him as a good progressive list. Another experienced worker agreed with this, but would put Deuteronomy before Isaiah. He would add the book of Proverbs for young men, and the Acts of the Apostles for Christian workers.

How to read the Epistles. Take an epistle and mark in it first, all that you can find about the Life of Christ, (a) His human life, (b) His divine life. Then search out on the second reading all that bears on your own Christian life, your motives, your work, your relation to other Christians. Then find all the allusions you can to the writer's own life, both spiritual and temporal.

Study the biographies of the Bible: Moses, Joseph, David, Elijah, Daniel, Peter, Timothy. Find out what was each man's special preparation, qualification, difficulties, victories and the secret of his enduring success.

Then there is topical reading. Suppose you take the topic of the kingdom of God, our rights, our privileges, our duties therein, and its boundless resources. Or take the subject of the Holy Spirit, or the Life of Jesus Christ. But begin on something and hold to it, till it begins to tell on your life. As you go on make a record of all the difficulties you meet with, and then give time to searching them out. Be thorough;

GOLD DUST IS ON THE SURFACE, BUT YOU MUST DIG FOR NUGGETS.

Meditate on what you read and you will be able to say, "Thy words were found and I did eat them, and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my soul." If we think about ourselves we become selfish; if we think about Christ, we become Christ-like.

Let the Bible mean to us what it does mean. The true organ of vision is an obedient spirit. Let us make up our minds that what He saith, we will do.

Let us endeavour to have a daily, regular, unhurried time, an actual meeting with God each day. The best time is the morning watch. Satan tries to entrap us each day, and the world pulls us down. The first half hour with God prepares a man for the day's fight with self, sin, and Satan.

The first speaker on Saturday morning was Rev. J. E. Robinson, of Poona. He gave an excellent and beautiful address on the

PRESENT CRISIS IN INDIA.

He spoke of the present wide-spread movement among the lower classes, who were ready to come over to Christianity in large numbers, and of our responsibility in meeting this crisis. He also spoke of signs of a similar crisis arising among educated Hindus, to meet which an equal responsibility will rest upon the Christians of India.

A statement by Mr. John R. Mott, as to the origin and present working of the Student

Volunteer Movement followed. The first Conference of Students was held in 1886. From ninety colleges, 250 students assembled from the U. S. A. and Canada. The introduction of the missionary element was largely due to Mr. R. P. Wilder's interest in the needs of the mission field, in India especially, where he was born. Mr. Wilder was present at that first Conference, having just completed his college course. At the opening of the session the subject of the needs of the mission field was presented, and it was made known that fourteen out of the 250 students present had their attention turned to the foreign field.

This band began to pray. Two weeks later, an appeal was made to Dr. A. T. Pierson, to address the young men on the subject of missions. A large hearing was not expected, so little interest had hitherto been expressed on the question, but he was surprised to have practically all the delegates present. "All should go, and go to all," was his subject.

This was followed by an address from Dr. Ashmore, a missionary who had been twenty-five years in China. He presented to them, "Missions as a war of Conquests." At the closing session of the Conference, representatives of ten nations were present, and each arose and stated briefly one point, which he considered the need of his own country. Then in his own language each repeated the words, "God is love." So solemn was the occasion felt to be, that as the students left the hall not a word was uttered. What were the results of the Conference? One hundred decided that they were willing to go to foreign fields.

Bands of students have since been formed similar to the Cambridge bands of England. A travelling secretary is appointed from among the students, who visits other colleges, and on returning to complete his course of studies, he is replaced by another. Three such secretaries, and one woman secretary, who visits women's colleges, have already made the rounds of the colleges of America.

With reference to the first conference held in Great Britain, Mr. Mott spoke of it as an occasion of great spiritual power. Between 700 and 800 students were present, and nineteen nations were represented. The movement has extended from America and Great Britain, to Canada, France, Germany, Scandinavia, and even Switzerland.

Mr. Mott pointed out that the Student Volunteer Movement is not a new Missionary Society. It enrolls workers but does not send them out. It helps to prepare missionaries for their life-work. Thousands of students have had the subject of missions definitely brought before them, at least half for the first time. Missionary libraries have been established in 150 colleges. Courses of missionary study are arranged. In 125 colleges, 1,200 young men are studying the course of missions. The total number of enrolled volunteers is 5,000; of these 4,000 are from America, 1,019 from Britain, and the remainder from other countries. In the declaration signed by these volunteers is expressed the words, "It is our purpose, if God permit, to become foreign missionaries."

It might be asked, "Will this number reach the field?" Some have died, others have been rejected for lack of physical qualifications, but the majority will reach the field, already 20% of student volunteers are in the field. Other encouraging facts of increasing interest among the students were mentioned. Fifty-five missionaries are in foreign lands supported by that number of colleges.

HOW TO HASTEN THE EVANGELISATION OF INDIA,

was the subject of the next address, given by Rev. M. B. Fuller, of the India Alliance Mission. The evangelisation of India, he pointed out, does not mean the conversion of India, nor does it mean merely giving the Gospel to the people, and then considering that our responsibility is over. That was not Paul's idea of evangelising; we are to preach with intensity, labour with striving, until the responsibility does rest on the people. Evangelisation is a witness to the fact

of the Gospel as facts of our own experience, and that in the power of the Holy Ghost. A preacher must be personally prepared by an experience of conversion, and then by receiving the Holy Ghost. Whether he received Him at the time of his conversion, or after, makes no difference, but without the possession of the gift of the Spirit, his preaching is useless. The servants of God must also deny their own wisdom and their own plans, and yield to Him. We must obey Him. Very earnestly and pointedly the speaker asked, "Have you been converted? Have you received the gift of the Holy Ghost?" Addressing himself to missionaries, those who have the responsibility of appointing workers, he urged that such be not sent into the work, "until you know that he is filled with the Holy Ghost."

This searching address was followed by another of power from Mrs. Fuller, who, recalling instances of times of revival of which we read in the Scriptures, such as those in Ezra and Nehemiah, spoke of the necessity of such revival in the Christian church to-day. Progress in the spiritual growth of churches will be attained through revivals, and we are to yield to the Spirit's working. Some solemn thoughts were presented by Mrs. Fuller, who showed that the sin of Ananias and Sapphira was not alone one of theft and falsehood, but they tempted the Spirit to leave the church. Reading the prayer of confession found in Ezra ix. 5-15, Mrs. Fuller paused at the words, "Oh, my God, I am ashamed," and asked have we ever said these words, do we not need to humble ourselves before God, and confess our failures? The importance and also the necessity of allowing the Spirit to work were again pressed home.

On Saturday evening, Mr. Mott presided over a very interesting session, on

HOW STUDENTS IN INDIA MAY BE REACHED BY THE GOSPEL.

The delegates occupying the front seats were skilfully interrogated, with the object of eliciting information bearing upon the subject.

The first query was as to the colleges they came from, number of students represented, and the proportion of Christians among them. It appeared from the replies that delegates from five Poona colleges were present, four from Bombay colleges, and from one educational institution in each of the following cities of the Presidency, *viz.*, Belgaum, Dharwar, Kolhapur, Ahmednagar, and Surat. From the impromptu statistics supplied, it was estimated that the schools and colleges represented contained 3,000 pupils, of whom about 250 were Christians, and 79 communicants.

Next, answers were invited to the question as to what were

THE SPECIAL TEMPTATIONS AND PERILS

of boys and young men in the schools and colleges of Western India. Replies to this question came freely from the delegates, and were very various in their character. Novel-reading was the first point mentioned, and kindred temptations that followed were a certain class of newspapers, sceptical literature, books by Bradlaugh and others, obscene vernacular literature, and infidel professors who teach philosophy and science [from a non-Christian point of view]. Theatres, social impurity, bad company, drinking, and expensive habits, were also mentioned.

After the delegates, some of the missionaries present gave some reasons that had come under their notice, among which were "the desire for leading a fashionable life," "mad rush for Government positions," "temptations to dissipation in the class rooms," and *izzat*. This last term mystified the Marathi *lôg*, but was explained as an Hindustani word meaning conceit, self-esteem, false dignity, illustrated by "when a missionary lifts one end of a form, a student is too proud to lift the other."

WHY ARE NOT MORE STUDENTS CHRISTIANS?

Was the next question. Replies; Caste dis-

tingtion, lack of effort, lack of moral courage in spite of conviction, character of some professing Christians, both European and Native, lack of personal dealing with students, atheistical institutions, Christianity has awakened new life in other religions, strong family connections, persecution, religious indifference; worldly ambition, godless education, and want of Christian masters. A missionary added to this list a want of regeneration among those who professed Christianity—many being converted to Christianity, not to Christ.

These answers were elicited by Mr. Mott, as he said, that we might get at *facts* and face them. The Spirit of God speaks through facts, not through exaggerations.

INCENTIVES FOR REACHING MORE STUDENTS FOR CHRIST.

Commencing with two private questions for each to answer to himself, *viz.*, "How many did you lead to Christ last year?" and "How many did you try to lead to Christ?" Mr. Mott went on to speak of incentives. He said a trained mind used for God could counteract the evil of a large number of illiterate vicious men. Students are a peculiarly susceptible class, and much blessing has already been poured upon effort among them all over the world, and we are on the threshold of greater blessing still. Did you ever spend an hour alone with God and the Bible, looking at the human soul as God looks at it? Those who are not reached in their student days are not reached at all, in most cases. When he (the speaker) graduated, there were 128 who graduated with him who had accepted Christ, and forty who had not. Not one of that forty have since become Christians, and some have died. Several other facts of this sort were brought out, one illustrated the value of persevering effort for students. One man in college was prayed for by quite a large praying band during his first year. He was a clever fellow and carried all before him. The second year fewer joined in prayer for him, the third year, only three, and the fourth year but one continued. The fourth year he was led to Christ, devoted himself to the ministry of the Gospel and has been the instrument of drawing thousands of others to the Saviour.

Mr. Mott said that the Native master in India has the key to the situation. He had been greatly cheered by meeting with some who deliberately set apart several hours a week for personal dealing with their pupils, and God was rewarding them with souls.

Col. Freeman, who is working among the Parsees in Bombay, spoke of some of the difficulties peculiar to Indian students which were not met with in the West. The absorbing character of their examinations and their entire dependence on their families, &c.

Rev. J. E. Robinson gave a warm testimony to the work of Messrs. Wilder and Moorhead in Poona, and of the interest taken by non-Christians in Bible classes pure and simple. Rev. N. H. Russell of Mhow, gave testimony also as to the readiness of non-Christians to come together for the study of God's Word.

Mr. Khisty suggested a Christian library for those who wanted to study Christianity—non-Christians found difficulty in getting Christian books. Another speaker advocated the circulation of tracts corrective of infidel teaching. Writing letters to non-Christians and inviting them for personal conversation were also suggested. Mr. Moorhead spoke of the importance of adhering to the Word of God. In the recent course of lectures at Poona three had been given on other topics and all fell flat, whereas those on the Scriptures created the most intense interest.

The opinion was expressed that a sense of sin must be created, and all must be dealt with in a loving, kind, upright and friendly way.

The whole matter was summed up by Mr. Mott to indicate the need of personal dealing, wise, tactful and prayerful, remembering that we are dependent on the Spirit of God for convicting power.

Just at the close, Mrs. Fuller remarked that no one had mentioned one point, that it was wisest to go to the people as one of themselves and to say "we," not "you." This point was heartily received and the meeting adjourned.

SUNDAY EVENING.

On Sunday the midday meeting was omitted, the chief session being held from 4 to 6-45 p.m. This was in many respects one of the most interesting sessions of the Conference. Mr. Mott, who again presided, asked those present to make brief statements with regard to special needs of India, for two purposes, that their own minds might be impressed with *facts*, and that these facts might also impress members of the students' volunteer movement in other lands, to whom they would be communicated.

Rev. H. J. Bruce, of the American Marathi Mission at Satara, led off with the thought of the great fields unoccupied, or only partly occupied. He instanced his own field, 5,000 square miles in extent, with 1½ millions of people, himself the only male missionary, with four ladies and a handful of Native helpers. He was glad that the Presbyterian Mission was beginning to overflow into the northern part of this district, and had been cheered to hear that others now present were about to enter it at the southern end. To think that a million souls were dependent on them for news of the way of life was simply appalling.

Rev. H. M. Lawson said that India was the great battle field of the world. We were now in the midst of a conflict as great as that when the Roman Empire was won for Christ. The obstacles were as great or even greater.

Rev. T. S. Stevens of Surat, asked if any one had thoughts of entering that untouched field as large as Uganda, within a day's journey of Bombay—the Native State of Cutch?

Rev. J. Wilkie, of Indore, said that often when we are most discouraged, the Lord is all the time working and preparing the way for some great thing in the future. Some few years ago a little stirring appeared among the Mangs in his district, but after one young woman had been baptised, the stirring appeared to subside, and workers were disappointed. When, suddenly, 300 of these people stood up in one meeting and declared their desire to become Christians. The heaven had been working. They feared the persecution of coming out singly, so had worked among their own people till a number were ready. Something of the same sort was, he believed, going on among the higher classes in many quarters. He had not been in favour of Y.M.C.A.'s and Christian Endeavour Societies, believing that the Christian Church was enough. But the Christian masters of the Indore College had spoken about Y.M.C.A. work to the Hindu students and they themselves had begged for the formation of a Y.M.C.A., and now they had a flourishing Association of which the members are Hindus. They observed the Y.M.C.A. week of prayer, and the interest and attendance increased throughout the week. There is another large college in Indore, belonging to the Government. His students are in the habit of personally inviting the Holkar's students to lectures and Christian meetings, and they come in crowds. Hindus are not satisfied with their own religion. He believed there was all the time a steady advance towards all India coming to Christ.

Rev. Norman H. Russell, of Mhow, spoke of the openings in the Native States of Central India, where the doors had rolled back on their hinges in a marvellous manner, where land and encouragement to settle was being given by Native Princes. There was a lack of *men* to enter into these rapidly opening doors. In this camping season he had been having large and attentive audiences of from 500 to 700 in his preaching tent.

Miss Grace Wilder spoke of the hundreds of villages in the Kolhapur district which could only be partially reached. She suggested that Christian students should form

preaching bands in their vacations, and go out into the villages.

An Indian delegate said if India was won for Christ it must be by her own sons;

AN INDIAN PAUL WAS WANTED.

Miss Eleanor Bernard, of the Church of Scotland Mission at Poona, spoke of a Burmese apostle, who was wonderfully used in the evangelisation of the Karens, and in twelve years of incessant hard work, raised 2,000 self-supporting churches among the Karens. Oh that such might arise in India! An Indian Paul must be willing to lay down his life for the brethren. She told the story of a man who sold himself into slavery in order to win one soul to Christ. Are we willing to be sold into slavery or to lay down our lives as Christ laid down His life?

Another delegate called attention to the large number of Parsee students in Bombay, and the wide field for effort among them.

A Belgaum delegate said that though mission work was carried on in Canarese in Belgaum, there was no one to reach the Marathi-speaking people in that large district.

Mr. N. V. Tilak was then asked to give some account of his conversion. He began by saying that an Indian Paul was wanted, his brothers and sisters were waiting for a Paul. He was sometimes asked if he really believed in miracles. He did, because he had experienced a miracle. There could be no greater miracle than his own conversion. He started with a devilish abhorrence of Christianity. His lips had spoken against it and his hand had written papers against it. But all the time the Lord's hand was drawing him to Himself. First through his mother, who he believed must at some time have been under Christian influence, for she taught him to fear, love and obey her. Then a teacher taught him to love his country, and his mind was much exercised about India and her divided state, and the necessity of having a religion that would unite the people. Like many other Indians, he held the opinion that there was nothing in the Bible; he had not read it, but was told so. It is a current opinion among the Brahmmins. The simplicity of the Christian Scriptures troubles them. They want something they cannot understand. One day on a railway journey a European or American gentleman got into conversation with him, and after a pleasant talk of some hours, told Mr. Tilak that he was half a Christian already, and gave him a copy of the New Testament. Reading this opened his eyes. He was particularly struck with the character of Jesus Christ, and found many of his difficulties solved in the Bible. He had always been fond of the history of George Washington, and now began to wonder if there was anything in his religion that made him what he was. He noticed that Christians were rising while heathens were falling. His first prayer was for some books that he wanted. The next day he found those very books in some waste paper in his office. It was all a miracle. He did nothing, God did it all.

The session was continued by an impressive address on "Secret Prayer" by Mr. John R. Mott. We reserve our notes of this till next week.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN UNION, BOMBAY.

A Social gathering in connection with the Indian Christian Union will be held on Tuesday the 21st instant at 7-30 p. m., in the Baptist Church, Bellasis Road. Members and all Christian brothers and sisters are cordially invited.

L. J. JADHAW,

Hon. Secretary,

Indian Christian Union, Bombay.

Tardeo, January 14th, 1896.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Meeting of the above was held in the Y. M. C. A. rooms, Apollo Bunder, on Thursday evening, January 16th.

The new Secretary, Miss Ramsey, who has just arrived from Scotland, was welcomed; and Mrs. W. W. Squire, the retiring Secretary, was thanked. Prizes were given for Scripture study during the year. Miss Eva High won the first prize of Rs. 15; Miss Ella Paine, the second, of Rs. 10; Miss Kate Crummy won the Bible Society prize; Mrs. Laxton and others were also presented with prizes. There was a good attendance.

PASSENGERS SAILING.

The following passengers are expected to sail to-day, Saturday, January 18th, by the mail steamer *Ganges* :—

For London.—Mr. J. E. Martin, and Mr. and Miss Brooke. For Brindisi.—Mr. R. T. Grimby and Mr. L. W. Macdonald. For Ismailia.—Mr. Madlicott; Mr. and Mrs. Very; Mr. J. H. Graham; Mr. Butterworth; Mr. Bateman, and Mr. Whinfield.

THE INCOMING MAIL.

The mail steamer *Caledonia*, with the English mails of the 12th ultimo, left Aden at 10 a.m., on Sunday, and arrived in Bombay at 4 p.m., on Thursday. She brought the following passengers :—

From Marseilles.—Mr. and Mrs. C. K. Anderson, Mrs. Symons, Capt. Lafone, Capt. J. A. Houston Crauturd, Mr. and Mrs. Graham and child, Mr. and Miss Way, Mrs. Hurst and two children, Two Misses Grant, Mr. Mrs. and Miss Dillon; Rev. H. J. Tanner, Mrs. Tanner, Rev. W. A. Roberts, Hon. Mrs. J. R. B. Elliott, Mr. and Mrs. Elliott, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. M. Lingard Monk, Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Thomson, Col. and Mrs. Ian Hamilton, Mrs. H. H. Sparkes, Mrs. Robertson and infant, General and Mrs. Gatacre; Miss Waters, Sister Mary Lois, Mr. and Mrs. P. Kennedy, Miss Hudson, Miss Barnard, Sister Francis, Mr. and Mrs. P. Dease, Capt. and Mrs. Kemball, Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Irby, Miss Dease, Surg. Col. Hutchinson, Lieut. Gen. Leslie, Lord Muncaster, Major Orme, Mr. and Mrs. Kirkman and two children, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and infant, Col. and Mrs. Schwabe, Sister Maria, Sister Hortelana, Sister Laura, Miss Scott, Capt. and Mrs. Clowes, Mrs. Liddell, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Morris, Miss Follett, Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, Lieut. J. E. H. Carmichael, Lieut. D. M. Watt, Miss Paterson, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. R. Cowasjee, Sir Herbert and Lady Naylor Leyland, Mrs. Nichol, Col. W. C. Ramsden, Mrs. Evans and infant, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Wates, Col. Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Scott, Lady McDonnell, Miss McDonnell, Miss Evans, Mrs. Le Ray, and Mr. and Mrs. Mitra and infant, Messrs C. C. Boyd, H. J. McIntosh, D. Byramjee, T. W. McNab, E. W. Campbell, Evans Gordon, J. Straker, D. R. Johnson, C. Deas, A. Forsyth, H. C. A. Goodall, J. Barry White, R. A. Hurst, C. H. Ross, G. J. Orr, Sunderchand, E. G. Marten, S. Montague, Michaelson, A. H. Martin, J. B. Wingate, H. B. Thurburn, J. Taylor, A. Hills, J. G. Bright, Sham Lal, D. P. Byramjee, S. Petrocochino, and L. Oliver.

From Brindisi.—Mr and Mrs A C Turnbull, Mrs Glendenning, Mr and Mrs Radford, Capt Foulkner, Mr and Mrs Agelasto, Rev and Mrs Rudicell, Mr and Mrs H S Styan, Sir and Lady Greville Smyth, Dr Holman, Surg-Major and Mrs H St C Carruthers, Messrs L Macdonald, M Macdonald, G Spankie, E S Harris, Maling Grant, J Thompson, J N Gurney, W Wawn, S Harcourt, M Bhagwanani, C E Part, and W Eales.

From Ismailia.—Mr and Mrs Forman, Mrs A Forman, Judge and Mrs Holme, Messrs J Heap, L Bathwayte, and Ward.

From Port Said.—Mr and Mrs Bailey.

"BOMBAY GUARDIAN"

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Christian Services in Bombay.

AMERICAN MISSION CHURCH.

BHENDI-BAZAAR (Jail Road)—Rev. Tukaram Nathoji, Pastor. Marathi Service at 4 p. m. Sunday-school at 9 a.m.

BAPTIST CHURCH.

BELLASIS ROAD. (Opposite the Byculia Club.)—Minister: Pastor H. E. Barrell. Sabbath Services, 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. Sunday-school with Bible Class for adults 4-30 p.m. Prayer-meeting Wednesdays, 6 p.m.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

MISSION CHURCH, GIRGAUM. *English Congregation*:—Rev. A. H. Bowman. Service on Sundays at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. Sunday-school, or Children's Service, 4-30 p.m.

Marathi Congregation:—Rev. D. K. Shinde. Service on Sundays at 8 a.m. and 3-30 p.m. Sunday-school 10-30 a.m.

Mahomedan Congregation:—Rev. T. Davis. Services in Church Missionary Hall, Ripon Road, on Sunday, at 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Sunday Services: B. B. & C. I. Railway Institute, Parel, 9 a.m. St. Andrew's Kirk, Fort, 6 p.m.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

FORT (John Connon School):—Rev. R. M. Gray, Minister. Sabbath Services 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. Prayer-meeting, Wednesday, at 5-45 p.m.

AMBROLI (Girgaum Back Road):—English Service, 8 a.m., Marathi Service, 4 p.m.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

English Speaking Work: Pastors, Rev. H. A. Crane and Rev. W. Feistkorn.

GRANT ROAD CHURCH:—*Sunday Services*: Sunday-school at 7-30 a.m. Sermons at 8-45 a.m. and 6 p.m. Epworth League devotional meeting, Sunday, at 5-15 p.m. Church Prayer-meeting, Wednesday, at 8 p.m. Class Meetings, Saturday at 8 p.m.

BOWEN MEMORIAL CHURCH, Apollo Bunder:—*Sunday Services*: Sunday-school at 9-30 a.m. Sermons at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. Church Prayer-meeting, Wednesday, 8 p.m. Epworth League meeting, Friday, 6 p.m. Class Meetings, Saturdays, 8 p.m.

MAZAGON CHURCH (Wadi Bunder):—*Sunday Services*: Sunday-school at 8 a.m. Sermon at 6 p.m. Church Prayer-meeting, Wednesday, at 8 p.m. Class Meetings, Saturday, at 8 p.m.

VERNACULAR SERVICES in Grant Road Church:—Marathi and Tamil Works: Rev. W. H. Stephens, Preacher in Charge. *Sunday Services*: Tamil Sermon at 11 a.m.; Marathi Sunday-school at 3 p.m.; Sermon at 4-30 p.m. Gujarati Work: Mr. Thos. M. Hudson in Charge. Sermon at 1 p.m.

SEAMEN'S REST.—VICTORIA DOCK. Mr. R. H. Madden, Superintendent. On Sunday evening Gospel address and singing at 7-30. A Free Tea, with Gospel addresses and singing, every Thursday evening at 7-30.

SALVATION ARMY.

BORI BUNDER HALL. Meetings every night at 7-30 p.m. Holiness Meetings: Friday night 7-30 and Sunday morning at 10 a.m.

TEMPERANCE HALL, COLABA.

Evangelistic Service every Sunday evening at 8.

WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH.

COLABA CAUSEWAY:—11 a.m. and 6 p.m. Rev. G. C. Walker.

BYCULLA, (Victoria Gardens):—9-30 a.m. and 6 p.m. Rev. J. H. O'Brien. Marathi Service, 10-30 a.m. and 4-30 p.m. Rev. S. Rahator.

WATCHMAN OFFICE MEETINGS.

"India Watchman" Office, Bellasis Road, Opposite Treachers, Byculia. Meetings Sunday, 1 and 7 p.m. Monday and Thursday at 7 p.m.

Y. M. C. A.

Y.M.C.A. ROOMS, APOLLO BUNDER:—Bible Study for Young Men, Sunday, at 7-30 a.m. Prayer-meeting open to all, Monday, at 5-30 p.m. Young Men's Meeting, consisting of Lectures, &c., as announced from time to time, Friday, at 8-30 p.m.

GRANT ROAD BRANCH:—Prayer-meeting for Young Men, Sunday, at 8 p.m. Young Men's Meeting, as announced from time to time, Tuesday, at 8-30 p.m.

BYCULLA BRANCH:—Young Men's Meeting, Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

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The Indian Standard

A Half-monthly Journal of Social, Literary, and Religious Intelligence.

VOL. XIII No. 15

RUTLAM, C.I., 1ST OCTOBER 1902.

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EDITORIALS.

This issue of the *Standard* is Mussoorie Conference. largely a Conference number. Other matter has been held over to make room for the report of the Conference, which, we trust, will give those of our readers who were not present some idea of the helpful and suggestive nature of the papers read and the discussions evoked. Much real and lasting good should accrue to mission work in this part of India as a result of these meetings.

*

The spirit that prevailed throughout the Conference was thoroughly catholic. Hardly a discordant note was struck. Where difference of opinion was manifested during discussion, it was always with due consideration for those who did not see eye to eye with the speaker. The unanimity with which Union Church was decided upon as the next place of meeting was gratifying. The attendance at the various meetings was good and if one may judge from increasing numbers present, the Conference gained in interest day by day.

*

We would offer a suggestion with regard to the conduct of such conferences. It was evidently felt by many at Mussoorie that too much time was taken up with preliminaries at the afternoon meetings, and in consequence the various papers dealing with mission problems did not receive the attention or discussion they merited, owing to lack of time. This was unfortunate. It is hardly fair to those who have given time and labor to the careful preparation of the subjects assigned to be compelled to close the meeting with inadequate discussion of the questions involved, or in some cases none at all. We trust that this will be remedied in future conferences.

Another matter deserves attention. One of the chief attractions of such a conference, apart from the sessions themselves, is the opportunity of meeting missionaries from other parts of the field. We feel

that room should be made in the program for a meeting of a social character, at which opportunity would be given for a fuller mutual acquaintance on the part of those present.

*

For want of space we have been unable to insert in this issue the Sabbath School Lesson Notes as usual. The Report of the Rawal Pindi and Gujarat United Bible Study Meetings will appear in our next issue.

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THE MUSSOORIE CONFERENCE.

The Conference for Bible Study and Discussion of Practical Methods of Work opened in the Municipal Hall, Mussoorie, on Wednesday the 17th Sept. at 4-30 p. m. In the temporary absence of Mr. Campbell White, the President, the chair was taken by the Rev. W. G. Proctor. After opening exercises Mr. Steinthal spoke a few preliminary words of welcome, emphasizing the need for a realization of the presence of God in order that the Conference might be a means of great blessing to all. The Rev. A. Boyd followed with a helpful and interesting paper on the Holy Spirit, tracing the history of the development of the doctrine throughout Scripture. The Holy Spirit is manifest in all, from Genesis to Revelation. In the O. T. He is not regarded as a Person, but as a Divine Energy, the source of inspiration and power. From Him the Prophets derived their efflatus. He is the fountain of personal holiness. (Ps. 51). In the N. T. we have a new development. The Holy Spirit is here a Person, recognized in all the teaching and custom of the Church, in the apostolic blessing and baptism. The Gospel gives a two-fold reason for the sending of the Spirit—as a continual spiritual presence, and as a spiritual champion. The Spirit became a permanent working force in the Church, not only as the Spirit of Truth but also of Holiness. Through the Spirit came the assurance of salvation and of sonship.

The Rev. Dr. Wherry then read his paper on *The Importance, Place and Method of Religious Controversy*. This paper is given in full on another page. A number took part in the discussion that followed, though it was evidently felt by all as expressed by several, that Dr. Wherry's treatment of the subject left little more to be said. Dr. Griswold emphasized the necessity for thorough earnestness of tone in all forms of controversy. Mr. Steinthal gave his experience of controversy with non-Christians in connection with Y. M. C. A. work. Canon Ball felt that sufficient had not been said as to method

in bazaar preaching. How were persistent interrupters to be dealt with? He cited the case of school boys annoying the street preacher by constant interruptions. Dr. Tracy doubted if much was to be gained by controversy in the case of the ignorant masses who form so large a part of the ordinary audience. In reply to questions Dr. Wherry urged the wisdom of a conciliatory attitude, and thought that much might be done to obviate difficulties, in the way of interruptions etc. by an appeal to a sense of propriety on the part of those addressed.

At the beginning of next day's session, Mr. J. Campbell White read a call to prayer addressed to the Christian community of India, a copy of which is given elsewhere. The Rev. P. M. Buck gave an address on "Prayer," calling attention to the place of prayer in the Christian life, illustrating it from the example and teaching of our Lord. Emphasis was laid on our natural inability to pray as we ought. The Psalms were quoted as teaching the mode and purpose of prayer. The practical conditions of successful prayer were stated to be (1) all round consecration, (2) Obedience, (3) Confidence in God, (4) Vital union with Christ. The Rev. E. H. M. Waller then read his paper on *The Constitution and Development of the Christian Church as found in the Acts and Epistles*. Mr. Waller stated that the object of the paper was not controversial but practical. The subject had been suggested by the discussion last year of the question of the unity of the Christian Church. It might be possible by a reference to the conditions of the early Church to find a basis of union for the Indian Church. Disunion was a natural defect. Its only remedy lay in finding a centre of attraction. This centre is Christ. A desire for His glory must be the ruling motive. This was the case in the early Church. Its duty was to witness to Christ and His resurrection, the latter both as an historical fact and a spiritual experience. This was especially exemplified in the sacraments of baptism and communion. The Christian Church was a natural development of the Jewish Church. The claims of the latter were recognized by the Apostles and early Christians. The prophet of the Jewish Church found his counterpart in the apostle. The priesthood was fulfilled in Christ. The Christian elder succeeded the Jewish elder, while the deacon took the place of the Levite, though here the parallel was not perfect. Mr. Waller traced the development of the Church through the first and second centuries, calling attention, among other things, to the fact that Jewish customs were not imposed upon the Gentile Church, but that a spirit of mutual forbearance prevailed.

In the discussion that followed, the Rev. Mr. Martin emphasized the wisdom of laying no foreign restrictions upon the Native Church, giving his own experience of the value of *panchayats*, etc. Independence of thought must precede self-support. He cited the example of Paul who enjoined discipline, but left its enforcement to the local church. Dr. Gill also quoted Paul's practice of appointing elders in every church, and applied it to the Indian Church. We must be ready to hand over responsibility to our native Christians. Canon Ball

expressed on utter lack of confidence in the practicality of a united Church in the mean time, at least. Dr. Wherry raised the question of appointing as pastors qualified men who had other means of support, illustrating his point from New Testament usage, and the practice of the Brahmo Somaj and other communities in India.

On Friday afternoon Dr. Hooper's paper on *The value of Habit in personal Christian life* was read by the Rev. A. H. Wright. He said that the Christian life is the normal life. In it we find varying tendencies manifested, e. g. good impulse and self-control, zeal and discretion. These were seldom found properly balanced. One was generally in excess of the other. They were to be fully adjusted only by good habit. Habit is the result of repeated effort. It consists in two things, production and maintenance. For the Christian personal habits are of two kinds—those of universal obligation, and those individually binding. The paper dwelt on the value of habit as giving assurance of what our action would be under certain circumstances. Christians were warned not to become 'slaves to habit.' "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

The Rev. Mr. Martin then read Dr. Stewart's paper on *The Pastorate in the Early Church, as a solution of the question of self-support in the Indian Church*. James was the first pastor, but his position was unique. Leaving him out of account, there is little trace of a pastorate in the modern sense, till after the destruction of Jerusalem. The eldership took the place of the diaconate in the Jewish Church. Its first function was that of *managing*. Then some on account of peculiar ability in teaching were given this work to do, and among these any who shewed special fitness became pastors. Later on the regular ministry assumed a definite place. The Jewish law of tithe-giving passed over into the Christian Church as a means of support. In addition lands etc. were sold, and the proceeds given to the Church. Many pastors received nothing from the church, as they had other means of livelihood. In applying these conditions to the Indian Church the paper emphasized the need of stimulating native Christians to greater business energy and economy. Industries should be encouraged. Pastors should as far as possible support themselves; the duty of tithe-giving should be enjoined, the territorial limits of congregations extended as far as possible, and lay talent utilized. This demands an educated membership, which in turn calls for careful training through classes, books, news papers, etc. The need of greater personal piety was also emphasized.

The Rev. A. H. Wright opened the discussion. He laid stress on the need for self-support, for the sake of both the evangelistic work and the native Church. To be self-extending the Church must be self-supporting. The Indian Church is coming to realize its responsibilities. He called attention to the difficulties of self-support. Congregations are too small, and pastors' salaries too high. Mr. Waller thought a wrong impression was conveyed by the teaching that Christianity is free. Dr. Lucas agreed that the high salaries of pastors were an obstacle in the way of self-support. Self-sacrifice must

be encouraged. Dr. Thomas thought that the people were not being taught to give, not only money but time, and help in other ways. Dr. Wherry gave the experience of the Ludhiana Presbytery, in making over the district to a Home Mission Society. An annually decreasing amount was given by the mission to this Society, which was supposed to increase its contributions proportionately. European Missionaries should be members of the native Church and support it. The management of the Church should be in the hands of native brethren.

On Saturday the Rev. W. G. Proctor read a paper on "*The Sabbath*," He reviewed the scripture teaching on the Sabbath, and referred to the objections based on the silence of Scripture, that the Sabbath was not instituted till the time of Moses, quoting from Bishop Wilson to shew that such argument was unfair. He traced the later history of the institution to shew how general its observance had been throughout. He also gave Christ's teaching on the subject claiming that it had suffered no modification through this. Paul's teaching on observances he held as bearing not on the Sabbath, but on the spirit of Judaism in the Church. He also referred to the change of the day, as being due chiefly to gentile influence.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Lucas raised the question of strict Sabbath observance being made a condition of admission into the Church, pointing out the difficulties in the way in the case of certain classes of converts. Mr. Steinthal contended that the obligations of the Sabbath depend on natural laws, and plead for liberty in its observance.

In the absence of Dr. Weitbrecht, Mr. Waller read his paper on *Vernacular Christian Literature, its need and supply*. The need for such literature is manifest. Other departments of Mission work depend on it. The paper pointed out the need of thoroughness in the preparation of tracts, and instanced faults in present translations, hymnody, etc. There is need for special training, and for students of Sanscrit, Hinduism, and the various present day movements. For Christians there is call for more good hymns, more general reading, history, biography, and travels. There is need of more method in the preparation of literature. Mission Schools afford special facilities for distribution. The value of classes for colporteurs was insisted on, as well as the encouragement of vernacular journalism.

The Rev. Mr. Zwemer, of Arabia, opened the discussion. He called attention to the various kinds of literature needed for various stages in evangelistic work. He dwelt on the value of controversial literature, illustrating from his Arabian experience. Dr. Wherry emphasized the need for spiritual tracts addressed to men *as men*, also for Sabbath School literature for Christian Youth. He considered it the duty of everyone to write.

On Monday afternoon an address on *Bible Study for Personal Growth* was given by Mr. J. Campbell White. Among the points emphasized were (1) That Growth is enjoined by Scripture. (2) The Bible reveals hindrances to growth. (3) It indicates conditions of growth. (4)

Reveals the infinite possibilities of growth. (5) Reveals the Holy Spirit as the source of spiritual life. He also urged that Bible study be methodical and progressive. To this end results should be tabulated. The speaker in closing made a strong appeal for Bible study as a preparation for bringing others to a knowledge of the truth.

The Rev. D. Jones followed with a paper on *How to secure Voluntary Workers for Evangelizing India*. For these there is great room and need. Trained evangelists do not meet it. Voluntary workers are necessary, both European and native. The former should be urged to take their share in this work. The lack of earnestness on the part of native Christians was noticed, though some notable exceptions were referred to. The speaker questioned if missionaries were pursuing right lines of work. Perhaps too much had been done for the people. Objections to the *payment* system were urged. It relegates Christian workers to a class, and others excuse their inaction on this score. The liberality of Hindus in regard to their religion was cited, and the example of native Christians in Uganda and among the Karens was quoted. The qualifications of voluntary workers were dealt with. These are (1) A deep sense of indebtedness to God for His goodness. (2) A desire to import the good news to others. (3) Courage. The speaker thought many men were in too great a hurry to get a great deal of *work* done, without regard enough for result. Voluntary work should be required of all converts. There was a great need of a mighty outpouring of God's spirit on all workers.

A number of speakers took part in the discussion. Dr. Scott thought native Christian organizations should receive more encouragement. Mr. Hasler thought the development of voluntary work was hindered by too much foreign money. Dr. Wherry urged that workers be engaged more in the *education* of the children, which would throw the burden of evangelistic work on voluntary helpers.

The first address on Tuesday afternoon was given by Dr. Scott of Bareilly on '*Crucified with Christ*.' This was followed by Dr. Griswold's paper on '*Qadiani*.' It was regretted that time did not permit of the whole of this excellent paper being read, but it was announced that it would be issued separately later. The paper reviewed the history and claims of Mirza Gulam Ahmed, of Qadian, the founder of a new sect among the Mohammedans. He comes of a family of religious enthusiasts, and professes to be the promised Mahdi and Messiah. These are opposing claims according to Mohammedanism, but the Mirza Sahib reconciles them to his own satisfaction. He is a man of peace, and opposes the doctrine for *jehad*. He does not claim to be actually Christ, but to have come in the power of Christ, as did John the Baptist in that of Elijah. The Mirza asserts that Jesus did not die on the cross, but argues from the Gospels that He was only unconscious, and in this condition remained in the tomb for the time. He bases conclusions upon the unknown life of Christ claimed to have been found by a Russian traveller, and holds that Christ later visited India, and finally died at Srinagar, Kashmir,

This theory of the death of Christ he lays great stress upon, as it is vitally essential to his claims. The prophetic basis of his claim he finds in the promises made to the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. Two tribes were the inheritors of blessing, Israel and Ishmael. The former lost its privilege by its rejection of Christ, and Ishmael took its place. The Mirza follows Mohammed as Mohammed followed Moses. He has a peculiar doctrine of the Millenium, of which there are three, of devils, of the time when devils will be imprisoned, and finally of God's undisputed reign. From both the Quran and the Hadis he deduces arguments to prove his claim to be the Messiah. On the basis both of his character and the circumstances of his coming he claims to be the *Masih-ul-Masih*. He draws a parallel between Jesus of Nazareth and the Mirza as to the political conditions that prevailed at their coming; also between the moral and spiritual needs of the time, claiming that the necessity of the circumstances proves his claim. He also claims the position of mediator, following closely the New Testament doctrine, with this exception that he holds the existence of mediators. As a natural outcome of these claims he makes himself out to be greater than Jesus, both in the working of miracles, prophecies, teachings and general superiority. As credentials he cites many things, such as signs, eloquence, his understanding of the Quran, growth of disciples, supernatural answers to prayer, and fulfilment of prophecies. Three classes of the latter are given, relating to the death of individuals, natural events, and the success of his cause.

In conclusion the paper gave an estimate of the Mirza Sahib and his claims. He is a man possessed of great cleverness in presenting his claims and posing before the public. He shews lack of acquaintance with critical methods. In the field of philology he manifests great presumption. Theologically he is eclectic. Opinions vary as to his character. Some regard him as a conscious deceiver, others as a madman, and others again as a self-deceived impostor. The last judgment is the safest one. The speaker considered that the attitude of ignoring the claims and teaching of the Mirza was mistaken, as it might be construed into inability to combat them. The paper concluded with lessons drawn from the present conditions and prospects of Qadiani.

On Wednesday Rev. F. S. Hatch gave an address on "Risen with Christ", followed by papers on *Village Missions and Village Churches* by Mr. J. Monro and Dr. Chatterji. The latter paper we hope to give in our next issue. Mr. Monro dealt with the question of evangelizing the village population, the most important phase of mission work. He believed that this work involved three needs—preaching, teaching, and healing. From this point of view he gave his ideal of a village mission, with its staff of eight missionaries, dispensaries, school, church and other necessary appurtenances. The site should be near but not in a town. He also dealt with the questions of caste and debt.

Thursday afternoon was given to a paper by Dr. E. H. Ewing on "Theosophy." The paper was intensely interesting as a resumé of the history of the cult, but did not lend itself to synopsis. It was followed by a

helpful and inspiring address by Dr. Lucas on the *Second Coming of Christ*.

During the Conference classes for Bible Study were held daily in Landour, Edgehill, and Mussoorie, which were well attended and thoroughly appreciated.

At one of the later sessions a constitution for the Conference was submitted and agreed upon, and it was announced that next year the meetings would be held in the Union Church, Mussoorie.

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CONTRIBUTED.

CLOUDLETS FROM A MISSIONARY'S DAY DREAMS.

XI. Church Government, (Concluded.)

Many people lay undue stress on Catholicism so-called. Their great ideal is not only an inward but an outward uniformity. Were all men Presbyterians, or Episcopalians, or what not, how grand that would be according to these sectarian Catholics! But the historian Guizot shows how, in secular affairs, ancient civilizations with their unity of purpose were inferior to modern civilizations with their warring ideals. The Theocracy of Brahmanism and the Autocracy of Rome, Spartan Oligarchy and Athenian Democracy, all ended in stagnation. Art and literature reached perfection of outward form, but their inner ideas were neither so deep nor so various as in modern times. Look at ancient India, with everything so fixed, and all novelty under a ban; and then contrast the European civilizations of to-day, with its mixture of Republicanism, Royalty, and Autocracy, and its great progress. The ideal of modern civilization is unity in diversity, not unity in outward forms; and in the modern Church the same ideal should hold sway. One pontiff for the whole world, one historic Episcopacy, one liturgy, one confession of faith,—all these are hands stretched out towards the darkness of the past; they are attempts to revert to the stagnating unity of ancient and inferior civilizations. Not so long ago we all believed that God stuck ready-made trees and beasts and men down upon the earth, as a child places his tin soldiers in battle array, or puts his wooden animals two and two beside his Noah's ark; but now many of us have come to hold the truth of a constant struggle of varieties, which results in progress and a higher type. Let us hold by evolution in church governments also.

If we adopt the adaptation theory of church government, we may hold such apparently-inconsistent opinions as, that the Papacy was good for part of the middle ages (being able to stand up for the poor against king and noble), that Episcopacy has at times answered well in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland; and we can point out that whenever there was failure to suit surroundings, then the same Papacy failed in modern Spain and Italy, Prelacy has not stemmed corruption in Eastern Churches, and Presbyterianism has not been a complete success in the Transvaal. As in the Bible, so in the church, God speaks by divers portions, in divers manners; and the whole of the Church Visible is greater than any section of it, and, in the

conveyed the request of the mission for the committee's approval of their organization of the Church at Luebo. The Secretary was instructed to reply that the committee would heartily approve of the mission's taking this step whenever in the judgment of the mission there was a sufficient number of properly qualified men for the offices of elder and deacon among the communing members of the Church at Luebo.

A letter from Mr. Gammon announced that the Municipal Council of the City of Lavras requested the privilege of seeking for the Boys' Department of the Evangelical Institute, conducted by Mr. Gammon at Lavras, the recognition of the school on the part of the Brazilian government, which would put it upon the same basis as to the privileges accorded to the graduates of the school as that of the Government Gymnasium. Mr. Gammon stated that in order to accept this recognition it would be necessary to have another building, costing about \$2,500, in order to provide dormitory room for the required number of students. The committee expressed its hearty approval of Mr. Gammon's accepting this offer of the Municipal Council as soon as the financial condition of the offer could be met. The Secretary was instructed, however, to state to him that in the present condition of our treasury, it would be impossible for the committee to make the necessary appropriations, but that the matter would be commended to the Church as a suitable object of beneficence to those who might be able and willing to help the work in this special way.

The Treasurer's report was read, showing the receipts for the month of March, 1905, to be \$45,652.43, as against \$41,636.56 for the same month last year, a gain of \$4,015.87.

To Sabbath School Superintendents.—The next fifth Sabbath (appointed by the General Assembly) collection in behalf of Mission Schools would be April 30th. But inasmuch as the Sabbath schools have just been observing Children's Day for Home Missions, and inasmuch as some of them are observing that day during this month, no circulars will be issued, and no appeal will be made to the Sabbath schools for the fifth Sabbath of this month. The two objects, however, are different. Children's Day is for Home Missions in general, and the fifth Sabbath collection is specially for Indian schools; but we do not wish to crowd the Sabbath schools by asking two collections so near together. Still there are many Sabbath schools so well organized and so regular in their work that they never fail to respond on any fifth Sabbath. If any of these wish to take their usual collection, it will be greatly appreciated by us. If any school which did not observe Children's Day would like some of our exercises to be used on the fifth Sabbath, we will gladly furnish them to any superintendent who will notify us the number of copies wanted.

Thanking the Sabbath schools for their generous aid, and praying God's blessing upon all their work for the Church this year,

Most cordially,

S. L. Morris, Secretary.

Relation of Missionaries to the Native Church.—Action of the Executive Committee to be reported to the Assembly at Fort Worth:

The subject of the relation of the missionaries to churches in mission lands and to the Presbyteries in those lands was referred by the last Assembly to the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions to report to this Assembly. This action was taken in connection with the adoption of the recommendation of the Ad Interim Committee on Memorial of the Korean Mission, which memorial requested that our missionaries in Korea be authorized to co-operate with other Presbyterian missionaries in that field in the formation of a Presbytery to which the relation of the missionary should be as follows, i. e.:

"The missionaries who are members of these Presbyteries shall be members of the same only so far as concerns the rights and privileges of voting and participating in all its proceedings, but ecclesiastically they shall be subject to the authority and discipline of their respective Churches, retaining their full ecclesiastical connection with those Churches. The relation of the missionaries as members of the Korean Church shall continue until such time as, by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of their number, the withdrawal from this relation shall be deemed advisable."

The report of the Ad Interim Committee, which was adopted by the Assembly, declined to approve the organization of a Presbytery either in Korea or in China, to which the foreign evangelist should have the relation described above. Action to the same effect was taken by the Assem-

bly which met at Jackson, Miss., in 1902. We find also that the Assembly in 1887 answered an overture from East Hanover Presbytery, in regard to the Presbyterian relations of foreign missionaries, that "no minister can constitutionally be at the same time a member of two Presbyteries; hence the transfer (of a missionary) to a foreign Presbytery involves the complete severance of previously existing Presbyterian relations, precisely as at home."

It is competent, of course, for the Assembly to reconsider and take action contrary to these deliverances of former Assemblies. Whether such action can be taken consistently with the principles of our Presbyterian polity is an ecclesiastical question which the Assembly alone can decide.

As a question of mission policy, the Executive Committee is not prepared of its own judgment to recommend such action. The committee, however, recognizes the force of the fact that this policy is the one recommended to us unanimously, with one exception, by our mission in Korea, and agreed upon as best by all the Presbyterian missions working in that field. It is also the policy endorsed as best and wisest for the Presbyterian Church in China by a large majority of the Presbyterian missionaries in that field. To the question asked by our foreign mission, "Should not great weight be given to the opinion of the brethren who have grown up with the Church and know the conditions as no one else can?" we answer, unhesitatingly, yes. In view of this almost unanimous sentiment of the Korea and China Missions, the committee would feel constrained to waive its own judgment as to the general ecclesiastical policy to be pursued and acquiesce in the view of the two missions as a provisional arrangement.

Should the Assembly, however, decide that the request of the two missions can not be granted because of the inconsistency of the proposed plan with the principles of our Presbyterian polity, then the Executive Committee would recommend the following solution of the question at issue:

1. That the Assembly express its approval of the expressed desire on the part of our missions in Korea and China to co-operate with other Presbyterian missions in the organization of one United Presbyterian Church in each of those fields.

2. That the Assembly authorize its missionaries to take all such steps as may be necessary and as may be in conformity with the Presbyterian principles "to complete the formation and to secure the independence of the proposed United Presbyterian Churches in Korea and China."

(See Minutes of Mid-China Mission, p. 242.)

For an authoritative definition of the rights and powers of the foreign evangelist, with reference to the organization of Churches in mission lands, the missionaries are referred to the action of the Assembly of 1881, adopting the report of an Ad Interim Committee, of which Dr. B. M. Palmer was chairman (and Drs. Jas. Woodrow, Stuart Robinson, L. A. Lefevre, J. Leighton Wilson, T. E. Peck and J. B. Adger were members, as follows:

"The only feature that distinguishes the evangelist from the ordinary 'minister of the Word' is that he labors to plant the gospel and the institutions of the Church in places where they do not exist. When his field lies within the territory of the Church as already organized, his powers are circumscribed within those of the court having jurisdiction over the same. As the Form of Government (Chap. V., Sec. IV., Art. VI., and Chap. VI., Sec. II., Art. I.) assigns the power of forming new Churches and of ordaining to office to a court, these extraordinary functions of the evangelist can be exercised only when expressly delegated by the court to him as its agent. When his field lies beyond the territory which the Church occupies, his powers are necessarily enlarged. There being no court to discharge these functions, the constitution recognizes as inhering in his office all the powers that are necessary to constitute the Church. He may organize Church and ordain to all the offices required to make them complete; and also, with a view to the extension of the Church, he has the powers to ordain other evangelists, both natives and foreigners, provided that the latter be not under the jurisdiction of a Presbytery at home, in which case the concurrence of said Presbytery shall first be obtained. As soon, however, as a court is created, even the lowest, his extraordinary powers cease within its jurisdiction, and can be resumed only in the region that is beyond; the guiding principle being that the powers of an evangelist can not supercede nor impair those which pertain to a court, either at home or abroad." An attempt to secure additional legislation on this subject in 1894 in the way of amendment to the Form of Government was defeated by the vote of the Presbyteries.

To this action of the Assembly of 1881 it is recommend-

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The Presbytery of Harmony held its spring session with the Hephzibah Church, near Bishopville, beginning on Wednesday, April 5th, and closing the following Friday. At the request of the retiring Moderator, Rev. W. J. McKay, D. D., the opening sermon was preached by Rev. W. G. Neville, D. D. There were present fourteen ministers and sixteen elders.

Rev. J. M. Holladay, of Manning, was elected Moderator, and Elder George McCutchen, of Mt. Zion, Temporary Clerk.

Rev. T. M. McConnell, D. D., was with us for the first time, the Presbytery having received him at a previous called meeting and installed him pastor of the Camden Church.

The hearts of all were saddened by the absence of three of our older members, viz: Rev. W. A. Gregg, Rev. N. W. Edmunds, D. D., and Rev. W. W. Mills, D. D., all of whom were kept away from us by sickness. Dr. Edmunds, after long and faithful service as Chairman of the Home Mission Committee, gave up his work and Dr. Mills again tendered his resignation as Stated Clerk. Both of these resignations were accepted with regret by the Presbytery, and the Presbytery adopted a minute expressing appreciation of their services.

Rev. J. M. Holladay was elected Chairman of the Home Mission Committee, and Rev. W. S. Porter, Stated Clerk.

Presbytery's Evangelist, Rev. F. Carl Barth, gave an account of his labors during the past six months and we also had an address from our Synodical Superintendent of Home Missions, Rev. F. H. Wardlaw.

Rev. J. M. Holladay, of Manning, and Elder James Winn, of Sumter, were elected commissioners to the General Assembly, with Rev. V. R. Gaston, of Mt. Zion, and Elder E. A. Alexander, of Hephzibar, as alternates.

Presbytery decided to hold an adjourned meeting in Sumter on Tuesday, April 18th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, for the purpose of receiving, if the way be clear, Rev. W. J. Wyly and arranging for his installation at Georgetown.

The fall session of Presbytery will be held with the Mt. Zion Church.

W. S. Porter, Stated Clerk.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Traveling for The Standard has its compensations, and one of these is meeting the friends of The Standard, whose name is legion. I stopped at Monroe and hunted up Rev. George Atkinson. I found him out driving, and when I told him my business he had me to get in with him and he took me for a drive, and then gave me a list of the "possibilities" in Monroe, and I went out to interview them, and the interviews were invariably pleasant and frequently profitable financially. "Use my name as freely as you wish," Mr. Atkinson told me, and I found it a name to conjure with. It's a great work being done at Monroe. The roll has climbed steadily from 80 to 140, and out in the country Mr. Atkinson has established several Presbyterian outposts, and the future of Presbyterianism in Monroe and vicinity is bright, very bright. Monroe has one of the handsomest churches in the State, and the pride of the congregation in it is unbounded, and justly so, for it represents much self-denial on their part, and the child of self-denial is love, and those good people love every brick and stone in the building.

Down at Laurinburg there was no work to be done. "You Scotchmen all take The Standard," I remarked to one dour-looking Caledonian. "What else would you expect?" he asked, with a pugnacious stare. and really, when you come to think of it, what else could you expect?

There's a monument in this town (Laurinburg) that is worthy of mention. It's erected to the memory of a school teacher. That's a little out of the regular line of the marble industry. The fellow that gets plugged with a bullet from a Filipino gun gets a piece of granite with a word "Hero" occupying both sides; but a school teacher in a little town! Think of that. It shows, I fancy, as much the good sense of the people of Laurinburg as it does the worth of the man whose memory it commemorates. On one side it has the name, Quackenbush, with date; on another a quotation; on another, "In recognition of his exalted character, in appreciation of his ennobling influence upon youth. Erected by a people grateful for his love and service." On the fourth side: "Christian, Scholar, Philanthropist. Twenty-one years principal of Laurinburg High School, 1879-1900." And this monument is not put off in a corner; it is in the court house square. Perhaps those who erected it thought it might do the lawyers good to contemplate the virtues of Quackenbush's life.

Clarkton is another place that deserves mention. There

are several reasons for that. There is one special one, and that is the school. The Clarkton Male Institute is young in years, but—well, the attendance reached the high-water mark of 120 during the past year, under the admirable direction of Profs. Dunn and Hutchinson. From what I saw of these gentlemen, both in the class room and outside, I'd cheerfully recommend the school or any school with which they are associated. They are Christian gentlemen. And the school has good buildings, conveniently arranged, set in the midst of ample grounds. There's space for tennis and ball and drills. In short, Clarkton has a splendid plant, and the committee is working for the school, and everything is working smoothly and harmoniously. If you want your boys in a good school, send them to Clarkton.

After Clarkton came the White Plains congregation. Rev. Robert M. Williams, the evangelist, has just finished a meeting there, and I spent a pleasant day.

Wilmington and Vicinity.—Wilmington has 30,000 people and some other things. At least the makers of a recent directory say it has 30,000 inhabitants, and who's know if it hasn't? About the other things, it was not necessary to get information from the directory.

One thing is a gilt-edged collection of bar-rooms. A fine ad. writer was spoiled in the proprietor of one of them. He has a sign painted on his door reading thusly: "Any nation welcome except Carrie," and underneath that is painted a hatchet. It was rather a dull-looking hatchet, I noticed, but there is a sharper one being ground in Wilmington even now, and the noise of the grinding can be heard in the streets. Public opinion is turning the grind-stone, and the good people of Wilmington shall yet come out of darkness into light and line up with Charlotte and Fayetteville and Greensboro and other places, which have decided that the future of their children shall not be written on a bar-keeper's license.

Rev. Wm. Black has been helping things along in the meeting which has just closed—Sunday, April 19th—at Immanuel Chapel (or church, Mr. Crowley insisted it is). The meeting was an intensely interesting one, many being turned away from the doors at different times because there was room for no others within. The aisles were filled and even the available places around the altar were occupied by eager listeners. The meeting was begun by Rev. Sloan Crowley, and after he had preached several sermons which brought some into the light and set others to thinking, Mr. Black came and took up the work, and under the blessing of God eighty professions were made. That was a great work to bring eighty into the fold, but that wasn't all; there were others who had failed to live up to their Christian duty, and many of these crowded around the altar to promise renewed allegiance to the Saviour. And surely that is not the least important part of a meeting of this kind.

At the meeting at Immanuel 18 joined the Church Sunday morning and seven were baptized. Others will soon unite—some with Immanuel and some with the other churches, and fall into the ranks of those who will hasten the coming of the Master's Kingdom.

The meeting at the Y. M. C. A. being held by Mr. Herbert is creating great interest, and these meetings were held just at a needy time, as the election of city officers comes off Wednesday, the 12th, and a most exciting contest is looked for by those who are interested in good government and those who—but I'm not in politics, as the defeated candidate remarked to the man who wanted to borrow a dollar.

I went out to Whiteville, one of Brother J. E. L. Wine-coff's charges, looking for the "elect," and found them. They are good Presbyterians in that part of the vineyard, and also good Baptists and good Methodists and Episcopalians too, and they all work together in the church and school, and it's refreshing. The town is growing and prospering as a consequence. Why, they have a large new school building there costing about four thousand dollars, and the night after I left they were going to have an entertainment to make some money for benches and to buy paint with, etc.

D. D. McBryde.

The Executive Committee of Foreign Missions met in regular session in the Foreign Mission Rooms, Nashville, Tenn., on April 4th.

A letter was read from the Rev. W. M. Morrison, D. D., reporting progress in the preparation of the dictionary.

The Secretary reported that Miss Margaret H. Youell, of the Southern Brazil Mission, died at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York on March 26th. He was instructed to express to the family and friends of Miss Youell the sympathy of the committee in this bereavement.

A letter from Rev. Motte Martin, of the African Mission,

ed that the present Assembly add an expression of its judgment that when there are two or more foreign evangelists working in the same field the powers described in the above paragraph, as a matter of ecclesiastical propriety, should be exercised by them jointly, provided they are not so far apart geographically as to make such co-operation impracticable.

When a sufficient number of native churches has been organized and a sufficient number of native ministers and elders ordained, with such geographical relations to each other as would make the organization of a Presbytery practicable, your committee recommends that our missionaries be instructed to use their influence to have such Presbytery organized on the basis of autonomy and independence of all foreign Churches. When so organized the relation to be sustained to said Presbytery by foreign missionaries working within its bounds, is a matter to be determined first by the native Presbytery, in the exercise of its autonomous power, and then by the Churches whose representatives the missionaries are in the exercise of their general powers of supervision and direction of the missionaries under their care.

In view of the above considerations, the Executive Committee deems it unnecessary at present to propose any new legislation to be enacted defining the relation of the missionaries to churches in mission lands and to the Presbyteries in those lands. The committee considers that the provisions of our Manual of Foreign Missions, as expressed in paragraphs 14 and 15, together with the above suggestions, are sufficient to meet the present requirements of the case.

Report on Foreign Missions.—The Executive Committee of Foreign Missions met in regular session at the mission rooms on Tuesday, April 4th, 1905.

Miss Rida Jourolmon, formerly of Knoxville, Tenn., but for the past two years a resident of Kiangyin, China, was, upon the urgent request of the missionaries of that station, appointed as a missionary to China and assigned to Kiangyin as her field of labor.

The annual report for the year ending March 31st, 1905, was presented and adopted, and the financial statement of the report is as follows:

The total receipts for the year were \$226,284.25. This is \$10,244.47 less than the receipts for the previous year. Of the total receipts \$6,280.43 were from legacies. Receipts from legacies the previous year were \$7,801.33. There was also an individual donation of \$25,000 last year, to which there was no corresponding gift this year. An advance payment was made to the missions on the first quarter of the new fiscal year of \$10,895.09. This amount will be increased several thousand dollars by unused balances of appropriations for the year 1904 in our mission treasuries, which we are unable to take account of in our financial statement on account of delayed reports. The cash balance in the treasury at the end of the year was \$13,975.68.

The total disbursements for the year were \$———. The amount required for the outfit and travel of the large number of new missionaries sent out, and the duplication of orders by our African Mission on account of the loss of the Lapsley and the destruction of Ibanj Station, largely increased our expenditures over what they would have been under normal conditions. The committee is confident that with the help of our new Co-ordinate Secretary and the vigorous pushing of the Forward Movement, we will be able to carry on the work without financial embarrassment. It may be noted as a matter of encouragement that the receipts for the month of March were \$45,652.28, the largest amount ever received in one month in the history of our work.

Congo Boat Fund.—The response to our appeal for funds to rebuild the Samuel N. Lapsley has been most gratifying. The enthusiasm aroused in behalf of this fund was so great that there was diverted to it from the general fund not only a very large proportion of the contributions of our Sunday schools and Young People's Societies, but also a considerable amount of the regular contributions of the churches. Some embarrassment to our treasury has arisen from this cause, which we believe, however, to be only temporary; \$28,582.08 were received for this fund during the year. The amount received during the previous years was \$9,647.37. The total amount of the fund at present is \$38,229.45. Occasional contributions are still coming in, but we regard the collection of the fund as practically completed. Rev. T. Hope Morgan, of the English Baptist Mission, who has kindly acted as our business agent at Leopoldville, reports in his last letter that he had been unable so far to make any sale of the wrecked Lapsley, and that the prospect of realizing anything from that source seemed re-

mote. So far nothing has been charged against the fund on account of mite boxes, certificates and other expenses of its collection.

It is estimated that about one-half the fund will be required for the building of the steamer. About the same amount will be required for its transport and re-construction in Africa. The amount required for this latter purpose will not probably have to be paid out during the present fiscal year. The fund is now being drawn upon from time to time to pay for the original building of the steamer, and will have to be paid out in installments as the work of building progresses.

Immediately after the last General Assembly the Rev. L. C. Vass was assigned to the duty of preparing tentative plans of the kind of boat needed in our work. This work needed to be done very carefully, and Mr. Vass was occupied with it several weeks. The plans as drawn by Mr. Vass were submitted to the firm of Matteson & Drake, of Philadelphia, naval architects, who, in consultation with Mr. Vass, made the necessary changes in the plans and prepared drawings and specifications for the steamer. The plans thus finally completed were submitted to eight American firms and five British firms, with the request that they first bid upon the plans as submitted, and then offer criticisms and suggestions of changes by which the boat might be improved. The opinion of the naval architects was that not exceeding \$25,000 would be required for the construction of the boat as planned by them. The lowest bid received from any responsible American firm was a bid of \$34,100 from the Newport News Ship-Building Company. One bid was received from the firm of Graham, Ritchie & Milne, Glasgow, Scotland, for £3,870. After these bids were received, Mr. Vass was instructed to appear before the committee for consultation. The matter was discussed with great thoroughness, and the decision was reached that the building of the boat in this country, under present conditions, was impracticable. Such changes in the plans as would have brought down the price to the point where there was a reasonable probability of the fund being sufficient to cover the cost of construction and re-construction would have resulted in a boat which, in Mr. Vass' judgment, could not be safely navigated on the Congo River. Mr. Vass, therefore, instructed by the committee at its meeting on March 7th, to proceed to England for the purpose of conferring with the firm of Graham, Ritchie & Milne with reference to their bid, and also of obtaining bids from other British firms, if possible, and of having the work of construction begun at the earliest possible date.

The Forward Movement.—The work of the Forward Movement has been prosecuted as vigorously as was possible, under the circumstances. Rev. J. L. Stuart, Jr., and Rev. L. I. Moffet gave each about five months to the prosecution of this work before sailing for their field of labor in China. Earnest efforts have been made to use our Presbyterian committees and chairmen of Foreign Missions in the prosecution of the work. A considerable number of churches not strong enough to assume the full support of missionaries, but strong enough to take one or more shares in some of our stations, have been reached through this channel.

It is hoped that by persistent effort, and under the stimulus and direction given by the Secretary having charge of the work in the field, a much larger use can be made of these Presbyterian agencies during the present year. Many individual pastors have themselves presented the movement in their churches with encouraging results. The Co-ordinate Secretary having chief charge of Foreign Mission work in the field, elected by the General Assembly, declined the election, and the commission appointed by the Assembly was unable to fill his place until the 9th of January, 1905, when the Rev. James O. Reavis, of Dallas, Texas, elected by the commission and accepting the work, entered upon the duties of his office.

The committee desires to place on record its enthusiastic endorsement of this action of the commission, and its profound satisfaction at this addition to our working force. Since entering on the work, Mr. Reavis has visited all our Theological Seminaries except Columbia, which was visited by the chairman of the committee, and a number of our denominational schools; and has visited churches in all our Synods except that of Florida, giving special attention to the work of the Forward Movement in all these visits. The churches show their appreciation of the additional Secretary by requests for service at his hands far greater than he is able to render. A most encouraging feature of his work, so far, has been the enlistment of a number of individuals in the support of missionaries. The committee hopes for large development along this line during the present year.

The Home Circle.

HER SUPERIOR OFFICER.

By Margaret Horner Clyde.

It would never have happened but for Robert McAllister's eyes. They were quite unlike anybody else's eyes, so Isabel said, and Isabel was unprejudiced, for she had never seen the young man before. Perhaps it would never have happened if John Applethwaite had not been leading the singing that Sunday morning in the little old church at Randolph's Manor.

It was a June day. The birds in the elm trees were bubbling over with song. The elms themselves were older than the church, and the church had stood grim and grey for a century and a half. It had served as a hospital during the Revolution. Within sight of it stood the Randolph home. It, too, was a relic of the Revolution, in which conflict one of the earliest Randolphs won no little distinction. But church and manor house alike had been left behind in the march of civilization. Through nine months of one year they had dozed among their green acres and only roused when summer brought an influx of city visitors.

This year Major Randolph and his daughter Isabel had come earlier than usual to the old home. But, as yet, the guests who were wont to throng the house had not arrived. And so that Sabbath morning, Isabel, cool and dainty in a simple muslin gown, and the Major, tall and soldierly, with graying hair, sat alone in the family pew.

At the open window hummed the bees, somnolently. In the choir sat old John Applethwaite, listening, somnolently, to the birds, the bees—and, perhaps, the sermon. The sermon was worth listening to, for Robert McAllister was simple, straightforward, genuine. But John Applethwaite, a farmer, whose youthful love for music and naturally good voice had kept for him the office of chorister for thirty years, sat with eyes fixed upon the speaker, and thoughts wandering away to his fruitful fields. Perhaps it was because the week had been spent at work upon those fields and the old man was honestly tired, that his thoughts wandered. As the sermon proceeded, his head dropped and long before the young stranger in the pulpit had reached his peroration, the chorister was asleep.

One and another of the congregation looked toward the choir. He was certainly sound asleep, indeed Isabel said that his nap was chiefly sound, for louder and louder grew his breathing until it became an unmistakable snore. People began to retire temporarily behind their fans and then to pay sudden and intense heed to the preacher. At the man's side sat three girls, just at the giggling age. They laughed convulsively. Beyond them were two young men, who smiled and flushed and seemed quite undecided whether to leave the old man undisturbed or to interrupt the service still further by leaving their places and arousing him.

It was a high tribute to Mr. McAllister that he held his audience straight through to his last ringing sentence. Then with a brief, but reverent prayer, he sat down.

The crisis had now arrived. The minister opened his hymn-book and sat hesitating, his eyes upon the choir. The two young men were trying gently to awaken the old man. But gentle means proved slow. Impatiently they gave him a vigorous shake, and he sat up with a snort which sounded like the explosion of a steam boiler. Isabel put her head down on the back of the next pew and went into hysterics. Even Major Randolph pulled his mustache savagely, scowled at the wall in front of him, and cast no look of reproof at the shaking shoulders of the girl beside him. When, at last, she sat up with flushed face, she encountered a pair of dancing eyes in the pulpit.

Strangers say that Robert McAllister has hazel eyes. Isabel says they are never twice the same, they are little lakes which reflect sunshine and shadow, tenderness and scorn, and love. But that first glance was one of mutual mirth and perfect sympathy. Yet his mouth was unyielding, and but for his eyes, his face was grave.

"We will close," he said, "with one verse of No. 86, 'Lord, Dismiss us With Thy Blessing.'" John Applethwaite, still dazed with sleep, began the hymn, but set it, miserable dictu! to the wrong tune. Not one word fitted. The tucks that were taken in and the gathers that were let out of that dignified old hymn would have astonished the very elect, and even then, there were two whole lines left over, unclothed, as it were. It was fortunate that only one verse was sung. Human endurance could not have survived a second.

When it was all over and Isabel turned to leave the pew,

she exclaimed, "Daddy, we must know him! Any man who can go through that and come out right end up is a hero. If you had seen his eyes!"

"I did," replied the Major. "He deserves a medal. He is the kind who does not flinch at the cannon's mouth."

Five minutes later Mr. McAllister was being presented to Miss Randolph.

"How could you help laughing?" she asked.

"I can't," he replied. "Won't you come into the graveyard and join me?" And the two sat down upon adjoining tombstones and laughed till the echoes rang.

After that they could never be strangers. The Major insisted on taking the young man home to dinner, and it developed in the course of their conversation that he was not an ordained minister, but a student with another year before him at the seminary. He was merely supplying the pulpit of the old church for the summer.

And never did a summer fly so fast. When the Randolphs and their many guests went back to the city, McAllister had easily a dozen invitations to call on as many charming girls. Yet he buckled down to work with a stern resolve to bury his happy summer deep among the memories of the years. For he had a lofty purpose in life, and in his plans there seemed no place for trifling. Yet no sooner had he formed his resolve to forget Randolph Manor and the Randolphs, than he broke it by going to the city and taking Isabel to the Army and Navy football game. The Major, who was by no means blind, began to watch and to make inquiries about the young man; but nothing further happened.

Only once did McAllister write to her, merely a courteous, friendly note. Then in April they heard indirectly that he was in the city awaiting a critical operation in the hospital. The Major hurried down town, to find the operation over and the patient living. More than that, the surgeon would not say.

Isabel could not think of him as ill. Weakness was the one thing incompatible with Robert McAllister. She pictured him as she had seen him laughing that first day out in the old graveyard. How his strong white teeth had flashed! She remembered his broad shoulders, his muscular arms as he was playing tennis or rowing, during their beautiful summer together. Then she bit her lips until the blood came and said he could not, must not die.

And he did not die. Perhaps a girl's prayers saved him. When he became convalescent the Major went to see him, and came home with an idea in his mind.

"Isabel," he said, "let's take that boy out home." Randolph's Manor was always home to the Major and Isabel. They merely stayed in the city during the winter.

"He'll never get well here. I don't believe much in hospitals, anyhow."

"Very well," replied Isabel. "only he may not want to go, in which case, I don't envy you the task of taking him, unless he has changed greatly."

"Why shouldn't he want to go? I tell you, it's pretty tough for a fellow like that to have no father nor mother nor home. I'm going to take him out there and cure him."

But taking him out there proved difficult. He persistently declined the invitation, until at last, seeing how he had wounded his friend, he agreed. "All right, Major. I never can thank you, and I won't try. I'll go."

The next day after he was installed at the old house, Isabel came. The Major met her at the station. When they reached the house, she seemed loath to enter. Once in the library she took an interminable time to unfasten her wraps.

"Come, Isabel," exclaimed her father impatiently. "Come and speak to Mr. McAllister."

"Don't you think I had better wait till tomorrow? He might be—"

"Nonsense! He's perfectly able to see people."

"Well," she assented reluctantly. "But wait till I fix my hair."

After a long time she emerged from her room, followed by her father, who was now thoroughly out of patience with her, reached the door of the guest room, then suddenly turned and flung herself against his shoulder. "Father, I'm afraid!" she cried.

"Afraid?" he questioned, perplexed. "Isabel, you are acting most unaccountably. Can't you offer a polite greeting to a friend in your own house?"

"No," she replied, perversely. "Tell me what he looks like."

"There is nothing to embarrass you, my dear," he assured her, beginning to see daylight. "He is thinner, of course, but you will find him 'clothed and in his right mind.'"

Clothed, he certainly was, but—in his right mind? The Major doubted it. The young man had nerved himself to meet this moment calmly. He had thought to thank his hos-

THE MISSION FIELD.

THE STORY OF THE FRENCH MISSION IN BASUTOLAND.—III.

BY REV. A. JAQUES.

From 1853 to 1856, there are no particular facts to mention in the history of the Mission. At this period the Mission House in Paris was re-opened, and M. Casalis was called there as director. For twenty-three years he had become worn in working and labouring among the Basutos. It was a most touching ceremony, the bidding adieu to M. Casalis at Thaba-Bosiu. The church was called together to see him for the last time, and, as in the case of the Apostle Paul, they accompanied him with tears and prayers as far as Morija.

In 1857, one of the pupils of the Mission House was ordained. This was Monsieur Coillard, the future founder of the Zambezi Mission. In 1858 he arrived in Basutoland, where two new stations were founded, one of which was Leribe, where he was placed. We must now go back a little to understand the period which follows, and which leaves a cruel souvenir of the conduct of the whites to the Basutos.

In 1836, the Boers, discontented with certain laws made by the Cape Government, revolted, saying "Let us trek." They advanced towards the north, repulsing the natives wherever they found them. From this time they established themselves in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In 1858, the Boers, finding that the neighbouring country was a good one, declared war against the Basutos, without any other reason than that of covetousness.

They invaded Basutoland, completely destroyed the beautiful station and printing office at Bersheba, took Morija, drove away M. Arbousset the missionary, burnt his house and came to Thaba-Bosiu. In spite of all their efforts, they could not take it, and had to retire at the order of Sir George Grey, the British Governor. Our missionaries had to be more on the alert than ever, for they saw themselves on the point of being dispossessed of their station. To the evils of war must be added others, which necessitated much perseverance and many efforts on the part of the Christians in Basutoland. First of all famine, then smallpox, after this typhoid fever, each claimed many victims. Many more labourers were needed to face the exigencies of the present time, so M. Germond, M. Mabile, and M. Ellenberger were sent to the aid of their brethren in 1860. New stations rose up, called for by the chiefs or by the natives, who felt the good influence which the Gospel exerted over their hearts.

The heathen party was always powerful, and our missionaries had often to struggle against it. Yet another new adversary appeared on the horizon. I speak of the Catholic missionaries, who about 1861 came to establish themselves at Thaba-Bosiu. From this time it was needful to combat them, so that they would not steal the hearts of those who were on the point of being converted, and who did not know as yet which road to take. Basutoland was now full of Christians, or of those who called themselves so. It was found necessary to establish a way of exercising and following up an influence over those who did not live in a missionary village, or who could not come regularly to church. M. Arbousset had tried to meet this by often visiting the scattered ones round his station. This occupied much time without any great results. What was necessary were native Christians worthy of all confidence, who could take charge of these out-stations. It was to M. Mabile that this inspiration came in 1863. At Kolo, near Morija, he settled one of his Christians, Esaia Lééti, to preach the Gospel. The result was just what he expected; Esaia, loved and supported by his countrymen, did among them a work which was really blessed. In 1864, another out-station of Morija was put under the care of Sello Ricare; they put along with him a young Mosuto called Léfi, son of Esaia, who took charge of the school. Thus were begun those permanent out-stations, the usefulness of which was soon to be increasingly felt, and their real service unanimously recognised.

Unhappily the hour of political conflict was again to sound.

In 1865 came a new war with the Boers, who wished to reduce the Basutos to famine. Orders were given to our missionaries by the Government of the Orange Free State to withdraw from Basutoland. Moshesh sued for peace. They granted it to him on condition of reducing his country to the district of Thaba-Bosiu only. The missionaries might return on condition that they turned their stations into farms. They had to rebuild many ruins, for the war had been disastrous. Although hostilities continued all the same, Moshesh accepted the offers of the British Governor, and on the 12th March, 1868, the Basutos were recognised as British subjects, and had no more to fear in the future from the Boers.

The year 1870 was encouraging for the missionary work. Nevertheless, there was also a heavy grief to chronicle. Moshesh, the great chief of the Basutos, Moshesh, who had called the missionaries, who had aided them in improving his people, died. During all his life he had been indifferent to the teachers of the Gospel, but when the hour of death approached, he experienced the grace of God penetrating his heart, and he died a Christian.

After the war of 1868, one of the first cares of M. Mabile on returning to Morija, was his out-stations. He wished to give them efficient aid in putting trained evangelists in charge of them. But these evangelists had first to be educated. He also founded a Normal School at Morija, which, later on, was to exercise great influence in South Africa. It was from there indeed that many evangelists came forth, and still come forth, to labour in the Transvaal, in Orangia, and even in the Colony. By this time the churches of Basutoland had become full grown. The missionaries took note of this, also that they were able to organise and direct for themselves, in the first Synod that was held in 1872. But the living church has another duty than that of directing and organising. She ought also to carry the Light. This the churches in Basutoland understood. And here we can see this fact, remarkable in the history of Missions: a small tribe, evangelised in fourteen years, wishing in its turn to spread the Gospel. Various missionary expeditions were organised among the Maloutis, the Banyai, and other tribes. They did not altogether succeed at first, sometimes by the opposition of the chiefs of the tribes, sometimes by the badwill of the Governors, but perseverance and a good cause ought always finally to succeed, and upon the far distant banks of the Zambezi we can now see fruit from the efforts of these children of Africa, who had become children of God. M. Coillard has been the founder of the Mission to the Zambezi, but let us not forget that he went there because the Basutos said to him, "Go, and our prayers will go on before you to that land, which will become the Mission of the Christian Basutos."

Since 1872, the work has not ceased to progress in all its stations. Erection of normal schools for young men and young women, industrial schools, Bible schools where native pastors are trained, the publication of a newspaper in Sesouto called *Leselinyana la Lesotho*, "Little light of Basutoland"—all are joyful fruits of a work accomplished under the eye of God, and blessed by Him. But what is of much more importance is, that souls, one by one, slowly but surely, have given themselves to the Saviour.

We do not think we can better terminate this short history of the Basuto Mission, than by giving a short resumé of the work in 1900. The seventeen stations in Basutoland had, at that date, 158 out-stations and 158 schools, 8 native pastors, and 17 European missionaries directing them, 315 teachers and evangelists labouring in the different out-stations. There were 11,498 church members enrolled in the registers, 7,169 catechumens preparing for membership, 11,000 scholars in the schools—a fine result of conscientious labour. Compared to the work of certain other missions perhaps at first it appears rather insignificant. But the sphere of the influence of our missionaries extends over 80,000 or 90,000 men, about one-third of the total population of the number of those converted to Christianity. In a different manner also the work of our missionaries has had great results. When the greater part of the South African tribes had disappeared, or had been swallowed up by Colonial politics, the tribe of the Basutos has remained, preserving its autonomy or independence.

Basutoland remains, and will remain, we hope, in South Africa the last witness of the heathen past, but a witness vivified by the breath of the Holy Spirit, and no longer animated by gross Paganism. And this independence is still the fruit of the Mission, not because our missionaries have been, as they are so often accused of being, politicians, but, because, in making the Gospel penetrate their hearts, they have caused to penetrate at the same time a moral life which makes nations live, and which makes them great. In this consists the secret of the independence of Basutoland. No need to look for it elsewhere.

Honour to those who have laboured at this work of regeneration with such constant fidelity. But, above all, honour to Him, who in His grace touches hearts and converts them to Himself. The work among the Basutos is the work of God.

EXTRACTS FROM THIRD YEARLY LETTER FROM REV. W. GAVIN, M.A., PONDOLAND.

It is with a deep sense of gratitude to God that I enter upon this, the Third Annual Letter to the friends in the homeland and in South Africa.

Famine and locusts have disappeared, but the war still lingers on, and we long for the time when the sounds of strife will be no longer heard in our midst. The natives had, on the whole, a year of prosperity, which has only given them greater opportunity for drunken revelries. Month after month this has gone on, till now almost all their grain is finished. This prosperity has advanced the cause of the witch-doctor, and has rendered the people utterly indifferent and careless to the preaching of the Gospel.

There has not, therefore, been any great addition to the ranks of Christ's followers, but rather the proving and testing of the work which had already been effected. Heathenism seems almost to have received a new lease of life, and the recent converts have been severely tested. I am glad to say that, with a very few exceptions, all have proved faithful, and by their adherence to their new life and profession, have proved that they had indeed experienced a spiritual change. Otherwise it is difficult to understand their steadfastness, for Christianity seems outwardly to take everything from them and give them nothing in compensation.

Eighteen of the candidates who, by their life, conversation, and saving knowledge of the truth, were considered worthy, were received into full membership, sixteen of these by baptism and two by the right hand of fellowship.

There has been very little real extension of the field since last year, as we had only recently entered into so much new land. The work has consisted chiefly in taking full and permanent possession of those new parts, and in organising and directing the various agents and agencies. It was deemed fit to withdraw from Hlanwana's district, leaving it to the other Churches, and, instead thereof, to enter into a new sphere, viz., that of Mavatulana, about six miles on this side of Mqakama's, and near the main road to St. John's.

A new site for Rainy Mission Station, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the present one, was obtained on the 3rd of April from Bokleni, who is now paramount Chief of Western Pondoland. Since then the matter has been in the hands of the Government of Cape Colony, and has been practically, but not yet formally granted. It is hoped that before another year has passed the missionary will be fairly installed in the manse to be built on this site by the New Year offering (1899) of the children of the Free Church, the generous help of the members of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Cape Town, and some friends in Scotland.

I have to record the death of my oldest elder, John Lukalo, who departed this life a few weeks ago. By his death is lost one of the links with the older missionaries. A Pondomese by birth, but brought up in the Colony, he gave himself to Christ while still a youth at Emgwali under old Mr. Cumming, who still lives. Then after working at Lovedale, he crossed the Kei with his missionary, Rev. Richard Ross, and helped in founding the Mission Station of Cunningham amongst the Fingoes. Since then he has taken a prominent part in all the extensions of Cunningham, latterly belonging to Somerville

Mission, and more than three years ago, when Esidwadweni was disjoined from Somerville at the formation of Rainy Mission, he became an elder of the new mission. He was one of the finest Kafir readers, and had both beautiful expression and articulation in prayer.

The School at Lutambo's has an attendance of 40, and has made a good beginning. In these young schools, before we are able to take advantage of Government grant and come under the regulations, we have greater opportunities of teaching more of Christianity to the children, if there is a good Christian teacher. After two quarters' instruction, I was surprised to find that the children could read and translate the primer (same book as children use at home), say the Lord's Prayer in Kafir, repeat the Ten Commandments, sing half-a-dozen Kafir hymns, and be familiar with the rudiments of writing, arithmetic, and spelling (English). All this progress, too, has taken place in a wild, secluded district, where there is not a single Christian or dressed native.

The school at Dwanpaza's has an attendance of over 30. There, to my astonishment, the children went through similar lessons in an efficient manner, translating all those sentences about "Tom and his dog." I felt deeply moved by their singing, which to me seemed wonderful, and just as if they had been accustomed to it all their lives. This, too, after only six months' teaching.

The most recent school is at Mavatulana's, as you go down to St. John's. It was started this quarter, and has an attendance of 21. Of the other schools, that of Madikizela deserves special mention, as it has now an attendance of 60. Four of the twelve schools are now under Government, and all made a creditable appearance before H.M. Inspector, especially the school at Esidwadweni, which are very good—10 passed Standard IV; 8 Standard III, 2 failed; 20 Standard II, 1 failed; 22 Standard I, 2 failed. In addition to the above there was a large number who passed from sub-Standards A and B into Standard I.

The school at Dorana will be accepted this quarter; but the remaining seven are as yet private schools. They are not in a position to meet all the requirements of Government as to proficiency, school building, etc.

There are now nine buildings of various sorts in connection with Rainy Mission. The square hut at Cingeo has been lengthened to meet the growing needs of the school. The church-huts at Entshongweni and at Ngaolora (Drummond) are completed, but have not yet been publicly dedicated, owing to sundry difficulties. The large round hut—25 feet in diameter—at Corana, being too large, has given endless trouble. It stands on a very exposed spot, and owing to hurricanes the roof has had to be removed three times. It is to be publicly opened next month. A small round hut has been built at Simanga's; it is to be opened also next month. Then at Madikizela's, a little iron building, 30 feet by 20 feet, with four windows, has been built. This is necessarily more expensive, but is altogether more satisfactory, as it will stand for such a long time. At present there is a mud floor, but afterwards, when there is a congregation of Christians, we can put in a wooden floor, and also line the building with sundried bricks to keep out the heat.

The church-hut at Rainy has not yet been built, owing to the contemplated change of site for the main Mission Station.—*St. Andrew's Magazine.*

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING IN A MISSION TO UNCIVILIZED PEOPLE.

BY REV. GEORGE A. WILDER.

ON his recent return from deputation work in India, Secretary Barton was asked what, in his opinion, is the important feature of the work in India at the present time. He replied: "The feature of the work in India requiring especial attention at the present time is the industrial work." To those of us who are accustomed to think that the duty of the missionary is limited to preaching, and to educating converts to read and to interpret the word of God for themselves, this statement of Dr. Barton's seems almost startling. And one may naturally ask, "Does he mean to imply that the church is called upon not only to evangelise and to teach, but also to civilise its converts?"

Did Christ in his last words, or elsewhere, enjoin any such duty upon his disciples? Whence comes this new doctrine?" It would be impossible to fully discuss the question involved, in a brief article, but a word may be written to justify the employment of industrial agencies in a mission to uncivilised nations.

Before looking into its effect upon the savages, let us glance at the value of industrial training to the missionary himself. A missionary finds himself hundreds of miles away from civilised centres, among a primitive people. His wife's stove reaches its destination with the oven door broken; the frame to her sewing machine smashed; two legs of the dining-room table eaten by white ants; the chairs all missing; and his own watch come to a full stop, which no amount of coaxing, winding, or praying will induce to go again. It will take months, perhaps years, to renew the broken parts from the homeland, at great expense. In the meantime the missionary and his wife, because they cannot make anything better for themselves, are compelled of necessity to live in native made huts. Their shoes wear out, and the soap supply fails, and these unfortunate people gradually assume the appearance of Oriental religious mendicants! And were it not for the timely arrival of some fellow missionary with a mechanical turn of mind, they might speedily return to the homeland, and spend the rest of their days in blaming the board for sending them out under misrepresentation. Take for example a house for one of the missionaries at Mt. Silinda, in the South East African Mission. The stones for the foundation, the burnt bricks for the walls, the tiles and sawn timbers for the roof, the joists, the wall plates, the doors and window frames, and the boards for the floors, were all secured and manufactured on the ground by young natives, who in 1893 the mission found as wild savages, living in hovels. Their huts are large basket-like, grass-covered structures, which lions successfully tear to pieces. The mission has now erected ten burnt-brick buildings, most of the work on which was done by the Africans who have learned all they know from the missionaries since 1893. Most of the time there have been only two missionaries on the field. These buildings have been put up at one half the amount it would have cost to have had them erected by European contractors. So far, then, it would appear that unless these industrial operations take the missionary from more important work, it is wise for them to instruct the African natives in industries.

Let us now determine upon how much value it may be to the savage. In the very first place, in order to make a correct estimate of the need of industrial training in this field, it must be borne in mind that the Bible record from Genesis to Revelation deals wholly and exclusively with civilised races. Neither prophet, priest, Christ, nor the apostles had aught to do with savages—at least, so far as the records tell us. It is only as this truth is kept in view that the influence of the missionary's civilisation over the savage can be realised. It is an effective method of gaining and holding his attention. Call to mind a people whose natural business is plunder and accumulation of wives; whose national pastime is beer drinking, and whose recreation is satisfying lust; whose god is their belly, and whose creed is, Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die: whose whole life is spent upon the ground, whether in travel, work, eating, or sleeping. Now let the missionary attempt to reach these people in a conventional way. Let him preach to them of righteousness and judgment to come; let him tell them that God is, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him; that He loves them and demands their entire love, and that He is angry with the wicked every day, and what is the effect? Generally this, the barbarians look at each other and remark, "Whatever is he talking about?" Now let the same missionary put a few stitches into a man's back, torn by a lion; mend the broken lock to his gun; turn a water-furrow over his garden, famishing with drought, and at once the attention of the barbarian is gained, his interest in and his respect for the missionary established, and his gratitude aroused. Shown earthly things, he, not like the Pharisee, believes, and so is more ready to heed heavenly truths. The heedless nature-man is now listening to spiritual truths to which at first he would give no attention. Important initial steps have now been taken towards reclaiming the barbarian's character. Incidentally, too, the missionary has learned the truth that a savage listens better with his eyes than with his ears!

It arouses moral consciousness and trains the will. Industrial training is of great importance in helping the child of nature to arouse its sense of obligation to moral law. Take, for instance, a little girl whom the missionary rescued from domestic slavery. Clothed in a few beads, she knows and can learn little about modesty. Shifting largely for herself since her babyhood, she is versed in all deceit and cunning, and has made the discovery that a savage child can exist by the use of her wits and very little manual work. Let the missionary lady, taking up the Christian woman's burden, put a broom and dustpan into this Topsy's hand, teach her how to sweep clean and to dust thoroughly, taking out all the rugs, mats, and furniture from each room once a week, cleaning and returning them each to their appropriate places. Put her to washing dishes; the glasses themselves in hot soapsuds, that they may shine like crystal; the silver by itself, that it may not get scratched; the crockery wiped upon a separate towel, and each piece put back in its proper place; and all this three times each day. Under this daily discipline this child begins to grow more attentive, careful, thorough, industrious, and is learning the value of time; and under the diligent eye of her mistress, she finds it difficult, at least, to be dishonest. Note in passing, that she does not do all this from principle, for she has none, but simply because her environment compels her to. Yet to a thoughtful observer it is patent that this training is doing as much and probably more than the reading lesson, or even the missionary's sermons, to arouse in Topsy her moral consciousness, and to reveal her obligations to moral law.

This simple and common example is given since it not only is at once correct and typical, but it also illustrates clearly what seems to be the divine idea in regard to industrial training in such missions, namely, that it is almost a necessity. To maintain a high tone of even the outward form of Christian civilisation in a household surrounded by environments wholly demoralising requires strenuous efforts on the part of the housekeeper, and a stern, diligent discipline of the forces at her command. It would be foolish economy, indeed, to send out servants with the missionaries. True, this kind of industrial training, which includes housekeeping, cooking, and sewing is not contemplated by the Board, and no special provision made for it. Yet every lady missionary who lives among untutored people fully realises its necessity, and some are inclined even to neglect this duty, choosing rather the easier and more agreeable (to them) occupation of exhorting the heathen. These desirable results which are so patent in the drill of the household may be equally seen in any and all the industrial occupations to which any of the barbarians may be put. As the boys temper the clay, mould the bricks, stack and burn them in the kiln, saw the logs, and engage in any other industrial occupation wherein they are taught to see, handle, and conform to fact, wherein the slightest deviation from the rule entails a certain result of visible evil, wherein they see spiritual truths of things, their moral natures begin to arouse from their slumbers, and they are on the high way to have their characters reformed. Circumstances make the man, and even a superficial observation of such a people as they pass under this discipline will prove the correctness of the assertion that manual training offers peculiar advantages for cultivating the executive ability and for directing the will toward virtuous purpose. The negro race receives some good from the discipline it received while in slavery.

Again, after the barbarian is converted, a distinctive value of industrial training appears. An important difference between the New Testament convert and a converted African of to-day is that the former was clothed and in his right mind, while the latter is in his right mind but not clothed, and there is nothing in the gospel that might even hint to the converted nature-man how to make a shirt. It is an interesting psychological phenomenon that when the guilty conscience first hears the voice of the Lord, from the time of our first parents to the African savage, immediately the desire arises for the possession of a shirt. And it is a suggestive fact that we are told that the Lord God made for Adam and Eve clothing to take the place of the flimsy girdle, which in their extremity they had manufactured out of leaves. This illustration fairly suggests the tremendous duty devolving upon somebody of enabling this man to discharge the obligations which have been

imposed upon him by the new relations in which his conversion has placed him; the duties to himself, to his wife, to his family, the church, and to the world lying in darkness. He has been taught how to die, but he must now learn the more practical and present duty of how to live. Indeed, I might almost say that he is not ready to die until he has learned how to live. It is very suggestive to call to mind right here that Christ does not take the attention off from this world and limit it to another. He emphasises the truth that the kingdom must come and His Father's will be done on earth. He prays that His disciples be not taken from the earth. He says He came that they might have life, and have it abundantly. He insisted that the kingdom was within His disciples.

To return to the convert again; he probably will apply himself diligently in learning how to read, only to be disappointed in finding out that there is no magic in the printed page, and that the missionaries' powers and resources are still beyond his reach. Possibly somebody may suggest that the missionary might help him out with some of his old clothes; yes, in point of fact, they often do. But if the missionary is as successful as he ought to be in winning converts, the old clothes won't go far, even if the converts should do as two brothers did with Mr. Lindley's trousers—cut them into two, and both came to church, each wearing one leg!

Of course in this connection it is natural to think of the civilised and commercial communities which are slowly yet surely locating over the face of the African continent, and hope that may be trusted to civilise the mission converts, and indeed, all the savages. Unfortunately these centres are not generally religious or philanthropic. The most they might give them is an ungodly civilisation, which though it might not doom him, would greatly retard the salvation of the African. Indeed, so long as the sentiment rules from the Cape to Cairo that the "raw Kaffir" is more docile and cheaper than the partially civilised, just so long must the duty of making the African something more than a drawer of water and hewer of wood devolve upon the church. For surely it would be folly to leave the converted savage to work out his own salvation in his heathen environments. Imagine a man with his former occupation of raiding his neighbours' cattle, of dealing in slavery, gone because of his stand as a Christian. Imagine him called upon to clothe and support himself and one wife instead of depending upon many wives, called upon to discharge his Christian duty to the church and to the world at large. How is he to accomplish all these? Difficulties gather round him thick and fast, and special danger arises. "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and finding none, he saith, I will return unto my house whence I came out. And when he cometh he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first." Shall there be no sympathy for a man thus tempted; is there no duty to discharge toward him? The better way is to give him a training in life's industries, in order that he may be able to save himself.

In short, then, industrial training in a mission to uncultured people is, first, not to civilise him in order that he may be Christianized; second, not as a business venture to enable the missionaries to become independent of the home churches, nor, indeed, would I claim for it as much as some seem to do, namely, that the workshop will make a "stupid blockhead . . . bright in intellect," and a "hopeless truant . . . a sturdy Christian character." But industrial training is of great use, to economise finances; to arrest attention; to establish respect; to gain authority; to relieve suffering; to dispel superstition; to impart an appreciation of the value of knowledge; to make the untutored man realise the value of time; to teach him the dignity of labour; to inculcate in him prompt obedience; to show him that he must obey the commandment, "Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work;" to teach him honesty; to help him to take the initiative; to give him independence; to reveal his own powers to himself; to force him to assume personal responsibility; to arouse his moral consciousness; in a word, to make the savage who has become *willing, able* to support and propagate the institutions of the Christian religion.—*The Missionary Herald*.

THE BAROTSE MISSION.

The following letter, from the Rev. F. Coillard to a gentleman in America, will be read with interest:—

LILUYYI, 4 Novembr, 1901.

Dear Brother in Christ:—Your very kind letter of March 25th came to hand at the end of July, just as I was leaving for a long journey to the Victoria Falls, and this is the reason why I have not thanked you yet for it. The expression of your interest in our mission, and the assurance that many in America as well as in England, bear us up in prayer to the throne of grace, touch me very deeply. Never more than now have we needed the intercessory prayer of the people of God. We are now mourning over the recent death of Madame de Prosch, the wife of our devoted doctor—a most genial, gifted, and loving lady, whose whole heart was in the work. Of the twenty-five workers who came to Barotseland in 1898 and 1899 only *two* remain in the field. All the others have been compelled to return home with broken health, or have been removed by death. We are sadly reduced, and, indeed, we cannot think of each other without apprehension, as the state of health of the few remaining is anything but satisfactory. We verily sow in tears, and for us this is not a figure of speech. But although crushed down and torn in our deepest affection, we are not discouraged. We believe in the promise of the harvest. It is a great grace that we should be called to fill up what remains of the sufferings of Christ for the sake of the church. We have not as yet seen an awakening among the people; but our schools are well attended and are flourishing, the people are of an easy access for evangelistic work, our congregations on the Lord's Day are good and serious. When the long expected showers come, then shall the seed spring up even where we probably do not expect it—and I think the time is near.

We have here the chief Kayundu (Kanjundu), a good band of Christian young men among his followers, from Mr. Currie's station. They have taken a bold stand as Christians, and have caused no small astonishment among our Barotse. Every Sunday at the principal service they stand by themselves and sing us most heartily one of their hymns. Last Sunday the chief spoke, related his conversion; few could understand him, but one of his young men, and then our prime minister, himself a Christian, interpreted him to the people. I understand that the whole week it was the talk of the town, and specially of the head men. The black tribes generally despise each other; the Biheans despise the Barotse, whom they call the "Go-naked," probably from the scanty loin cloth they used to wear long ago; the Barotse despise also the Biheans, whom they think more corrupt (!) than themselves. It is why they wonder so much in seeing and in listening to them. "What!" they say, "those people are Christians and they come to teach us!"

It so happened that we had many other Christians from the Lake Ngami, from different parts south of the river. They all stood up, and many gave their testimony to the power of the grace of God, and gave also some burning words of warning and exhortation. As I have said before, I repeat most emphatically, while the heathen Biheans make on our borders a thrifty trade in "black ivory," it is the mission of your Christian people to be occasionally, in their travels, the light bearers among the tribes still lying in darkness. God bless them!

Believe me, dear sir, your brother in the Lord,

F. COILLARD.

LIVINGSTONIA MISSIONARY INSTITUTION.

EDUCATIONAL REPORT FOR 1901.

BY REV. JAMES HENDERSON, M.A.

We have again thankfully to report a good year for the educational side of the Institution in all its branches, the steady progress characteristic of former years being well maintained both by the individual pupils and in the department as a whole. While the phenomenal advances that surprised us in earlier days have been less noticeable among so much larger numbers, and probably less frequent owing to the rise of the common level, the pupils generally are coming fully up to the somewhat high expectations formed of their capacity. What they fail in is rather faculty than capacity, and where they have proved weakest is in independent and particularly in abstract thinking

and was held in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, attended by six hundred of the leading members of our Methodist Churches of that city, and was addressed by Bishop Harris, Dr.

Wilbur Chapman, Dr. Sheets and Dr. Jones. A week later, the Boston Social Union, under the leadership of Dr. Bronson, gave a supper which taxed the capacity of the Old Park Street Church. The third was given in Kansas City, Mo., in that splendid new shrine of Middle West Methodism, Grand Avenue church and was addressed by Dr. J. B. Trimble, Mr. Hanford Crawford, Dr. Sheets and Dr. Jones. Those occasions were times of large inspiration and made a deep impression upon the communities in which they were held. We are grateful to the Presidents, officers and members of the Social Unions in Chicago, Boston, and Kansas City, and those who made us their guests and provided for us such splendid opportunities.

Sunday, January 29th, 1911, was observed as Korea Day in many sections of the country. Some conferences set special days other than that of Sunday, January 29th. The Secretaries co-operated with these special occasions and worked unceasingly to create interest and inspire a helpful and profitable effort. The returns, on the whole, were not large.

We are specially grateful for the number of definite enterprises which have been assumed by different churches and individuals. The Churches of the Buffalo District, Genesee Conference, and those of the Atlantic District, Des Moines Conference, have each undertaken to support a missionary in Korea on the Special Gift Basis. Asbury Church, Rochester, N. Y., First Church, Boise City, Ida., First Church, Grand Rapids, Mich., and our church at Westington Springs, N. D., have assumed support of their own missionaries in Korea. Other churches have also taken missionaries on the Station Plan. The churches of the Troy Conference have undertaken to raise funds for a Mission House in Seoul. The Swedish Churches in America and in Sweden are raising \$5,000 for a Swedish Hospital to be erected in Wonju, Korea, while the Epworth Herald made an appeal to the Epworth Leagues of the Church to contribute funds for property and buildings necessary for the Wonju Station. All of these appeals have been generously responded to.

A number of friends have rallied to our support with generous gifts for our fund. Special mention must be made of Mrs. W. A. Gamble, of Cincinnati, Ohio, Mr. W. A. Foote, of Jackson, Michigan, Mr. W. C. Johnston, of Denver, Colo., Miss Anna Spears, Miss Emily Packer, unknown friend of Dr. A. B. Leonard, an known friend through Dr. H. C. Stuntz, Dr. E. Welch, Westfield, N. Y., Mr. George Warren Brown, of St. Louis, Mo., Mr. Charles Gibson, Albany, N. Y., Sir Robert Laidlaw, London, England, Bishop Cranston and Bishop Harris, Mr. E. T. Burrowes, Portland, Me., Everett O. Fisk, Boston, Mass., Mr. Martin Rhode, Baltimore, Md., Mr. H. A. Moses, Springfield, Mass., J. Sumner Stone, D. D., Dil-
i Bronson, D. D., Mr. Theo. Meier, Mr. Max Krietlers, and Rev. and Mrs. F. H. Sheets. The family of Dr. A. H. Norton, one of the missionaries in Korea, have made possible the Hospital in Haiju. Two friends have placed \$13,000 with the Board of Foreign Missions on annuity, these amounts eventually to go to the work in Korea. The class-mates of Rev. H. G. Appenzeller, under the leadership of Dr. Julian H. Wadsworth, of Providence, R. I., have raised \$500 as a Memorial Scholarship to Mr. Appenzeller. Other scholarships have been contributed by parties who desire their names withheld.

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At the present writing (April 22d, 1912) the sum total is as follows: The total in cash and pledges for the work of the Board of Foreign Missions in Korea including amounts sent to the field direct, and those raised by the Koreans, is \$208,502, of which amount about \$95,000 has been paid in and the balance remains to be collected. The campaign in behalf of the Woman's Work yielded \$52,579 in cash and pledges, making a total Thank-Offering from the Church for Korea during the Quarter-Centennial year of \$261,481. The unpaid pledges are good and there is no doubt that the sum total reported above will in due time reach the field.

The Korean Church splendidly met her obligation in the work of the Quarter-Centennial Offerings. It is not possible for me to name the exact amount the Church contributed during the period designated for this work, but

Korean Methodists have given from their poverty over yen 12,000 or \$6,000.00. This in addition to their usual contributions for the maintenance of their regular Church work, pastoral support, educational work and their gifts to the Foreign and Home Missionary Societies.

The campaign has been carried on in the midst of embarrassing difficulties. In the beginning we found the idea of a special missionary jubilee appeal distasteful in many sections of the Church, and this closed doors to us which otherwise would have been open. Probably there has never been a year in the history of Methodism when there were so many competitive appeals before the Church as during the past one. The colleges of Methodism called for three million dollars for endowment and buildings; hospitals in a number of our centers were seeking large sums; Conference Claimants' Societies launched Movements for



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endowments amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars; Deaconess' Homes and other institutions appeared to have selected the past year as the one year in the present decade in which to seek financial aid to cover the needs of a generation. Each of these movements had a powerful machine back of it in the form of a complete organization with paid Secretaries and agents pushing its interests. The year has been marked by special activity on the part of local Christian organizations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Salvation Army and the Anti-Saloon League, and in all of these Methodist members and churches rightfully took a share. We were called upon to adjust ourselves to the measures of defense taken by the Board of Foreign Missions for the protection of its regular funds, and to this end no effort was made to cultivate the Sunday Schools in behalf of special gifts for Korea, while by correspondence and personal appeal the Secretaries and representatives of the Movement have asked that provision be first made for the regular funds of the Board before attention be given to the Korea call. As a matter of fact, as far as the right of way to cultivate the church for a special collection in behalf of Korea was concerned, we found ourselves very much in the position of a vehicle caught in the crush of a bright Spring afternoon on Fifth Avenue, New York. We were but one of a large throng and had to move with the procession. Considering these facts, the response has been a gratifying one.

The fund when collected and transmitted to the field will mean a more efficient plant and apparatus for Mission work. Our chief regret is that there was not a larger return for equipment for our schools. We feel that gratifying as has been the financial response, our largest asset is the increased circle of friends who have become interested and the enlargement of the knowledge of the Church as to conditions and its responsibility in Korea.

With profound acknowledgment of the cordial love and generosity with which Korea has been received during this Silver Anniversary, this final report is respectfully submitted.

The Bishop: Bishop Bashford, who brings us the Quadrennial Report from China, must feel a glorious exhilaration of spirit in coming into the Northwest, for he was a graduate of Wisconsin University and afterwards of the Theological School of Boston; with a career unsurpassed in the history of the East. From both he was brought to Delaware, Ohio, to take charge of the Ohio Western University, following that honored leader, Dr. Payne, one of our most able and successful leaders, and then the General Conference sent him over to that wonderful empire of Japan and we reinforced him in that wonderful empire with Bishop Lewis four years ago, and Bishop Bashford gathered through him the confidence, respect, love and devotion of our Church preparatory to the terrible ordeal through which in recent times it has been passing; so that in the turmoil and peril of the land he has been to our people a mighty pillar of cloud by day and fire by night to lead them through the wilderness of insurrection into the promised land of republican liberty. Bishop Bashford will now speak.

EPISCOPAL ADDRESS ON CHINA.
Delivered by Bishops J. W. Bashford and W. S. Lewis, at a General Conference at Methodist Episcopal Church, Minneapolis,

May 4, 1912.

The greatest change in the largest nation on earth is the report which Bishop Lewis and I bring you from China. A Chinese statesman said a few years ago: "The West seems eager to awaken the East; you fear my people will never move. But be assured that when the Chinese once start, they will go fast and far." Napoleon who pondered deeply problems of the Orient, said, "When China moves, she will change the face of the earth." But neither of these statesmen dreamed that China would attempt, by a single leap, to clear the chasm which separated the despotism of Chi Hwangti and Genghis Kahn from the republic of Washington and Lincoln. But China has made the leap, her feet have struck on the western side of the chasm, she is still swaying, and may fall backward. We have come to a watershed in human history. Already the twentieth century may be likened to the twelfth century, and even to a century of the reformation. We have reached an era when a nation may be born in a day, where a civilization may perish in its birth pangs. There ought to be a Christian regeneration; there may be a pagan reaction. We are amazed at the unique opportunities of the new epoch; we are bewildered by unparalleled responsibilities and dangers. We are in fear and great joy, and tremble in our mirth. With America and Europe in greater unrest than usual, with the yellow races thrilled into new life by Japan's victory over Russia; with India throbbing with national aspirations, with the rude awakening of Korea, and the tremendous upheaval in China, the willing worker is well assured that the call to service is preceded by the Spirit's presence and that the vanguard of the kingdom shall not lack the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night.

Before discussing the general problems which confront China, let us present a resume of the quadrennium. I urged Bishop Lewis to prepare this report on the ground that I wrote the report four years ago. But when he felt impelled by the Spirit of God to return to America to secure aid for the crisis which was upon us in China, he entrusted this responsibility to me, and I blocked out a report for his consideration on his return to China. But the revolution broke out, so that he could not possibly reach West China; hence I cabled him not to return, and completed the report. But we have repeatedly gone over together every question of policy and carefully mapped out every line of our campaign; and the report is simply the expression of our joint thought and prayer, and the writing has been submitted to him for revision.

You will search long to find those who have worked together in more delightful fellowship than have the missionaries in China and Bishop Lewis and myself. Our fellow workers in the field have been kind enough unanimously to invite both of us to return. We have only one request to make—surely you will grant us one small favor, namely that you will permit us to work another quadrennium side by side—in China.

Despite the war we were able to hold all the conferences of 1911-12, although the Central China and West China Conferences met in Shanghai in January instead of at the times and places scheduled. On account of the absence of most of the Chinese pastors from the Conferences, we could not secure the statistics for 1911; hence our report covers only

three years of the quadrennium. Nor do we report the aggregate work of the three years, rather we compared the work of 1907 with that of 1910.

As medical work is the first means of gaining access to a country as slow to receive the gospel as was China originally, we begin our report with hospitals, of which we now have 23, as compared with 21 in the last report. In-patients or ward patients increased during the three years from 4,674 to 8,820, a gain of 88 per cent; while the total treatments in wards, dispensaries and homes rose from 191,000 to 304,000, a gain of 64 per cent.

Next to hospitals, schools are the best method of gaining access to the Chinese. Here we are glad to report an increase during the three years from 13,000 to 18,700—a gain of 42 per cent. Our plan is to organize a group of ten or twelve primary schools—half of them for boys and half for girls—around a central school. The central school has two teachers, one of whom spends most of his time in supervising the work of the other schools. We also plan to offer an increase in wages of one-half a dollar a month to those teachers who pass the examination in the Normal Reading Course, and a similar increase to the teachers who take a Summer Normal Course. The students also are selected and the best advanced from the primary to the intermediate schools, and from the intermediate schools to the high schools, and from the high schools to the colleges and professional schools.

All our schools are intensely Christian. Hymns, the catechism and the Bible are taught to all the pupils—the teaching of the Bible continuing up to and through the college course. The overwhelming majority of our students are led to Christ through the influence of the teachers and revival services. At Peking University, after a spiritual struggle notable in the history of college revivals, 150 young men, with the honors and emoluments of officials before them, offered themselves for the evangelization of China—the largest student volunteer band in any university in the world; 160 young women from the girls' school offered their lives during the same revival for similar service.

We call our primary schools day schools to distinguish them from our advanced schools which are boarding schools. Aside from the boarding feature, our schools in China are modeled after those in the United States. Indeed we believe that at least through our day schools we have done more than any other mission to introduce into China the American public school system.

Perhaps a single illustration, of which we can furnish scores, will show what our educational work is accomplishing. H. C. Hwan was trained in a day school, an intermediate school, in our William Nast College at Kiukiang, and in one of our American Methodist Colleges. While teaching in Kiukiang, his practical ability attracted the attention of the government, which invited him to take charge of the erection of the buildings for the Nanking Exposition at a salary of \$200 gold month. As this was the first western exposition ever held in China Dr. Kupfer advised him to accept, and he not only supervised the erection of the buildings, but largely directed the business interests of the exposition. At the close he presented the government receipts for every dollar entrusted to him for expenditure, some \$500,000 gold in all. On even the government expressing surprise that he had not kept a single dollar for himself, he replied that the government had paid him his salary and that no Christian could take a dollar in graft even from government funds. Im-

mediately he was offered a permanent position by the government, but declined in favor of our school work at one-half the salary the government offered him. Do you wonder that after the revolution in Nanchang, when the city was attacked by a large band of robbers, the governor fearing that the treasury would be looted, sent for H. C. Hwang and entrusted to him, without a receipt, 457,000 taels, over a quarter of a million dollars gold, with the statement, "Probably you can keep this money for the government; we shall certainly lose it." Probably Mr. Hwang buried the treasure. All we know is that after the danger was passed he returned every tael to the governor and holds a receipt in full. Do you wonder that when the American Famine Relief Committee expressed distrust of the Chinese secretary selected to supervise the expenditure of the seven Chinese members of the committee felt that they could not accept an American secretary without losing self respect, both sides turned to H. C. Hwang as the solution of their difficulty? They applied to me for his services and authorized me to pay him the same salary the government had paid. When I told him the offer of the Committee, he replied, "I can't profit by one dollar from famine funds. My salary must remain the same as I receive as a teacher." Do you wonder that the government, penniless as it is, is proposing to appropriate \$1,000,000 for famine relief to be administered by the Committee with H. C. Hwang as secretary?

In Peking also, without the slightest influence of any foreigner, a Chinese Methodist has been given contracts by the government amounting to six or seven million taels simply because the government knows it can depend upon a Christian for honest expenditure of its funds. So also the Chinese of Fukien Province in seeking a treasurer whom every one could trust, unanimously selected a graduate of our Anglo-Chinese College. In China we are repeating the history of Joseph in Egypt, and one such man in this turning point of a nation's history is worth the entire cost of the institution which trains him.

Along with medical and educational work Christian literature is a third agency through which we strive to reach the Chinese. As you are aware, our church and the Methodist-Episcopal South united their publishing interests in China nine years ago. Dr. W. H. Lacy is conducting our joint publishing business with such fairness as wins the unanimous support of our southern brethren, and with such ability as to more than double the volume of business of the preceding quadrennium, while at the same time he has avoided indebtedness which weighs down so many of our publishing societies on mission fields.

Turning to our evangelistic work—the last slowest in development of all types of our work in China, the report shows 20,723 full members as compared with the 17,559 in 1907 and 13,419 probationers as compared with 12,

885. Our total membership, therefore, is 31,142 as compared with 30,444—a gain of 12 per cent for the three years. In addition to our 34,142 communicants, we have 18,130 inquirers enrolled. These inquirers not only attend our services regularly, but meet in weekly classes for religious instruction. Indeed, were we to report our work as it is reported in the home land, and in all other mission fields, we should count these inquirers as members on probation, and report a total membership of 52,272. This would give us a gain over our last report of 72 per cent. But this method would show an undue gain as we did not report inquirers in 1908. Our reason for not following the method authorized by the church and sanctioned by the New Testament is as follows: The old Chinese government was notoriously corrupt and oppressive. It threw men into prison on false charges and kept them there until they paid the utmost farthing. But like all corrupt governments the old government was also cowardly and quailed before the intervention of a foreigner. Hence, some Chinese, despite the opposition of their families, have been eager to join the church in the hope of foreign protection. Hence practically all the Protestant Churches in China have adopted our method of admitting candidates to the church, first upon probation, while we have the double list of probationers and inquirers as above described. With the reform in government enabling us to baptize freely those desiring baptism, and with the changing attitude of the people toward the church, you may expect a more rapid growth in coming days. The two most encouraging facts bearing upon future growth are the large increase in our Sunday School scholars, and in our Chinese co-workers. Our last report shows that our 250 missionaries had as pastors local preachers, exhorters, Bible women, medical assistants and teachers 1,653 Chinese helpers; today we have 2,882 Chinese co-workers—an increase of 74 per cent. You have in China a little less than 6 per cent of the Protestant missionaries. You have a right to demand of us therefore 6 per cent of results achieved. But through this splendid service of our Chinese fellow workers our little band of .057 per cent of missionaries has accomplished 14 per cent of all Protestant hospital work, 14 per cent of all Protestant educational work, and we present you 16 per cent of all Protestant communicants, and 29 per cent of all Sunday School scholars in China. Herein lies our hope of the future.

By far the most strategic acts of the quadrennium were the following: Bishop Lewis returned to America to secure funds for the crisis which was upon us in China and especially for the enlargement of Peking University which, on account of its intensely Christian character, its location and its possibilities of ministering to one-half of the Pagan world, is characterized by Dr. J. W. Chapman as the most important educational institutions in the entire mission world; Professor Williams

returned to America for funds for Nanking University which for obvious reasons may become as important a center as Peking; Bishop Lewis appointed Rev. F. D. Gamewell, Secretary of our Board of Education for China. As some of our conferences are separated by journeys of weeks and as some institutions within the conferences by journeys of days, each educational plant became a law unto itself and built up its work according to the exigencies which confronted it and the men and the means you sent it. Dr. Gamewell has visited each of our schools, and has proved so helpful to our teachers that he has secured their co-operation in arranging the entire educational work of our church so as to make the men and money you send us contribute their utmost to the advancement of the Kingdom.

Turning from our specifically Methodist work to general Christian work, the eagerness of the Chinese for at least a knowledge of Christianity is shown in the growth of Bible distributions. There were distributed last year by the Bible Societies 3,754,000 Bibles or portions thereof, and by the Tract Societies 7,756,000 tracts. In several places where the revolutionary army has been located, the supply of Scripture has been exhausted and the Bible Societies have strained themselves to meet the new demand. Moreover, Mr. W. E. Blackstone—a consecrated layman of our church, who with his family has given many thousand dollars to China, is spending the closing years of his life in distributing the word of God. Representing a leading business man in America who pays for the publication, Mr. Blackstone through the missionaries and Chinese pastors distributed last year 5,000,000 portions of the word of God. So numerous are the calls coming to him from all parts of China that the American friend with great business foresight has ordered twenty million portions of the Bible for distribution in China in 1912, and Mr. Blackstone had call for fifteen millions of these portions before the close of March. As the greater part of these scriptures are unbound, and are passed from hand to hand, they can last but a short time. But if some man of God can be found able and willing to put a few million dollars into Bible distribution, with the agencies now in the field and the eagerness for the book, the word of God can be put into almost every home in China within the next five years. If this can be done, God's word will exercise its supernatural and transforming power over the 400,000,000 people now emerging into a new civilization and will help to cast that civilization in Christian moulds.

Turning now to wider co-operation between the Churches, Professors E. D. Burton and J. H. Chamberlin, of Chicago University, by their tour through India and the Far East for educational investigation greatly quickened the interest of all the missionaries in higher Christian education, and by their wisdom and experience and sympathy greatly helped us toward larger co-operation. Dr. J. F. Goucher, who visited China last year as Chairman of the

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Girdle Clan, because they claimed the throne for themselves, was irresistibly driven to the Chinese party for the maintenance of his throne. Moreover Kuang Hsu himself was something of a political idealist. He had heard of the remarkable success of western institutions and he began to dream of transforming his Empire from an Oriental despotism into a Constitutional Monarchy and the building up a new dynasty upon the confidence of the Chinese nation instead of relying upon the support of a handful of Manchus, the leaders of whom disputed his title to the throne. Already the Japanese had adopted western civilization, and their brilliant victory over China in 1894-95 brought Kuang Hsu to a decision. Hence, the Manchu leaders were startled beyond measure when Kuang Hsu issued September 1st, 1898, his famous Seven Reform Decrees; and their astonishment turned into terror and rebellion when he issued during the next week nine more decrees completely transforming the Empire on paper. Unfortunately Kuang Hsu had wholly failed to prepare the Chinese for his revolution, and their conservatism was shocked almost as much as were the Manchu traditions. So overwhelming was the reaction that the Dowager Empress quickly resumed the reins; and the reform Emperor became practically a prisoner for the rest of his life. The dread of western civilization now developed into a national hysteria; the Dowager Empress, usually self-poised, lost her judgment and under the advice of the Yellow Girdle Clan now undertook to sweep every foreigner out of the Empire. This was the Boxer uprising.

One would have supposed that the foreign nations having driven the Dowager Empress into banishment would call back to the throne the man who had sacrificed all for his devotion to western civilization. But as a political idealist of the Wendell Phillips, or Mazzini type, Kuang Hsu was feared and hated, not only by the Manchus, but by Russia, by Germany, by Japan, and even Great Britain, France and the United States had little respect for his judgment. Besides Secretary Hay was willing to make large concessions in order to save China from partition. Hence the western powers united in calling back to the throne the very woman who had attempted to betray them; and strange to say, the Dowager now proved worthy of their confidence. During her two years of Arabian solitude at Siangfu, she experienced a political conversion; and she now started the Empire slowly but surely along the very lines laid down by Kuang Hsu. She championed the opium reform; she exhorted her Chinese sisters to abandon footbinding; she encouraged western learning, she appointed a Commission to codify the laws, and another to draft a constitution; and she promised a parliament by 1920. Finally she intensified the fight against the Yellow Girdle Clan and the conservatism which that Clan represented, by selecting Kuang Hsu's brother—Prince Chun, as Regent, and Prince Chun's little son as Emperor.

Prince Chun was thus committed in advance to the liberal side, nor did he disappoint liberal expectations. He carried out the opium reform in a manner which the London Times admitted commands the admiration of the world—in a manner which secured the world's endorsement at the recent Conference at the Hague. He appointed to fight the plague Dr. Wu Lien Teh—a graduate of Cambridge, a graduate in medicine of Paris, a post-graduate in medicine of Berlin; and this young Chinese physician with the aid of Missionary physicians and Chinese assistants stamped out the most deadly plague which has ever threatened the modern world. Prince Chun not only brought forward the date of parliamentary in-

stitutions from 1920 to 1914, but he ordered elections and assemblies held in each of the eighteen provinces, in 1909 in 1910 and in 1911; and he called a National Assembly, which met for the first time in Chinese history in 1910 and again in 1911. He selected a cabinet and began to rule through a representative minister. Indeed one of Japan's greatest living statesmen said in 1910: "Prince Chun is starting China in reform at too rapid a pace. The people are dazed at his speed; and the Empire will fly the track and land in the ditch."

Western nations naturally ask why the Chinese people were not content with such reforms as Prince Chun had inaugurated. There were abundant grounds of discontent; and Americans who know the whole story do not blame the Chinese for embracing the opportunity to get rid of a hated foreign dynasty. Pity Prince Chun as we must, his ancestors for seven generations had oppressed the Chinese, and the law not of revelation only, but of nature reads, "I will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." Western nations marvel that so great a revolution in China should occur with so little bloodshed; probably not more than thirty thousand people in all lost their lives in the transfer of a fourth of the human race from an oriental despotism to a republic. But we submit whether the reign of Kuang Hsu, the last regency of the Dowager Empress, and the regency of Prince Chun were not a providential preparation for just such a revolution; indeed did they not inaugurate the revolution? While the events of the last eight months constitute in form one of the most tremendous revolutions in human history, we submit whether these events are not in substance an evolution as well as a revolution—an evolution which hundreds of years of local self-government prepared the way for, an evolution which the three last reigns of a house divided against itself made inevitable. If ever a movement in human history had a providential preparation and a gradual development, the revolution reveals such a combination of natural forces under the hand of the Almighty. Abraham Lincoln once said, "God must love the common people, he makes so many of them." Surely God must love the Chinese, he makes so many of them. He has kept them alive so long, and He has given them such a providential preparation for their great task in the Pacific basin. We believe we have thus furnished good grounds for hope in the ultimate success of the republic, indisputable grounds for belief in the survival of some form of representative institutions.

Christian missionaries are not responsible for the form which the present government has assumed. Many of them, like myself, did not at first encourage the attempt to found a republic. But the preaching for a hundred years of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is back of the upheaval in China. You Americans, who must have been startled by the appearance of a republic in China, you Americans who never set foot in the Empire, who never even taught a Chinese student in America—even you cannot escape some responsibility for this tremendous upheaval. You sent forward missionaries and have poured out money for churches and schools and hospitals, and have nourished the famine stricken, until you have compelled the Chinese to love the very name of America above that of every other government on earth. You have built up such homes and schools and churches in America as have made the young Chinese entering them and sharing their blessings, return to China tenfold more American than you are

yourselves. You have contributed mightily to the upheaval, simply by building up and maintaining democratic Christian America, and thus demonstrating to the world for a hundred years that the human race best flourishes under the reign of freedom and of law.

But having in part at least caused the upheaval, the churches of Christendom, including the Methodist Episcopal church, are utterly failing to realize the responsibility or utilize the opportunity of casting this new civilization in a Christian mould. Surely China presents today the greatest opportunity which has confronted the Christian Church since the time of Christ. And yet we at home are so far asleep to our glorious possibilities that we are not sending forward an additional man to help meet the crisis. No thought can plumb the depths of Christ's agony expressed in that cry upon the Cross, "My God! my God! why hast Thou forsaken Me?" But one day recently a new meaning flashed into those words. Remembering that you had sent your missionaries to the ends of the earth, remembering that these missionaries under the Divine Providence had helped cause the tremendous upheaval now taking place around the globe, remembering that the Church now has the greatest opportunity which has ever come to her since the Master trod the earth, and seeing the Church at home failing to send forward the men or the means to enable us to take a single step forward, or even to maintain the ground already occupied, we wondered whether we had outrun your directions, whether indeed we had outrun the Divine Providence, and thus were left upon the firing line alone. Then suddenly it flashed into our minds that perhaps the Saviour had felt that He too had gone too far in identifying Himself with our sinful humanity and that His fear that the Heavenly Father was not approving His sacrifice pressed that agonizing cry from His lips. Surely if that doubt ever flashed into the Saviour's mind and caused the agonizing cry, the doubt was speedily dispelled, for the next sentence reveals the Father's presence. Surely our doubts, too, must be speedily dispelled, the Church will not, cannot, remain blind to these marvelous opportunities; she must recognize not the call of her representatives alone but the call of God for a forward movement for the conversion of the world. Bishop Lewis and I believe that Bishop Cranston's cry, written without the slightest consultation with either of us, and adopted unanimously by the Board of Bishops, for \$1,000,000 for China for the next quadrennium, place of the \$1,000,000 which you sent us during the last quadrennium, was inspired of God and that the Church will measure up to united summons to help capture the new, public for Christ. If ever there was a time when God called upon all the churches to move, to move speedily and to move unitedly. He now calls them to save His new republic, which their sacrifices have made possible for one-fourth the human race.

Let us be patient with the Chinese. Four hundred million people have begun to move; the multitude is great and the journey is a long one; probably they must make encampments along the way; but let not enthroned pride and prejudice dream that the Chinese people will march back again to the bondage of Egypt. They have caught a glimpse of Canaan. They are on the road; they will not rest finally until they reach the Promised Land.

In the old Fifth Reader in which some of you were trained in childhood, is the fragment of an oration by Edward Everett on the Memory of Washington. Some of us can yet repeat its rolling sentences: "Beyond the Ohio"—the speech was written in Massachusetts, and Ohio

then seemed a long way off—"Beyond the Ohio, beyond the Mississippi, along that stupendous trail of emigration which, bursting into states as it moves westward adds fresh glories to the Republic, the name of Washington will travel with the silver queen of Heaven through sixty degrees of longitude; nor part company with her till she walks in her brightness through the Golden Gate. And in barbarous archipelagoes as yet untrodden by civilized man, there, and there only, is the name of Washington unknown; and there, too, when they swarm with enlightened millions, Asia will join with America in paying fresh tribute to the memory of Washington."

Fine declamation that, the school boys thought as they rolled these sentences over their tongues. I little dreamed that rhetoric would turn into reality within my hearing. But listening at Foochow to a Chinese orator as he thrilled a multitude of his countrymen, I heard, not a single name from the head-roll of European statesmen, not even a name from the long list of China's illustrious dead, but once and again I heard the name of Washington fall from the speaker's lips, and I saw the audience cheering, now wildly and now longingly, in the hope that they too might soon have a Father of their Country. However wild the experiment, the proclamation of China's Republic for one fourth the human race is the greatest compliment ever paid to the United States. We know that the powers of darkness are only beaten back, and not annihilated; but is it not something that they are beaten back even for a moment? We know the tremendous task which confronts China in trying to unite in a Republic the Chinese, the Mongolians, the Manchus and the Tibetans. But is it not something that the new rainbow flag is composed of five equal bands of silk, red for the Chinese proper, yellow for the Manchus, blue for the Mongolians, white for the Mohammedans and black for the Tibetans, and that the new flag is woven of one piece of silk, seamless throughout—symbol of the unity of the races forming the new republic? Does it not count for something that the new constitution of the Chinese Republic is framed not after any Old World documents, but contains our Bill of Rights, and is patterned after our American constitution? However, desperate the venture, does it not count for something that one-fourth the human race are started on this journey through the wilderness, with its eye toward the Promised Land? Is there not some significance in the fact that the dragon, symbol in the Bible as the Powers of darkness, has gone down in China before the rainbow-flag, emblem of God's promise to preserve and not to destroy?

The Bishop: Shortly we will sing the Doxology, after which the benediction will be pronounced by Harry R. Caldwell of the Foochow Conference.

After the Doxology the Bishop said: Dr. Caldwell not being present, Dr. Noble of Korea will pronounce the benediction in Korean.

SUMMARY.

(Continued From Page 135.)

notices in the halls, asking that conversation in groups, disturbing those sitting by the doors, be abated.

When Central Pennsylvania's name was again called she had a second representative to respond in the person of Dr. H. L. Jacobs. His resolution was in the advocacy of the sending of greetings to the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, now in session, and Dr. J. B. Fox, pastor of Grace Methodist Episcopal Church, Harrisburg, Pa., was to be

the conveyer of the greetings. This resolution was carried. Also an amendment giving the approval, and expressive of the pleasure of the General Conference, in the spirit of arbitration on the part of the Brotherhood in the settling of recent differences, was adopted by a rising vote.

Central Pennsylvania's third representative, Mr. H. T. Ames, took the platform with two resolutions. The first was concerning the right of constitutional amendment, and was referred to the Judiciary Committee. The second resolution advocated the setting apart of Sunday, May 12, as a day of fasting and prayer. This resolution was unanimously adopted.

In the roll call of Conferences, the Secretary came to Colorado, and Dr. R. A. Chase offered a resolution advocating consistent work on the part of the General Conference Committees, asking them to meet at least three nights each week, to the end that work of the Conference as far as possible be done in consecutive order. This will avoid crowding of important matters in the last hours of the Conference. Adopted. Dr. Chase presented a second resolution aimed at the prevention of any action on the part of the General Conference that was in any way partisan. This resolution was also adopted.

When the Chile Conference was called, Dr. W. G. Rice came to the platform with a resolution recognizing the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church to prosecute religious work in so-called Catholic countries. This resolution was discussed by many, and finally action was temporarily deferred and a committee of five appointed to redraft and resubmit to the General Conference. The committee consists of Drs. Rice, Buckley, Calkins, Butler and Stuntz. On further motion, the report of this committee was fixed as the order of the day Wednesday morning immediately after the reading of the Journal. On another motion the resolution was to be withheld from the Daily Advocate until after presentation to the General Conference.

On the call of the Delaware Conference, Dr. J. H. Scott advocated the sending of greetings by this General Conference to the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church now in session in Kansas City, Mo., and to the General Conference of the African Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, in session at Charlotte, N. C. This resolution was adopted.

The last Conference to be called was Des Moines, and Mr. J. R. Larson presented a resolution in favor of the Kenyon-Shepard bill, which is aimed at interstate shipments of intoxicating liquors, and his resolution was adopted by the Conference.

Dean Henry Wade Rogers, New York East Conference, made a supplementary report for the Committee on Credentials, concerning the paying of a contested delegate's expenses for one week, and the Conference approved the committee's action.

Dr. F. D. Leete, Detroit Conference, secured action by the Conference excluding from the meetings of the Episcopacy Committee all persons who are not members or immediately interested in the work at hand.

Announcements being made, Bishop Berry pronounced the benediction, and another forenoon's work of 1912's General Conference was a matter of history.

THE EVANGELISTIC MEETINGS.

The evangelistic services at Westminster Church began yesterday with an address by Bishop Berry.

A fair audience had assembled and heard with evident approval the Bishop's clear state-

ment of what we need as a church today for our larger fitting for service.

Bishop Berry believes we need a new recognition and new cultivation of the emotional religious life. Religion is an essentially emotional thing; it is not, first of all, intellectually discerned, but it is known and desired in the heart.

Another point where larger emphasis is needed is the personal experimental note. "I know" is yet the most effective recommendation of the Gospel; "what it has done for me" is the most convincing proof of what it can do for others.

Unyielding confidence in the Word,—not affected by the claims of critics or the devices of its detractors, is another need of our evangelistic revival. We must stand by the Book.

It is of the largest importance that we Methodists who have a definite faith concerning salvation should hold unfalteringly to the fullest, most far-reaching acceptance of the Deity of Jesus Christ our Lord. That is the full secret of our life in Him.

These evangelistic services will be held every day in Westminster Church, Bishop Lewis speaking tomorrow.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR A WEEK'S MEETINGS.

Every day except Saturday and Sunday—General Conference evangelistic services at the Westminster Church, Nicollet and Twelfth street, from 4 to 5 P. M.

Every day except Saturday and Sunday—8:00 P. M.: Illustrated addresses on Sunday School work in the Old Hennepin Avenue Church, Tenth street and Hennepin avenue.

Wednesday, May 8—3:00 to 6:00 P. M.: Reception at The Leamington for all friends of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

8:00 P. M.: Lecture, Bishop W. A. Quayle, under auspices of local committee.

Thursday, May 9—3:00 P. M.: Anniversary Woman's Home Missionary Society.

8:00 P. M.: Anniversary Board of Foreign Missions.

Friday, May 10—5:30 P. M.: Informal dinner of Sunday School Superintendents and workers at The Leamington.

8:00 P. M.: Anniversary Board of Education.

Saturday, May 11—8:00 P. M.: Report of Bishops—South America, Mexico and Southern Asia.

Sunday, May 12—3:00 P. M.: Anniversary of the Board of Sunday Schools.

Monday, May 13—8:00 P. M.: Anniversary of the Book Concern.

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Reprinted from *The Congregationalist* of May 18, 1899

The
Missionary Work
of
Congregational Churches

REPORT OF
THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN

At the last meeting of the National Council of Congregational churches the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, that we recommend the appointment of a central committee on missionary work of *fifteen members*, six to be appointed by the National Council, one of whom shall be a woman especially interested in home missions, *seven* to be chosen by the executive committees of our six missionary societies in such a manner as they may deem best, *one* to be chosen by the Woman's Boards of Missions and *one* to be selected at the annual Christian Endeavor convention by the Congregationalists at their denominational rally. It shall be the duty of this committee to use all possible efforts to secure the appointment of similar committees in the States and conferences throughout our country, to devise plans for promptly paying the debt of every society and for such increased gifts as shall make it possible to enlarge our work at home and abroad. It shall also suggest such other measures looking to a closer union in the prosecution of our common work as may seem expedient, reporting the result of its conclusions to the next National Council.

By the action which has since been taken by the different societies this committee is now complete in its membership and consists of the following persons (arranged geographically and by whom elected):

Samuel B. Capen, Boston, Mass., Council.
Col. Charles A. Hopkins, Boston, Mass., Council.
Mrs. Francis E. Clark, Boston, Mass., Council.
William Shaw, Boston, Mass., Y. P. S. C. E.
Hon. O. Vincent Coffin, Middletown, Ct., Missionary Societies.
Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D. D., New York, Council.
Rev. Robert J. Kent, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., Missionary Societies.
Rev. F. W. Baldwin, D. D., East Orange, N. J., Missionary Societies.
Rev. C. W. Hiatt, D. D., Cleveland, O., Missionary Societies.
Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D. D., Detroit, Mich., Council.
Mrs. E. W. Blatchford, Chicago, Ill., Woman's Boards Societies.
R. E. Jenkins, Chicago, Ill., Council.
Nathan P. Dodge, Council Bluffs, Io., Missionary Societies.
Rev. David N. Beach, D. D., Denver, Col., Missionary Societies.
Rev. John K. McLean, D. D., Oakland, Cal., Missionary Societies.

Its first meeting was held in the parlor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, on Wednesday, April 19, and organized by the choice of Samuel B. Capen as chairman and William Shaw as secretary.

THE PLAN

Following closely the resolution which created this committee, we have felt that our first duty was to suggest a plan of organization in the different States for the purpose of securing larger gifts for our missionary societies. The one thing sought is to secure a gift every year from every church for each of our six missionary societies. The plan suggested at the National Council seems to us feasible and simple, and we therefore urge each State association that has not yet taken action in the matter to appoint at its next annual meeting a "committee on missionary work," to be composed of at least one person from each conference in the State. We would further respectfully recommend that each local conference at its next session shall choose a similar committee of such a number that each member shall not be responsible for more than five churches.

As a rule, we believe it would be wise that in this committee of the local conference the resident member of the State

committee should be the chairman, and to him the other members should make report of plans devised and work done. It should be the aim to devise such a method in each church as shall secure "an offering from every church and a gift from every member."

We feel especially justified in urging this plan because it has already been adopted in several States. In order to save a year's time, as many of our State conventions are held in the fall, letters were sent to such States, and they have already chosen committees upon this basis. Some are already at work and others are waiting for suggestions from this committee.

It should be noted that the thought in this whole plan is to secure greater unity in our missionary work. We desire it to be considered by our churches as *one work*, without division of interest or thought of rivalry. We need a "forward movement," not in the work of one society, but in the work of Jesus Christ as it is being done at home and abroad by *all* our societies.

We would further advise that each church should have as one of its standing committees a missionary committee, through which the local conference committee can work. In this simple way, by a plan with which we are familiar in political and business interests, every church in the country would be in line with every other, able to do its part in the work.

We give in the table annexed the receipts for the past ten years of our six missionary societies. We have taken this long period in order to get back to some prosperous years before the long period of business depression through which we have been passing.

The total gifts from individuals and churches for the last year to the six societies were in round numbers \$1,200,000, which is the exact amount of the yearly average of gifts for the past ten years. With the return of prosperity which has come to our country, and in view of the new work which seems to be laid upon us, we think it is possible for our churches, by careful and systematic effort, to increase their gifts the coming year to our six missionary societies to a total of \$1,600,000, or an increase of \$400,000 over last year. If our churches give in the same proportion in the future as they have in the past, it would give the following results:

	Average yearly donation for ten years as per table annexed	Amount on basis of increase proposed
A. B. C. F. M.	\$470,178.00	\$826,900.00
Cong'l Home Miss. Society	366,925.00	489,231.00
American Missionary Asso.	178,236.00	237,647.00
Cong'l Church Building Soc.	59,027.00	78,703.00
Ed. Soc. (four years)	72,567.00	96,756.00
" S. S. and Pub. Soc.	53,072.00	70,763.00
	\$1,200,005.00	\$1,600,000.00

Does this seem like too large an amount for us to raise? In the appendix to the paper read before the National Council it was stated that our church membership is 625,864, and for the purposes of that paper a deduction was made of 225,864 as an estimate for children and persons in extreme poverty, leaving 400,000 persons capable of giving something to support our missionary work. Suppose we now deduct another 100,000 for members in churches which cannot or have not yet come wholly to self-support. We have

then \$1,600,000 to be divided among 300,000 members, or \$5.33 each per year, or a little over ten cents a week per member. It would really be less than this, for in every parish there are members of the congregation who are not enrolled as church members, and yet many of whom give generously to our missionary work. It should further be noted that in some churches the gifts are now far above this sum, reaching in the case of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, \$16; Eliot Church, Newton, Mass., \$30; and Old South, Boston, \$40, average per member.

For the benefit of those who desire to know what would be the increase in benevolent contributions which might reasonably be expected of the various States in this movement to raise \$400,000 in addition to our present gifts, we furnish in an appendix two sets of figures, with an explanation of the basis on which they were made.

To recapitulate, our recommendations are in brief, "committees on missionary work," to be chosen:

First, by each State association, a committee composed of one from each conference.

Second, by each local conference, a committee of such number that each member shall be responsible for not more than five churches.

Third, by each church, a committee to make some plan, best suited to itself, for systematic giving.

The one purpose is to secure as far as possible in each church an interest in the whole missionary work to which as a denomination we are pledged, and without which co-operation we cannot hope to succeed.

THE WISDOM OF THE PLAN

We are persuaded that some such effort as this is wise, because it will put our whole missionary work upon a business basis. In order to perform our part in the redemption of the world, we must plan with the same thoroughness that we do in our secular business, trying to lead those who are careless and indifferent to come under some definite responsibility as God's stewards, for their own good and his glory. Our churches are ready, we believe, to enter together into an effort which means a systematic campaign over the whole country to provide funds to prevent future debts in our missionary societies, and to make possible a forward movement that, with the united church back of it, shall be steady and irresistible.

A CONDITION FOR SUCCESS

May we say that this plan and any other plan will be nothing but dead machinery unless it has the hearty support of our pastors, for they are the leaders in the churches. They must be the missionary dynamos to put life and energy into this machinery. We are glad to know that so many are all aglow with missionary enthusiasm. But in too many of our churches a five-minute talk or only the notice, "The usual contribution for foreign missions will now be taken," expresses the measure of the pastor's interest. An interested pastor means an interested church, and an indifferent pastor an indifferent church.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

First, why do you not try first to pay the debts? We reply, we fear the reaction that comes from such special effort; the depth of the ebb tide is as great as the height of the flood. We believe it is wiser to make a plan that not only will pay but will prevent debts.

Second, why ask for so small an increase as \$400,000? We reply, we believe it is wiser to ask for a sum that ought easily to be obtained rather than to risk failure in asking for too large an amount. Success will inspire confidence in larger possibilities in the future; failure would discourage further effort.

Third, on the other hand, the question will arise, Why ask for so large an amount; it is difficult to get the present

sum, why increase the burden? We reply, we recognize the changed conditions in the industrial world, and that in hundreds of communities there is less ability than in former years. Conditions which are making the few enormously rich are making thousands poor. But while admitting all this, we still believe that the amount asked for is within our ability. If the individual members of our churches would give to the organized work of our denomination only a part of the money that finds its way to outside objects of doubtful permanent value, the money would be easily raised. The 300,000 members waste on an average several dollars apiece every year in so-called charity. There will be money enough if we save the waste.

We have not forgotten other suggestions that have been made as to the possible usefulness of this committee. But we have felt at the outset we should especially put emphasis upon the first thought in the resolution of the council.

CONCLUSION

In the past all gifts went to the church; cathedrals and monasteries were built and the physical man suffered. We have now gone to the other extreme, and our gifts go in too large a proportion to care for the physical and mental, to the neglect of the spiritual.

In providing for hospitals, libraries and parks, we let the missionary work suffer. Has not the time fully come for the pendulum to swing back, till our gifts more fully recognize the unseen and the eternal? We need more prayer and thought over the problem of the evangelizing of the world, that our Congregational churches may be more thoroughly "in warp and woof" missionary churches. We want somehow to create a passion for gifts of money to match the student movement in its gifts of men. Yes, a passion for missions, which shall include all our churches, so that, working together along a well-defined plan, they will supply the money needed, the call to abandon the work will cease, and in place of it the new command to move forward will be given.

A young drummer boy was once asked to beat a "retreat," and he replied that he did not know one, but he could beat a "charge" that would raise the dead. This should be the word passed all along the line from Maine to California, carrying hope to every worker in the mission field and joy to the heart of Him whose marching orders were, "Go, disciple the nations."

This report has the approval of every member of the committee.

(Signed)

SAMUEL B. CAPEN.
CHARLES A. HOPKINS.
MRS. FRANCIS E. CLARK.
WILLIAM SHAW.
O. VINCENT COFFIN.
CHARLES E. JEFFERSON.
ROBERT J. KENT.
F. W. BALDWIN.
C. W. HIATT.
NEHEMIAH BOYNTON.
MRS. E. W. BLATCHFORD.
R. E. JENKINS.
NATHAN P. DODGE.
DAVID N. BEACH.
JOHN K. MCLEAN.

Committee of Fifteen on Missionary Work.
Boston, May 9, 1899.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Donations from Churches and Individuals</i>	<i>Woman's Boards</i>	<i>Legacies</i>	<i>Old Legacy</i>	<i>Sweet Legacy</i>	<i>Interest on Permanent Fund, etc.</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1889	\$242,289	\$152,755	\$153,653	\$43,664	\$82,110	\$10,636	\$685,107
1890	251,368	166,552	199,802	61,482	12,707	10,671	762,582
1891	299,804	184,659	206,458	80,907	42,000	10,495	824,323
1892	348,418	196,679	249,777	35,185		10,744	840,803
1893	273,844	209,343	146,759	30,864	7,000	11,474	679,284
1894	290,099	193,008	183,768	30,952		7,303	705,130
1895	309,498	206,504	150,435	41,366		9,031	716,834
1896	396,696	205,269	116,988	5,842	8,000	10,307	743,102
1897	291,772	179,335	118,986	38,944	3,498	10,243	642,778
1898	297,989	185,999	187,729			15,491	687,208
	<u>\$3,001,777</u>	<u>\$1,880,103</u>	<u>\$1,714,355</u>	<u>\$369,206</u>	<u>\$215,315</u>	<u>\$106,395</u>	<u>\$7,287,151</u>

The total of donations of auxiliaries and individuals through the Woman's Boards has been for the past ten years \$1,880,103. About ten per cent., so far as can be ascertained, has come to them through legacies, leaving ninety per cent., or about \$1,700,000, as the gifts from the living. The following, then, is the result, ten years, 1889-1898:

Donations, Churches and Individuals	\$3,001,777.00
Through Woman's Boards	1,700,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,701,777.00
Yearly average donations for ten years	\$470,177.70

CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Year	Donations from Churches and Individuals	Estates	Income from Invested Funds	Total	Auxiliaries	Total	Annual Report
1889	\$273,684.78	\$226,901.93	\$ 5,194.71	\$505,781.42	\$165,389.97	\$671,171.39	1889-90
1890	294,008.21	18,759.48	8,231.86	460,999.55	174,180.90	635,180.45	1890-91
1891	293,845.27	181,040.54	6,067.31	480,953.12	181,836.16	662,789.28	1891-92
1892	276,473.66	239,217.10	10,890.85	526,581.61	211,499.68	738,081.29	1892-93
1893	393,397.80	191,761.39	15,150.92	400,309.61	221,298.95	621,608.56	1893-94
1894	207,444.92	183,999.80	11,312.16	402,756.88	224,942.26	627,699.14	1894-95
1895	294,594.67	233,510.58	10,501.08	538,606.33	239,141.62	777,747.95	1895-96
1896	164,719.60	182,144.76	11,238.82	358,103.18	230,215.34	588,318.52	1896-97
1897	142,568.57	224,451.77	8,361.61	375,381.96	216,845.91	592,227.86	1897-98
1898	137,228.63	147,825.07	9,612.98	294,666.68	221,574.61	516,241.29	1898-99
	\$2,277,965.61	\$1,969,612.42	\$96,562.30	\$4,344,140.33	\$2,086,925.40	\$6,431,065.73	

The annual report of the Home Missionary Society always includes what is spent in the auxiliary States. There are no figures which show as a total what part of the amount thus spent comes from churches and individuals and what from legacies. In examining the different States there is also a great difference in the proportion. In New Hampshire for the past ten years the gifts from the living have been thirty-four per cent., from legacies fifty per cent. and income from funds sixteen per cent. To the Vermont society the gifts from the living have been sixty-six per cent., from legacies twenty-six per cent. and from funds eight per cent. To the Massachusetts society the gifts have been forty-six and one-half per cent., legacies twenty-one and one-fourth per cent., income from funds thirty-two and one-fourth per cent. To the Connecticut society the gifts have been over ninety per cent. and the legacies less than ten per cent. In Connecticut the legacies are, to a large extent, sent directly to the Home Missionary Society in New York. Taking the auxiliaries as a whole, it seems to be fair to call the gifts two-thirds and the legacies one-third. It is believed in the New York office that this is a fair basis as an average for a series of years.

Taking, then, \$2,086,925 as the amount spent in the auxiliary States for the ten years, we take two-thirds of this, or \$1,391,283, as the gifts from the living. This added to the gifts to the New York office, \$2,277,965.61, makes a total of \$3,669,248.61, or an average of \$366,924.86 per year as the gifts from churches and individuals for the past ten years.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION										
<i>Year</i>	<i>Donations from Churches and Individuals</i>	<i>Estates</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Tuition</i>	<i>Sale of Property</i>	<i>Rents</i>	<i>U. S. Govt.</i>	<i>Slater Fund</i>	<i>Refunded</i>	<i>Total</i>
1889	\$189,299.57	\$114,020.41	\$10,947.26	\$34,126.69	\$2,007.75	\$506.36	\$16,408.85	\$ 8,899.99		\$376,216.88
1890	137,470.61	137,735.18	10,172.35	40,056.75			24,700.08	8,900.00		408,038.97
1891	186,230.45	158,664.97	10,729.90	44,988.27	3,254.14		14,417.68	10,600.00		428,885.41
1892	172,853.00	172,112.56	10,294.75	42,158.78			21,930.37	10,599.91		429,949.37
1893	179,303.46	76,487.90	10,252.61	40,800.91			26,383.06	7,500.00		340,727.94
1894	185,252.26	95,367.10	10,999.33	41,351.11				7,500.00		340,469.80
1895	163,490.05	81,194.49	15,085.64	37,847.33	2,429.65			7,500.00		307,547.16
1896	184,551.15	86,642.22	15,040.73	38,890.44	1,422.00			6,500.00	\$7,752.11	340,798.65
1897	184,250.79	82,189.39	14,877.18	40,432.68	210.00			7,500.00		329,440.04
1898	150,660.51	119,530.78	14,890.64	37,405.41				5,000.00		327,487.34
	\$1,782,361.85	\$1,123,929.00	\$123,290.39	\$398,058.37	\$9,323.54	\$506.36	\$103,840.04	\$80,499.90	\$7,752.11	\$3,629,561.56
				Yearly average donations for ten years	.	.	.	\$178,236.		

In addition to the above the association collects income from the Daniel Hand Fund, which is used for the education of the colored people in the South. This income is distinct from the current receipts of the association, and the accounts relating to the fund and the income are kept separate from the other accounts. It does not relate to receipts from donations or estates for current work. The income for the past ten years is as follows:

1889	Income	for	the	year	\$36,999.71	1894	Income	for	the	year	\$51,639.70
1890	"	"	"	"	34,686.76	1895	"	"	"	"	45,274.74
1891	"	"	"	"	53,533.80	1896	"	"	"	"	68,830.44
1892	"	"	"	"	52,721.17	1897	"	"	"	"	71,656.04
1893	"	"	"	"	54,309.78	1898	"	"	"	"	68,684.19
							Total				\$538,336.33

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH BUILDING SOCIETY

Year	Interest	Church Building Quarterly	Annuities	Legacies	Paid direct to Churches but Covered by our Mortgages	For Particular Churches	Received from Churches Aided by Grants	Refunded from Loans	Donations from Non-Aided Churches and from Individuals	Totals
1889	\$ 788	\$266		\$ 15,112	\$15,962	\$18,011	\$14,416	\$22,715	\$61,929	\$149,199
1890	2,824	374	\$2,250	13,996	10,707	13,532	16,913	26,100	68,834	155,530
1891	2,287	266	4,500	17,293	28,920	12,553	20,056	24,276	58,293	168,443
1892	2,706	207	2,000	32,621	12,396	12,084	11,467	31,905	63,064	168,450
1893	2,920	212	6,000	17,444	5,239	9,097	12,673	28,934	64,533	147,052
1894	2,382	97	1,100	18,409	5,055	9,443	15,900	37,391	65,361	155,138
1895	2,122	139	500	11,580	4,871	20,419	14,754	34,823	53,359	141,567
1896	2,209	128	5,800	12,327	3,995	17,607	14,932	30,616	46,354	132,968
1897	1,437	87	4,500	166,917	15,714	7,486	15,379	34,440	49,545	295,505
1898	2,530	62	3,000	44,002	5,231	4,205	16,918	47,530	59,999	183,477
	\$22,205	\$1,838	\$29,650	\$349,701	\$108,090	\$124,437	\$152,407	\$318,730	\$590,271	\$1,697,329

Yearly average donations for ten years \$59,027.

CONGREGATIONAL EDUCATION SOCIETY

Year	Donations from Churches and Individuals	Legacies	Interest	Total
1889	\$19,485	\$ 3,800	\$ 6,321	\$ 29,606
1890	22,936	13,929	6,224	43,089
1891	28,024	12,503	6,723	47,250
1892	23,376	61,736	7,796	92,908
1893	34,894	21,396	13,315	69,605
1894	64,796	15,134	10,298	90,228
1895	69,123	36,574	10,880	116,577
1896	85,973	2,087	11,502	99,562
1897	70,378	14,411	11,441	96,230
1898	Account does not close till June.			
	\$418,985	\$181,575	\$84,500	\$685,060

Yearly average donations for four years, 1894-1897, \$72,567.

These donations contain in part gifts made directly to colleges and academies and appearing in the annual reports. But they are only a small portion of the large amount which has been given for our Congregational Institutions the past few years, and which does not pass through the treasury of the Education Society.

The increase in donations the last few years is occasioned in part by the union of the Education Society and the New West Education Commission in 1893-4. We have, therefore, used in our average the years since that date.

CONGREGATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL AND PUBLISHING SOCIETY

Missionary Department				
Year	Donations from Churches and Individuals	Legacies	Other Sources	Total
1889	\$51,202.60	\$2,720.00	\$3,262.25	\$57,184.85
1890	48,443.95	903.85	3,737.14	53,084.94
1891	56,258.94	1,569.16	3,605.98	61,434.08
1892	56,694.06	6,266.67	3,815.19	66,775.92
1893	55,646.72	6,466.67	3,585.98	65,699.37
1894	52,287.89	6,466.68	5,812.08	64,566.65
1895	49,033.41	9,079.57	5,734.50	63,847.48
1896	54,555.25	8,586.45	3,616.62	66,758.32
1897	53,962.38	4,683.99	472.35	59,118.72
1898	52,632.68	1,884.30	3,403.40	57,920.38
	\$530,717.88	\$48,627.34	\$37,045.49	\$616,390.71

Yearly average donations for ten years, \$53,072

APPENDIX

Table A gives the amount credited to the different States in the last Year-Book (1898) in the columns marked "Foreign, Education, Church Building, Home Missions, A. M. A. and Sunday Schools." The total amount is \$1,327,000. But a considerable sum is given for foreign work that does not go through the treasury of the A. B. C. F. M., and there are gifts to the South and West and to local work included by churches in their table of reports which do not go through the treasury of any of the home societies. It is safe to reduce the Year-Book figures by ten per cent. to get the amount really received by our six societies, namely, in round numbers, \$1,200,000.

Table B is based on the total amount of home expenses and missionary gifts as given in the last Year-Book (1898) as the measure each State has given of its own ability. This seems to be more just than a membership basis, some small churches being wealthy, while some of the larger churches have much less financial ability. It must be noted, however, that these figures cannot be absolutely accurate, as many churches do not make full returns, especially of "Home Expenses."

In examining the following table it will be noted that, of the larger States, Connecticut and Massachusetts are already paying more than their proportion on the basis suggested in Table B, and two other States, New Jersey and Rhode Island, would have to increase but a trifle to give the proposed amount. As we are very sure that the churches in these four States would want to have some generous share in the new forward movement, we would suggest that they plan to increase ten per cent. their gifts of last year. They gave then over \$600,000 to our six societies. The addition of ten per cent., or \$60,000, as proposed, would

offset the failure in some States at first, and especially where there is the least financial ability, and help to insure, therefore, to the six societies the full increase of \$400,000.

Mississippi and Texas show an excess in the Table A over others partly because in the former the item of home expenses is left out of the one large church, and in the latter there were in the column to "other" objects proportionately large gifts.

States	Table A	Table B
Alabama	\$ 611	\$ 1,500
Arizona	422	900
Arkansas	45	475
California	41,823	50,500
Colorado	5,622	14,350
Connecticut	220,554	186,500
District of Columbia	4,025	5,700
Florida	1,384	2,550
Georgia	565	1,950
Idaho	175	1,000
Illinois	106,917	134,000
Indiana	3,465	9,250
Iowa	37,248	68,400
Kansas	10,674	19,800
Kentucky	63	375
Louisiana	245	1,475
Maine	33,202	56,800
Maryland	1,172	1,350
Massachusetts	425,057	417,700
Michigan	48,295	61,000
Minnesota	26,627	44,500
Missouri	19,622	27,250
Mississippi	211	75
Montana	439	1,400
Nebraska	11,651	23,000
Nevada	15	150
New Hampshire	32,287	52,200
New Jersey	22,179	23,000
New Mexico	154	725
New York	100,921	133,000
North Carolina	371	975
North Dakota	3,079	6,450
Ohio	41,288	72,400
Oklahoma	713	1,850
Oregon	2,605	8,500
Pennsylvania	5,503	19,200
Rhode Island	27,503	28,100
South Carolina	305	625
South Dakota	10,813	12,800
Tennessee	550	900
Texas	2,382	2,200
Utah	714	1,700
Vermont	39,476	44,300
Virginia	166	300
Washington	3,732	10,000
West Virginia	96	225
Wisconsin	31,978	47,000
Wyoming	573	1,600
	\$1,327,517	\$1,600,000

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Appeal of the Egyptian Missionary Association
for Two Hundred and Eighty More Missionaries.

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY PASSED AT THE
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, AT CAIRO, ON FEBRUARY 19, 1903.

Under a profound sense of the leadership of the Spirit of God, the Egyptian Missionary Association would lay before the United Presbyterian Church a call to a great advance in the work of evangelizing this nation. It is more than a generation since our Church began work in Egypt, but more than nine-tenths of the population are still in dense ignorance of the only way of life. It cannot be the will of God that other generations of these people are to be left without the knowledge of Christ, if it is at all possible for the Church to "preach the gospel to every creature" of the present generation.

After the most thorough study which we have ever made of the needs of Egypt as a whole, we feel it to be our imperative duty to lay before you the situation as it appears to us, that you may make larger plans for occupying the fields which God has so manifestly opened up to us and made us responsible for them.

It is only fair to say that the appeal of our India Mission for one hundred and eighty more missionaries was the occasion of our giving more thorough consideration to the whole problem of adequately occupying Egypt for Christ, than we have ever given as an Association hitherto. And we are fully prepared, from our knowledge of the great difficulties of the spiritual conquest of non-christian peoples, to endorse most heartily the appeal of our co-laborers in India, and to unite our prayers with theirs that our beloved Church may rise in her might and respond fully to this call of God.

The population of Egypt is about 10,000,000. Of these, over nine-tenths are Mohammedans, while about 750,000 are Copts, Armenians, Syrians, Greeks and others of various European or Asiatic origins with some individual exceptions. All of these non-Mohammedan peoples are in reality almost as destitute of any vital spiritual religion, as are the Mohammedans themselves. The Government is practically Mohammedan, and compels its employees to work on the Sabbath day, while all its influence is directly against an aggressive evangelistic effort. On account of the fanatical prejudice and opposition of the Mohammedans, no open-air preaching is allowed. Cairo is the greatest educational center of the Mohammedan world, and the whole country is filled with Mohammedan newspapers which take every occasion for opposing the spread of Christianity. Another great difficulty is the fact that only about 12 % of the men and $\frac{6}{10}$ % of the women of Egypt are able to read and write. Cairo had a population of 570,000 by the census of 1897; Alexandria 319,000 and Tanta 57,000.

In addition to these cities, there are 8 towns, each of which has a population of over 30.000; 5 other towns with over 20.000 each; 61 with over 10.000 each; 247 with over 5.000 each; 1178 with over 2.000 each; 1094 with over 1.000 each; and 1095 others with a population of less than 1.000 each. When it is remembered that we have missionaries stationed at only 9 different places in all Egypt, and a total of only about 200 out-stations where work is carried on by Egyptian pastors, evangelists or teachers, some impression may be gathered of the great unoccupied fields all around us.

In a careful survey of the immediate definite places where additional missionaries are now needed, to carry out and follow up work already in hand, a list of specific positions for over 150 such workers has been made out, over five hours of the time of the entire Missionary Association having been given to this detailed survey of the field.

It appears unmistakably clear that God has placed our own Church in the position of chief opportunity and obligation to evangelize Egypt. It is true that there are some workers of other denominations at work in some sections of the country, but our own Mission extends from Alexandria to Assouan, and is the only Evangelical Agency which has succeeded in raising up and training a body of Egyptian pastors and evangelists. But even if 2.000.000 of the people of Egypt were to be considered the field of agents of other missionary societies, and this is certainly the utmost that such missionaries might expect to be able to reach, it would still leave 8.000.000 as the field of our own Church. In order to have one ordained missionary and one lady helper to every 50.000 of this number, a total force of 160 men, and 160 lady missionaries would be required. We now have less than forty such workers on the field. This would mean an increase of 280. It would only be possible for even this total number to lead in the work of thoroughly evangelizing Egypt in this generation, on the supposition that a force of trained native pastors and evangelists can be raised up, equal to fully five times the total number of missionaries needed.

And such an increase of native workers could only be secured by a great revival in the Egyptian Church. But we believe that if our Church will unite with us in fervent prayer to this end, it is entirely possible for such a quickening from God to result, that workers, both from the Egyptian Church and from our own American Church may be raised up in sufficient numbers to become the human agency through which the message of the gospel may be made intelligible to the entire present generation of people in this land.

We cannot undertake at present to determine how large a force of workers may ultimately be needed for the work in the Sudan. We have received a statement of plans of work from the missionaries there mentioning definite places for 25 additional workers, and we have no doubt that it would be wise to send at least that many, within the next two or three years.

We are aware that the sending out and support of such a body of men and women as are now being asked for in these great mission fields, will require much larger gifts and sacrifices, than have yet been made by our Church. But we believe such a force as has been indicated is absolutely required, if we are to make an honest and reasonable effort to reach with the gospel the people now living. Even if supplying the total number of missionaries needed in both India and Egypt, should require an annual expenditure equal to nearly one half the amount spent by our Church in supporting its present work in

America, would not such an expenditure be easily possible if our Church were filled with the compassion of the Savior for the lost? And would not the expenditure be justified, many times over, if it resulted in the evangelization of 13,000,000 of people, the number in our own special fields in India and Egypt, not including the Sudan?

We therefore pray to God to send out these additional missionaries. And we appeal to our own Church, so highly favored and blessed of God in the supply, both of well-qualified workers and of financial resources, to give for the supply of these needs with something of the same devotion with which Christ gave Himself for the redemption of the world. As many present needs of the work in this field are urgent, beyond our power to express, we would urge that as large a number of these workers as possible be sent out this year. And we call upon our whole Church to unite with us in unceasing prayer to God for these reinforcements, and for such a quickening of the spiritual life of the Egyptian Church as shall make possible the evangelization of Egypt in this generation.

S. C. Ewing

Catharine A. Ewing

Andrew Watson

Margaret Watson

William Harvey

Kennicott M. Harvey

David Strang

M. H. Strang

Anna Y. Thompson

J. R. Alexander

John Giffen

Elizabeth Giffen

Thos. J. Finney

Chauncey Gmurch

E. O. Fyfe

J. Kruidenier

H. Kruidenier

E. M. Giffen

S. G. Hart

Leanora J. Mc Dowell

Carrie M. Buchanan

G. A. Swasey

W. H. Reed

R. S. McClenahan

Ralph E. Carson

Adelle Mc Millan

Caroline C. Lawrence M.D.

E. Dorcas Trass

Lora B. Dickey

Rena L. Hogg

W. L. McClenahan

James G. Hunt

S. P. McLaughlin

Lena P. McLaughlin

Helen J. Ferrier

Ethel Rosy Martin

Margaret A. Bell

Marion A. Paden

J. Howard Boyd

Alice B. Underwood

Myra L. Boyd

Jella W. Mitchell

W. R. Coventry

LETTER TO BE SENT TO CHURCHES OF WESTMINSTER PRESTBYTERY.

One of the chief sources of food supply for the city of Teheran is the province of Veranim, lying to the eastward of the city and to the south of the Elborz Mountains. It is a beautiful, luxuriant plain about fifty miles in diameter, watered by many streams which flow down from snow-capped Demavand. It is said to contain 366 villages.

Though it lies so near the city, our limited force has never permitted us to do much evangelistic work there. During the past year this untouched field has been much in the minds of some of us. Being Superintendent of the Boys' School, with a hundred pupils in my charge, I was unable to get away from the city during the school term, so I proposed to Mr. Esselstyn that instead of making feast calls we should spend our Easter vacation touring in this region. Consequently Monday morning, April 15th, Mr. Esselstyn, his ten year old son and I might have been seen wending our way out of the city in truly Oriental fashion, carrying with us all things necessary for the road, such as bedding and cooking utensils. About noon we stopped in a village by the wayside, had some lunch, and later a good talk with a large group of men gathered in the public tea house - Mr. Esselstyn reading and explaining several passages, including Mt. 24.

We spent that night in the village of Charter Khan, which is owned by a brother of the late Shah. Of course the people came, and I read to them from the Gospel. They asked questions, and I then preached Christ as the only Saviour, and as, to their mind, a parable is stronger than proof, and a simile better than argument, after I had tried to explain the true way I closed by saying, "We both, Christian and Moslem, believe in Moses and the prophets - we both accept the whole Bible as the Word of God - together we have climbed the ladder of truth to Christ who is the last round - while the Christians have held fast to Him, you have taken one step into the air." It was unnecessary to finish the parable, as they saw the point immediately, and one of them, who had been especially attentive, said, "Sahib, you have caught us fast, we cannot answer you - I will go and bring our mollah who will answer you." He came, and, as all good Moslems must, he professed to accept the Bible; but, like most of his fellows, he had very little knowledge of its contents. He said, "No doubt your religion is true, but ours also is true - to each man his own religion - and if he be sincere, it matters little."

After considerable conversation I asked him, "Is it possible for a man to believe two statements, each contrary to the other?" He replied, "It is impossible." Then I showed him how the Old Testament told of a Messiah to come who must suffer and give his life a ransom for his people - that the New Testament teaches that Jesus is this Messiah, that he did die and rose from the dead, and the fact of his death is the foundation truth of the whole New Testament. To all this he agreed, and then I quoted from the Koran, "Him they did not kill, him they did not crucify," and added, "there is teaching directly contrary to both Old and New Testaments. If they are true the Koran cannot be. In any case the Koran is discredited, for it teaches that the Bible is God's Word and then denies its most fundamental doctrine. If you can give an answer to this, please do so." For some time he sat thinking, but found no reply, and then bade us good-bye, promising to search the Scriptures, and the people said, "He is our leader; if he becomes a Christian we will all follow."

One thing which impressed us all that week was the fact that the people everywhere openly said, "We are free to change our religion. We can become Christians if we wish."

The next night we lodged in the Governor's residence in the capital of the province, and had a rare opportunity to explain the truth to a group of officials, who asked questions which we answered by reading from Christ's own words.

Wednesday we were in Emam Zadeh Jaafar, a shrine town of some note. The people came in crowds to see us, and we read and talked to them, and soon our coming and the message we brought was known to all the town.

The following night we spent at the city of Veranim, the ancient capital, and an important center long before Teheran had begun to exist. While crowds did not come, yet a few were constantly listening to the Word, asking questions and reading for themselves. Mr. Esselstyn spoke in one of the tea houses in the bazaar. In the afternoon a man called on us, and after the usual salutations said, turning to Mr. Esselstyn, "Do you know why I have come here? I have heard of the religion which you preach and I believe it is true. I am sure there is no truth in Islam. Tell me what I must do to become a Christian."

While Mr. Esselstyn was trying to teach him a few of the essential truths, I had stepped out into the yard in front of the door and fell into conversation with a young man who had been a very attentive listener and had borrowed a Gospel to read for himself. He remarked that he was going hunting, and invited me to go along. As I too was hunting, I accepted, and he shouldered his gun and I slipped my sword, the Word of God, under my arm. We walked across the wheat and barley fields by the little paths which separate the small plots into which the fields are divided for the purpose of irrigation, and presently came to a small village, over which he was governor. He called the people together and they came, even the women.

Wishing them to take the initiative, I did not bring forward religion till the governor asked me for my Persian Testament and began to read, and then asked me to read some of the passages he had heard in the morning. I first read I Cor. 13, John 10, and Luke 15, and then spoke to them of the wonderful love and compassion of God - how He gave His only Son to die in our stead. What a privilege it was to speak to that little group of ignorant peasants, who listened with straining ear to catch every word of the "Old, old Story", so new to them! Their eyes filled with tears of earnest longing. How sad it was to hear their words, "We know not the way, and we strive and are heavy laden, but there is none to guide us." How glad I was to tell them that Jesus says, "I am the way", and to give them that precious invitation, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." They said, "But how can we come?" "Who will teach us?" And the governor said, "I will go up to Teheran and understand this matter and then will come back and teach you." I know that they were deeply in earnest at the time, and pray that the message may abide in their minds and guide them into the truth.

Friday evening we narrowly avoided an unpleasantness in the last village before Teheran. The mollah of the place said that he had heard of our traveling through the villages and giving arguments for Christianity which the Moslems could not answer. And he announced his intention of sending us to Teheran under guard to give answer to the authorities for thus preaching the Gospel. We told him that we both knew and were known to the authorities in Teheran, and he was free to inquire of them concerning us, and if he had any complaint against us, to lodge it with the proper officials, as we could be found at our homes in the city at any time. After some parleying he apparently accepted our view of the matter, and in the evening made us a friendly visit. But in the morning when we were ready to start, we found the large doors of the garden in which we lodged, double locked, which did not surprise us, as we had doubted his sincerity. Knowing that he had no right to thus detain us, with the aid of a huge spike candlestick which we happened to have along, I twisted off the staple holding one end of the bar lock, and we proceeded to the city without molestation. We were very thankful to avoid a disturbance, and imagine that the mollah too was glad that his mistake had not gotten him into trouble with government authorities, as it certainly would had his plans not miscarried.

Sincerely your fellow-worker,
S. M. Jordan.

Teheran, Persia.

Tabriz.

Dear Friends:

I presume you know that my work in Tabriz is partly for Armenians and partly for Mussulmans, and partly evangelistic and partly educational.

I took advantage of the Easter vacation of the School,--which according to the Eastern Church Calendar happened some weeks after the Western Easter,--to make a tour of the Armenian villages some 20 or 30 miles north of Tabriz. Musa accompanied me. He is a baptized Turk, who could tell tales of a former life of highway robbery and drunken spree. Once when drunk, he held up a General at the mouth of his musket. I would not vouch for his being a good Christian according to American standards, but when I hear him pray the prayer of the Publican, and consider the pit from which he was dug, I am inclined to be charitable toward him, and such like Mussulman converts.

We hired a horse from a man of one of the villages--named Mujhumbar. As we were going along, I noticed he had on a peculiar pair of pantaloons. I asked him where he got them. He said, "In the Circus when I went with trained horses from the Caucasus to New York". I was greatly surprised and asked him, "What do you think of America?" He mentioned some things and added, "The people are honest there". Even in the environment of the circus he had noticed the difference between our country and his own. He took me to his own house for lodging--an upper room, built over a stable, of sun-dried brick, unciled, and with walls plastered with mud and straw. Its total furniture consisted of carpets spread on a coarse reed matting to keep them clean from the earth floor. There was a little window about a yard square, over which we pasted paper to keep out the cold. For though it was the last of April, snow fell, the creek was covered with ice, and the tops of the wheat and barley were frozen. Throwing my bedding on the floor and sitting on it, I sent to invite the people to come in. The first to come were some pupils from our Memorial Training School, who had come home for vacation. They collected the people for the magic lantern exhibition of the "Life of Christ". Though these Armenians are Christians in name, they are very ignorant of the simple facts of the Gospel, so that when presented with the pictures, it had a great interest and novelty for them. There is great satisfaction, too, in telling the old old story to Christians who have never heard it. After I had had two or three meetings with the men, the women requested me to come to the house of one of them and exhibit the pictures to them. At another time I had a group of the boys, to whom I gave pictures of the Sunday School lessons at this time, teaching them also. Saturday evening I went to the Armenian Church. The priests and his assistants arrayed in gorgeous robes of the brightest colors and sparkling with gilt, were serving before a high altar which was adorned with pictures of Jesus and the Saints, before which were numerous candles burning. The Service,--the ancient ritual was long and would have been profitable with its many good prayers and Scripture selections if the people had been able to understand it, but in the ancient language it was of little good to them. Their part consisted in crossing themselves and kneeling when they heard the names of the persons of the Trinity. The priest did not attempt any explanation or sermon. He is simply an uneducated man, formerly our School cook who, at the age of fifty, was ordained priest as an easier means of livelihood. One thing that interested me was the administering of the communion. When the wafer had been consecrated, it was elevated on high, and all the people bowed and worshipped before it as the real body of Christ.

One by one they came forward to a corner of the Church, knelt for a few minutes with the priest and confessed their sins. Then a bit of the wafer, dipped in wine, was given to each one.

On Easter Sunday, after a long service, the people engaged in feasting. Colored eggs were in every house, and the boys in the street gamble with the hard boiled eggs, the one which breaks being forfeit. The people all went visiting, drinking a great deal of wine, and blessing the feast. On entering the house, the visitor says, "Jesus is risen from the dead". The host says, "Blessed be the resurrection of Jesus".

Monday was also a holiday and while the boys engaged in various sports, the girls dressed in their brightest red and blue, gathered in the meadows by the creek, and played tag and other games. Many of them, too, went with the older folks, to the shrine on a near hill-top, taking some offering to be burned, or making some petition to the Saint who is honored with this altar.

On Tuesday I went to a village named Olchamulk. Here I had a good meeting illustrated by the magic lantern. The next morning our school boys took charge of us, took us to their houses. At each one we had opportunity for reading the Scriptures and prayer, while they urged us to eat their eggs and cake, their bread and curds, and drink their tea, with real holiday hospitality.

I was impressed with the value of our Memorial Training School as a Gospel influence, when I saw the eyes of our pupils sparkling with friendship and welcome, and felt how the hearts and homes of their parents were opened to us through them.

In the next village we lodged with a Church member who has recently married an old man here. Teltel was a widow whose story is partly told in my "Persia; Western Missions", when her daughter endured much persecution about her protestant marriage. Here we had an attentive and appreciative audience to whom the old story was little less new than at the other places. The husband is a stickler for the facts and rites of the old Church; and while he has considerable worldly intelligence, has strange ideas of Christian doctrines. He maintained, for example, that Christ never ate, and that our Testament which stated such things must be wrong.

The day after my return, I had an acute attack of appendicitis which brought me near to death's door; but an operation by our skillful missionary physicians, Dr. Cochran of Urumia, and Drs. Vannerman and Bradford of Tabriz, put me on the way to recovery. It is my first sickness, except an occasional ague, in twenty-two years of missionary life. After tedious weeks of convalescence, one of my first duties was to take part in the ordination of a preacher from the Russian Caucasus. It had been our intention to have, in connection with this, a conference of our preachers and teachers, but this was put off on account of my illness. The preacher had already procured his passport with great difficulty, and if it were not used, he could not obtain another, as the Government had learned for what purpose he was going and would not renew it. It must be used inside of twenty days. This work in the Caucasus, at Somaghar, is connected with the work of Erzurum, of the American Board, but as Turkey does not permit the entrance of Armenians since the massacres, it was impossible for the preacher, Mr. Hohannes Saikisian, to go there. For this reason, the missionaries at Erzurum requested us to ordain him. His congregation consists of some 500 or 1000 souls scattered in different villages near Etchmiadzin- the seat of the Catholics or head of the Armenian Church. They are the result of seed sown by American missionaries years ago, though now the Russian Government allows no Americans to do religious work among them. They are an unauthorized congregation; but

they have kept their light burning and have increased. For some years past they have been without a pastor, with their children unbaptized, and the Lord's Supper uncelebrated. This brother, with the representative of the Church, made a good impression on us as a Spiritual man, and we hope that Christian community will make further progress in the near future.

His ordination took place in the School Chapel,--semi-privately, as it was thought that a very public meeting might bring the affair to the eye of the Russian authorities, especially as a reporter of a Tiflis paper had been asking when the ordination would take place. The brethren did not delay among us, as a policeman had stopped them on the street and questioned them as to their reason for being here and had excited their apprehension.

With Christian salutations to you, and beseeching your *prayers* for me and our work, I remain,

Yours sincerely ,
S. G. Wilson.

Education on the Mission Field.

In addressing you today, my aim is to set before you as briefly as possible the importance, yea necessity, of Education on the Mission Field; and then urge a few points with reference to its aim, spirit and conduct. As to its importance, it is only testifying of that which I have seen, when I say that while it is possible with uneducated means to bring men into the church, it is not only impossible to advance them as the writer of Hebrews (6:1) teaches we should do, but in the case of many it is impossible even to keep them in the church. One of our ablest men, an earnest advocate of self-support on the mission field, simplified the support question very much by not pushing forward educated men as leaders, and as a result finally reached the point where disintegration threatened speedy dissolution. That man did a noble pioneer work in carrying the Gospel far inland, but it was necessary that his work should pass on to others that saw the need of men who, being instructed themselves, would be able to instruct others also. There is, or should be, development in every band of converts, and it follows as a result of development, that the earlier instruction will not answer permanently. Bearing this truth in mind, let me show you somewhat in detail how different missions, under the lead of their older or more dominant men have looked on this subject.

Some, though now few, pointing to the example of the early Methodist itinerants, claim that education in the early stages of the church is unnecessary. It should be sufficient to call their attention to the fact that of the Mission Churches in the Orient, none lay greater stress on education than the Methodists, as their large institutions in Peking, Shanghai, Nanking and elsewhere testify. The fact that level-headed, experienced men have in this respect, discarded the early practice of their own church, is a sufficient answer to those who point to the Methodist body as proof that education on the mission field is unnecessary.

Others, as the London Missionary Society, have been so impressed with the urgency of evangelistic work, that almost, if not all, their entire force has, in some way or other been given to it. While multitudes are perishing for lack of hearing the truth, they cannot take time to open schools, much less to teach in them. The zeal and consecration of such men is beyond question, and we admit that there is a peculiar pleasure in purely evangelistic work, but is it wise to lay stress exclusively on any one form of work? It did not prove so in colonial history, and we are planting the church's colonies. The London Mission work in the Yangtse valley has been strongly evangelistic, and yet their oldest and most experienced man, Dr. Griffith John, frankly says that neglecting educational work has been their mistake, and is now making strenuous efforts for the establishment of a Mission college. Let me urge you then to profit by their experience, and provide for the permanence of your work by establishing schools which may train men able to take up and extend the work which, at the best, you can only begin.

Some again, as the Eng. Scotch and Irish Presb. Missions in Manchuria, realizing the need of educational work, and yet loth to spare any of their force for it, have thought to avail themselves of the educational product of other missions as a foundation. In some few instances the result has been very satisfactory. As a rule it has not been highly so. The reason is that the Mission sustaining the High School or College, always lays claim to the best men in each class; missions, sustained by the same Board, have also to be considered, and so frequently, availability rather than suitability decides who shall go. Hence the result at times has not been satisfactory to the employers, nor creditable to the source of supply. Those missions which have provided educational facilities of their own, are able to retain a band of picked men whose services are invaluable. Failing this, the next best plan would be to select young men from your own field and send them to that institution, even of another denomination, where they will be kept in touch with you, and in sympathy with the home work.

Others still, under the leadership of some man who has tried educational work and failed, have concluded that the church is not yet ready for such work. Now it should be admitted, and here in America it is admitted, that individual lack of success in a certain profession by no means proves the profession uncalled for; but missionaries have been too apt to assume that because they have been unsuccessful in a certain venture, the last word has therefore been said on the subject. To come to the concrete, there is a certain mission in the Orient, the former senior missionary of which had failed in educational work, and in doing so had imbibed such an aversion to it that he was unwilling for boys from his church to attend the school of a neighboring mission, even if the boys went entirely at their own expense. In recent years, the home-board has been reinforcing this mission, and the latter is anxious to begin more aggressive work; but after forty years of labor, it has few, if any, qualified assistants, except one or two who in the face of this opposition, went to school at their own expense. This mission now openly expresses its dissatisfaction with these methods and results, and have set apart their present senior missionary to teach and train evangelists and other native helpers. As the need is urgent, no time will be taken, for a while at least, to develop the mental faculties of the students by a preliminary drill in Mathematics and Elementary Science, but they will begin at once in theological work. Let me urge on you then, not to allow your own or any one's lack of success to blind your eyes to certain fundamental truths; one of which is that except in rare cases of natural genius, no one is capable of acting as teacher even to the ignorant, unless his own mental faculties have been stimulated and trained by education. The case of the mission referred to, shows how much a mistaken view may cripple the work of your colleagues and successors.

There are still others who contend that schools are all right as soon as the native church is able to support them. This is correct in theory, but it is a theory of which the gradual realization is very advisable. In the early days of the Shantung Presb. Mission, so important was education felt to be that not only was boarding and tuition free, but clothing, and traveling expenses were also provided. No doubt but mistakes were made; yet when we compare results with missions which refused to adopt this course, we can only say; "Wisdom is justified of her children". A number of these inducements are now withdrawn, and the students are required to pay a tuition fee, yet there is no dearth of students, which shows that Lincoln's aphorism is correct; "We will get the chicken sooner by hatching the egg than by smashing it". Because we are compelled to lead as the mission church is able to follow, is no reason for refusing to lead at all.

Not unfrequently again men coming to the Mission field suppose that their ~~means, being~~ as a mass comparatively ignorant, little or no preparation is necessary. Thinking it unnecessary in themselves, they lay little or no stress on education in others. I wish to say here that our ablest preachers in China, both native and foreign, are educated men who labor much on their sermons, and their fame is in all the churches. On the other hand, I have never seen any audience more wearied than a large Chinese audience was with a young missionary who thought a short Sabbath morning's preparation sufficient. Perhaps I should except the occasion when a gentleman from the U.S. undertook to make oratory answer for ideas. You will need to prepare for the humblest audience, and you will need to prepare men who are apt to teach others also, no matter whether the native church is yet able to pay for this education or not.

In refuting these erroneous ideas of the importance of education, stress has naturally been laid on the direct needs of the church, but in addition to this, Christian education is doing an essential service in building up Christian character, - in extending the influence of Christianity, - and in giving the church a respected standing. Does it mean nothing that the German R.R. in Shantung employs Christian young men from the

Têngchow College in preference to non-Christians? that text-books prepared by Christian young men, and which show that they are of Christian authorship, are being extensively used over the Empire? that Gov. Chow of Shantung, who at first looked askance at the Christian teachers in the Gov't College, was so won over as to send his son to them for private instruction, and afterwards sought to retain the same men in the Gov't service? These are only a few of the more apparent results of missionary educational work, those which give it standing and attract the most attention, but which, although valuable, are not the most valuable. A still wider influence is exerted by those who teach in the village schools of all grades, and although these schools are few in comparison with the vast number of villages, and by no means as efficient as they should be, yet from them is poured forth a continual stream of Christian influence. Rev. Tso Li Wen, a man whose opinion is always entitled to respect, claims that as far as propagating Christianity is concerned, the village school-master, if an earnest Christian, is in no ways inferior to a good evangelist, because his influence is both concentrated and cumulative. Being confined to one place, it becomes the veritable leaven in the meal. Wider still than its evangelistic influence, is the influence of this educational work in making the future fathers and mothers of the church intelligent men and women, free from the superstitions of the ignorant, and not easily carried away by every doctrinal charlatan, men and women able to exert a truly enlightening influence on their fellow villagers. Picture to yourself what the Presbyterian Church in America would be, if it were without the education now diffused through it, and you will know what the church abroad will be unless proper emphasis is laid on its education. I venture to say that not only will Christianity without education degenerate into superstition, but Presbyterianism without education will be impossible. It is a republican form of government, and no government can be such without education. You may call it Presbyterianism, but in reality it is a disguised Episcopacy, just as the Latin republics are disguised monarchies. Let no man deceive you, education is to Presbyterianism, is to an enlightened Christianity what the supports under the great Library are to the superstructure; While you cannot say that the building is entirely dependent on them, yet take them away and collapse is certain.

~~High educational work and~~ Taking it for granted that you now appreciate the importance of education, ~~and~~ are not to be misled by any such ditty as;

"Eight little mission boys,
On the road to heaven;
One studied Geography,
And then there were only seven";

I wish to call attention,

II. To the character of this education. Here I believe many Mission schools formerly made a mistake in making the course too religious. When this is done, it is not an education, and boys of good ability will not remain in such schools. I remember visiting a country school, where one bright little fellow about twelve years old, was kept studying a tract called "The Swiss Boy". The teacher in examination asked; "What did this boy have to eat?" "Sweet potatoes". "Was that good food?" "No." etc. --- etc. Not much wonder, that the boy had no appetite for his mental pabulum, and left the school in disgust. It was no education. A course too exclusively religious has also the disadvantage that it fits a man for one form of work only, and hardly that, for the mind lacks the sharpening which is derived from the study of the Sciences and Mathematics. On the other hand, when men are taught as we teach them here in the U.S., they are capable of undertaking other professions as well, and when they enter the service of the Church, do so from choice rather than necessity. It is possible to teach a man religious truth, but to teach him religion is a different matter, and it is best to limit the religious instruction to the pupil's powers of assimilation; say one subject daily, and

let it be taught, not by some secondary member of the faculty, but by the best teachers, the principal himself taking the advanced class, and let all be well taught. Too often you will be tempted in religious subjects, not to prepare but to teach from your general knowledge. It would be better then, I think, not to teach at all: your deadening, lifeless work, if work it might be called, will do more harm than good. Mrs. Julia Brown Ma-teer had for many years charge of the elementary Christian instruction in the Tengchow College, but she always prepared anew and prepared well. In this way, vivifying her teaching with fresh illustration and practical question, she exerted a deep influence on the minds of her pupils.

While thus limiting the amount of religious instruction, the secular studies should also be kept within proper bounds. Some men become so wrapped up in the particular science which they are teaching as to lose all sight of its relative importance. They have no time to teach the religious subjects, and so unintentionally lower the religious tone of the school. Suppose for example, that the principal teaches only Physics, lays out his time and strength on that almost exclusively; as Physics now stand he is practically telling his students; "Physics is the principal thing, therefore get Physics; and with all thy getting, get Electricity". You will find that, as a rule, your school is what you make it, and if the foreign faculty of any school give themselves exclusively to the scientific studies, leaving the religious and ethical branches almost entirely in the hands of the native assistants, you will find your students, while with you, putting stress where you put it; and when they leave you, seeking situations where they can keep up and use these studies. They will regard evangelistic work as suitable for the second rate men, just as the religious subjects were relegated to the assistant teachers in your school. In saying this, I am not theorizing; in our own Mission College, under stress of circumstances, my predecessor and myself both made, to a large extent, the same mistake. Looking back at it now, I believe that no pressure of circumstances will justify the principal and head teachers in not personally taking charge of, and so honoring, the religious instruction. In this way your young men will be the more willing to magnify it with their life service, and endure hardness for the cause of religion as good soldiers.

The next thing which I hope will characterize your schools is thoroughness. There is still too much education on the Mission field which does not educate. Not only will your teachers lack accuracy, but frequently the text-books, being written or translated by amateurs, will bear careful watching. In one text-book widely used, we are told that Spring tides are named from the season of the year in which they occur; while the text-book in general use on Geology gravely informs us that the large feldspar crystals in porphyritic granite are due to feldspathic material gradually filling up cavities formed in the cooling of the rock. Much too of our knowledge gained at school grows dim and uncertain unless fixed in the mind by frequent review. Many subjects, it is true, have served their purpose in imparting mental discipline, but others are among the fundamentals and need to be kept fresh. Irrespective of the utility of these branches, it does not create a good impression when students in Calculus and Chemistry are unable to pass a respectable examination in Geography and Arithmetic: the very things in which native scholars who had privately begun Western studies, would be most likely to test them. Thoroughness is important also for the truth's sake. A thing is either correct or incorrect, and a student who is permitted to habitually palm off vague, indefinite recitations, can never become a discriminating, thoroughly reliable man. Confucius said, "Yew, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to know it; and when you do not know a thing, to admit that you do not;—this is knowledge." It would tend to accuracy in the world, if all teachers taught the same lesson. As far as the school itself is concerned, one of the most potent causes of disintegration and lowering of discip-

-line, is for the scholar to feel that he is not well taught. He loses respect for both school and teacher.

In closing this head, I might note that some have objected to the course in certain mission colleges as being too high. Perhaps they are, still when young men from these institutions came to study medicine or theology, their teachers found them so much superior in mental discipline to men who had not had this training, that it was hard to teach the two grades of men in the same class. No matter how taught, the men with untrained minds, failed to get a well-rounded, satisfactory view of the subject. It is, so far as my experience goes, a gain in time and efficiency to give these men such a preliminary drill as will widen their mental grasp and sharpen their perceptive faculties.

III. The aim of an institution, whether realized or not, depends not only on the instruction emphasized, but also on the spirit in which it is given. You will find many things in Mission school-work to try your love, zeal and patience; yet remember that there are lessons which cannot be learned from the printed page, but from the living teacher, and you are the textbook. Whether a good one or not depends on your example in charity and forbearance; humility, faith and love. These lessons are as important as any in the curriculum; in religious and ethical subjects they are essential; for ice-cold truth never thaws anything. True education here in America does not consist in mere clock-work exactness and accuracy, but also in the imbuing of the students with high ideals and manly purposes. The worth of such teachers is above rubies.

Now in the peculiarly intimate relations possible in the mission school, and in the fact that you are supposed to be a model fruit of Christianity, this power of the teacher is still more marked. In your patient conquering of the untractable and aggravating pupil, you are giving a whole class, perhaps the most valuable teaching of their lives. This is a matter requiring attention to yourself, for this influence cuts both ways; and if you possess any strong qualities, enough to make you a model, your faults as well as your virtues will be imitated. A famous man in the mission field was wont at times in argument to rely on downright assertion. His pupils imitated him; with the result that what was impressive in a man of ability and experience, sounded ridiculous in the mouth of a mere boy. Let me urge on you then the importance of the formative influence of your personality. It is that which makes the knowledge which you have imparted either a living force, or a mere dead accomplishment. You are laboring to furnish men and women who will build up Christ's Kingdom. Never forget then what your silent influence, the still, small voice of your personality will be. For example, we wish to incite our students to devotion to duty; there is no use in preaching it to our students, if we do not show it ourselves. The effect of your preaching will be much like the sensation produced by a certain theological professor, who in descending on Foreign Missions said, "If the time ever comes when this institution ceases to send out foreign missionaries, - then I will quit teaching theology." If he had said, "then I will go myself," he might have stirred up some enthusiasm. But if like Mackay of Formosa, we do show this devotion and self sacrifice ourselves, then our students will learn to look above and beyond us to those splendid examples found in the New Testament, and in the history of the Church from the days of Paul and Silas down to the present.

IV. Coming to the all-important and ever- embarrassing question of the general conduct of a Mission High School or College, plainly the first thing is to decide definitely on the particular purposes it is intended to fulfill, and then conduct it with special reference to that end. If this were definitely understood and insisted upon by the Mission as well as the school authorities, it would save much wasted time and effort. It would also tend to avoid sudden and radical changes, which not only show that the man at the helm has not arrived at any definite conclusions, and

but are also discouraging to the students. One would-be educationalist changed his plans so often that his students grew disheartened; before they could make port on one tack, the ship was scudding in a different direction. Different methods may all yield good results, just as there are various lines of steamers by which one may cross the ocean, but you will find it impossible to travel by more than one line at a time.

As to criticism of your work and reliance on the advice of others, a few words may not be amiss. As a rule you will find that mere reliance on the opinion of others is a poor substitute for careful thought on your own part, for the work being entrusted to you, and the responsibility resting upon you, it is hardly likely that others will do much effectual thinking for you; at least they will not put their minds to it the way you should do. Whether there is wisdom or not among a multitude of counsellors depends very much on who the counsellors are. That of men and women thoroughly conversant with the work is always valuable, but still it is well to remember that in the last analysis, "Every man must bear his own burden." When worried by urgent advice it is comforting to remember that responsibility usually begets caution, and those who are insistent with well-meant advice would probably move slowly too, did the responsibility rest upon them. Let me also counsel you never to undertake anything in school management, no matter who advises it, until you first see through it. Confucius said a wise thing when he remarked, "The cautious seldom err." The plan may be all right, but your ignorance of its bearings may make it all wrong. A screw driver, for example, is a useful tool when in proper hands; but an eminent English astronomer characterizes it as one of the most dangerous tools in the observatory when it falls into the wrong hands. We are all probably conscious of once or twice getting hold of the wrong screw-driver.

As to changes made in the schools over which you may have charge, it is well to bear in mind that the Oriental is usually conservative, and "hustling the East" is frequently injurious to all concerned. No matter what your abilities and attainments may be, they are as yet unknown to your native colleagues and the students, and it is only common prudence which leads them to be chary of at once following the lead of the new arrival, especially where his views do not coincide with those of the man whom they have learned to know and appreciate. Probably every new missionary at times feels sore over the apparent unnecessary deference paid to his senior colleague, and yet it is only natural that it should be so, even though protracted in time somewhat beyond occidental ideas.

In making changes, it is well to admit that what now appears to us unnecessary or even injurious, may at one time have been the best that circumstances would permit. To acknowledge that fact, will obviate seeming criticism of the past, and pave the way for needed reforms. Few men are so set on their own way as not to admit that since there was accommodation to circumstances in the past, there should be progression in the present. Whatever changes are made, we should not lose sight of the fact, that the supreme end of every Mission school should be the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ. They are the out-post institutions, and the needs of the front should determine their character. St. Bernard of Clairveaux was accustomed to call himself back from useless reverie by the question, "What dost thou here, Bernard?" and Missions institutions might be saved from some wandering courses ~~courses~~ by those in charge seriously asking themselves, What is this institution for?

A school must not only have a well defined purpose but also a systematic way of carrying it out. An extreme case of the lack of this was reported of a young man in the Orient. Like a number of others, he thought that qualified or not, he must have a school; others had them. In the division of the school-work he very properly reserved the leading of the Chapel exercises to himself; but instead of having a fixed time for them, he was liable to appear on the scene most any time in the morning, and no

matter what was going on, all must be suspended until the morning devotions were finished. The scholars may have learned some things from him, but certainly it was not the first law of nature. To have a fixed time for every thing, and then to see that both in his own work and in that of his native assistants, every thing fore-ordained by the school authorities shall certainly come to pass, is one of the prime duties of the principal. Such a course is not only beneficial to the morale of the school, but it also trains the students to the idea that everything must be done by the time appointed. This is a valuable lesson anywhere, but especially valuable to the time-killing Oriental. Though at times it may be difficult to do so, it is well worth while to make extra exertions and never miss a class. If nothing else is accomplished, it at least shows the pupil how important you regard his work to be. A student who attends school where every recitation is systematically and efficiently carried on, is, irrespective of the knowledge acquired, receiving the instruction which will make him a valuable and efficient man.

While the above object lesson should be exemplified in the principal and teachers, yet we must give due allowance to the fact that, on the part of the scholars, some minds develop much slower than others, and frequently these are among the stronger minds. We have no man in North China who has such a wide and accurate knowledge of the Mandarin dialect as the Rev. Tso Li Wen. Of the native staff at present engaged in translating the Bible, he easily stands first; and yet during his first few years at school, he seemed so dumb that it was seriously debated whether to send him home or not. Prof. Lio Kwang Chao, one of the two ablest mathematicians, and the best student in Physics ever graduated at the Tengchow College, seemed so trifling in his early years that his value appeared problematical. Mr. Teng Keh Hwoa, a young man assisting in the Eng. Baptist Mission, and whom we hope to get back into our own church as a pastor, was so dumb during his first year at school, that I cannot yet explain why he was not dismissed; providentially kept from it, I presume.

On the other hand, when an unpromising boy, after the first few terms, still shows no strong points, he should not be kept on, merely to avoid the unpleasant task of dismissing him, or because his dismissal may possibly alienate some of his friends; they probably know what the boy is, and do not think any more of you or your school for retaining him. I once knew such a youth suffered to remain until his Junior year and then dismissed. The comment was that if not fitted to go on, he should have been told so earlier. Neither he nor his people were well off, and now he was placed at a disadvantage in fitting for other employments. The dismissal of those who are disqualified, while done with firmness, should yet be done in kindness of spirit; otherwise not only the boy, but his family and relatives, possibly a whole village, may be prejudiced against Christianity. Let me illustrate by an example the wisdom of kindness. About ten years ago a young man came to Tengchow from a station 320 miles distant, walking a good part of the way. In a few weeks we saw that for him, it was a waste of time, and for us of money; so one of the teachers kindly told him the state of the case, adding that there were many ways in which a man, though uneducated, could serve his Master, and hoped that he would demonstrate it. Then sending kind regards to his parents, (which never forget,) we bade him goodbye. He went back to the little farm among the sands of the Yellow River, and though he has suffered many hardships; father, mother and sister all passing away, he has ever been a light in that darkened neighborhood, a leader in the church, and one of our staunchest friends. The dismissal of students is an unpleasant task at best, but if done kindly, and if necessary with a little solatium to make the home journey less wearisome, the boy will go back with a warm spot in an otherwise sore heart.

Another point worthy of consideration, is personal demeanor. We like the lively vivacious teacher; the Oriental prefers the grave, sedate master, who unbends, it is true, now and then, but is not in a continually unbent frame of mind. Their books teach repeatedly that the scholar

should be grave; without gravity he will not be respected, and you will find such to be the case. One of the most brilliant and witty men in North China called on a certain Viceroy, and humor flowed in a steady stream, but he did not make a specially favorable impression. Grave but genial, sedate and social; "Reverential in attention to business," to quote again from Confucius, is the Oriental idea of the ideal teacher.

Again in whatever work you engage, and especially in school-work be sympathetic; a bright young man once failed in educational work in the East, simply because instead of sympathy he seemed running over with sarcasm. Without doubt he sought their welfare, but his words betokened no love ^{to his students}, and soon every one avoided him. On the other hand take a man like Dr. Corbett, whose large heart embraces all, and his pupils as well as their elders love him. Before he left for America on his last furlough, the native church gave him a farewell reception. In his closing address, he turned to the wing of the building, where on high benches sat the children, many of them little tots with their feet swinging in mid-air, and with a heart full of feeling cried, "You, children, are my joy and my hope"! The little fellows almost jumped from their seats. The inspiration of that moment will doubtless long abide in their hearts. It is not necessary that, in order to be sympathetic, we become weak, or surrender our convictions of right and wrong, but it is important that we follow in the footsteps of Him who was touched with a feeling of our infirmities.

As to the native faculty or assistants, taking it for granted that you have secured good men, there are three points well to bear in mind. First, do not attempt to carry any measure through until you have convinced them on the subject and secured their hearty support. Some young men make the mistake of frequently ignoring their native colleagues. In the nature of the case, they being to the manor born, come into closer relations with the students than you do, and by manifesting a spirit of indifference, or by a few quizzical words well spoken, can effectually dampen your most cherished schemes. On the other hand, if you can first convince them of the utility of your plan, you have secured their valuable aid, and usually some good counsel as to its execution. We should remember also that the vitality of human nature is as great among other nations as it is among faculties and boards here in America, and if a man is first honored by consulting with him over matters in which he is concerned, he will give his consent and aid; otherwise he feels a natural desire that you should recognize that he is not to be ignored with impunity.

Second, strive to make the native faculty realize that they are not mere hirelings but divide the honors and share the reverses of the institution along with you. In other words, they too are responsible for its good name and the character of the work done. Then and only then, will they stand shoulder to shoulder round about you, honor bound to support the school. Then many an incipient trouble will be disposed of ere it troubles your repose, and matters of moment will be brought to your attention, ere they go too far. Many a novice seriously errs in this respect. He undertakes, as we would say, to run the entire plant, and the native faculty stand back and let him do it, confident that, sooner or later, he will learn a needed lesson. The principle here stated is one of general application. Dr. G. F. Fitch, the able and efficient Superintendent of our Mission Press at Shanghai, the largest in China, once said that he had found this to be the only practicable method of managing that large establishment. The heads of the stereotyping, type-founding, printing, binding and other departments had the responsibility placed on them as men, and made to feel that they had a full share in the success of the establishment. Though the plant has been greatly enlarged, and the workmen more numerous than in former years, yet the quality of the work testifies to the wisdom of his course.

This then is no special rule, it has its foundations in human nature,

Satisfactory work requires that the faculty shall also have responsibility, and enough power in its hands to give that responsibility effect. As a rule, no self-respecting teacher will allow interference with the discipline of his class. It is best then to have an understanding with the faculty as to what discipline the school will sanction, and then leave it, unless in very special cases, in the hands of the particular teacher concerned.

Third, while you consult with your assistants and treat them as you would Americans in the same position, yet never allow any one to feel that he is absolutely essential to the institution. It is perhaps not well for the principal himself to get that idea. Let me refer again to my own experience. Shortly after going to the field, I was carrying on a broken conversation with the head-master in the Classical department, and complimenting him on how essential he was to the well-being of the College, when he interrupted me saying that unless his salary was materially increased, he would not remain the next year. Since that time, I have never referred to any man as essential. Dr. C. W. Mateer had evidently arrived at the same conclusion, for when leaving on his furlough, I believe it was in 1889, one of his parting injunctions was; "Do not let any teacher think that you cannot get along without him". One great trouble with a certain missionary was that when he got a new helper who seemed of superior quality, he almost literally fell on his neck. In the course of a year or less time, the assistant gets the idea that he is one of the big men of the Presbyterian Church, and then a small cloud, about the size of the hand of some mischief maker, appears on the horizon; the heavens grow black with clouds and wind, and the helper departs. How much better to treat the man as a friend, as a brother, but not as a paragon of virtues, or a necessary element in our labors?

With regard to your own work, do not allow yourself to grow discouraged because in the class-room or chapel, you do not sway as many as you think you should do. Why even the sermons which you preach, and the quiet talks which you may have with your students, if you have put time and thought in them, so that they are really valuable, will be reproduced, perhaps improved on, in many a village chapel. You are, unknown to yourself, reaching out beyond those four walls, and influencing the father and brother at the plow; the mother and sister in their quiet home. If in all you do, you make it costly to yourself, the perfume of such ointment cannot be hidden, and though it may be poured only at His feet, not in a conspicuous place, He will know and reward it.

There is no time today to take up the wide subject of village schools, or what in Mission fields might be called the public schools of the church. I only hope that if such are placed under your care, you will not carry on more than you can secure competent teachers for, and at the same time efficiently supervise. After watching these for over twenty years, my conviction is that all those where the teacher is not zealous for souls and is only looking for his monthly stipend, does Christianity more harm than good. They bring the truth into contempt, and I can point you to different villages where such schools have caused serious embarrassment. Do not then to oblige any one, either at home or on the field, not to oblige yourself even, by reporting a comparatively large work, establish and sustain such schools. On the other hand, when you can find good men, strain a point to organize these schools. Such teachers not only stimulate their scholars, but make that little village school a place of prayer for the Christians, a rendezvous for inquirers, a light which cannot be hid. An efficient village school is pointed to with pride by all, even by the heathen neighbors, and in establishing them you have enlisted a powerful ally in your evangelistic work.

In closing, permit me to say that I have not attempted, as you see, to set before you all the elements of success in teaching—only some of those which, while important here, are still more essential to you as

Missionary Educators. Believing that the spirit of the work is more important than the method or outward form, I have tried to emphasize this feature in its bearing toward students, parents and teachers, and now may you profiting by our experience, avoid our errors and amplify our successes, and may the Great Teacher himself guide you with heavenly wisdom, and reward your efforts.

Work for Moslem Women.

Can any of us forget our first sight of a Moslem woman; the veiled figure, moving silently thro the streets, so enshrouded that face and form are completely sealed? To a new comer it is one of the strange features of oriental life, to miss the color, beauty animation and interest that women give to the streets of western cities. How different too is public etiquette! Men and women pass each other with no greeting or sign of recognition, and if a wife accompanies her husband she never walks beside him, but at a respectful distance behind, and neither give a sign that they belong together. When I saw one day a closed carriage pass with numerous outriders who ordered every man to turn his face to the wall & was told the ladies within were the princes wives and this was the honor done them, it made a strange contrast to the enthusiastic welcome always given to Queen Victoria by expectant crowds whenever she appears in public. Once I donned the street costume in order to see the bazaars without attracting notice and shall never forget how strange it seemed to lose all identity and pass acquaintances ingognito, seeing but unseen.

One reads of the harem, but does not realize its meaning: the forbidden, till the first visit to a wealthy Persian house. We pass thro the large imposing gate, the birun, or outer court: the mens apartments, to a door where a soldier stands beside stacked arms and an old eunuch conducts us under the curtain thro a narrow winding passage to the womens apartments, the andirun or inner court. Only as women have we free access here and this is our open door of opportunity. Even among the poorest where separate apartments cannot be afforded the chudra always ready to be drawn over the face keeps up the idea of seclusion, but how quickly the face is uncovered when only a woman enters. By Moslems the veiling and seclusion are explained as a compliment, showing the value a man puts on his wives, but the real reason is distrust of women. To show the estimate the Koran puts on women let me quote a few extracts "I have not left any calamity more detrimental to mankind than women" "Woman was made from a crooked rib and if you try to bend it straight it will break, and if you let it alone it will always be crooked". A Moslem authority writes "The jealousy and acrimony as well as weakness of judgement are implanted in the nature of women and invite them to misconduct and vice". The position of a woman is seen from these injunctions of Mohammed: "When a man call his wife she must call even if she be at the oven" Again "Chide those whose refractoriness you have cause to fear and beat them". The limit suggested is "Not one of you must whip his wife like whipping a slave". The highest sentiments are such as these "A Moslem must not hate his wife for if he be displeased with one bad quality let him be pleased with another that it good". "A Moslem cannot obtain anything better than an amiable and beautiful wife who when ordered by her husband will obey and if her husband looks at her will be happy and if he husband swears by her, will make him a sweeper of truth". A book containing sage advice which is also the oriental view warns men of these things: "Excess of affection for a wife; which gives her the predominance and leads to a state of perversion when the power is overpowered and the commander commanded". "Consulting or acquainting a wife with secrets or the amount of property" Mohammed also enjoined this: "Entrust not to the incapable the substance which God has placed with you as a means of support" And again "Beware make not large settlements on women". Let him allow her no musical instruments, no visiting out of doors, no listening to stories" On the contrary Mohammed declared that "if the worship of one created thing could be permitted to another he would have enjoined the worship of husbands".

It is strange to calculate a womans value arithmetically, but in Moslem law the testimony of two women is equal to that of one man, a daughter gets half a sons inheritance and a wife only an eighth of her husbands property if there are children, and a fourth otherwise. As to womans right of choice in marriage the Koran says: "If a woman marries without the consent of her guardian, the marriage is null and void, null and void, null and void". Her consent is formally asked, and is signified by silence. An adult woman may marry without her guardians consent, but as child marriages are the rule, this right of choice is more fictitious than real.

Divorce which a woman may apply for under certain conditions is the mans right without restriction. A womans only protection is that her dowry must be paid her and a sentence of divorce must be pronounced by her husband three times, thus a little check is put upon an angry impulse

2nd sheet

to a woman and continually held over her head as a threat by her husband, poor health, loss of eye sight or beauty, lack of children and especially a son, or the merest whim may be the cause. I have heard a most pathetic appeal made to a lady doctor by women in dread of divorce. One woman the mother of five children was divorced by her husband that he might marry the daughter of the crown prince. She knew nothing of her fate till one day the word was brought her while visiting at her brothers that she might not return. That night the wedding was celebrated by cannon and great festivities but the children were crying for her mother and for her and them there was no redress. Mohamed who had eleven wives himself allowed his followers only four with the additional permission of concubines as it is written "marry what seems good to you of women by twos or threes or fours of that your right hand possesses". These twin evils divorce and polygamy have called the degradation of women in Moslem lands as well as brought upon them untold shame and misery. Being distrusted they have become untrustworthy. Being abused they have become abusive and every evil passion is given free rein. The bad wife is described by a Moslem writer as "a rebel for unruliness, and contumacy as a foe for contemptuousness for and reproach and as a thief for treacherous designs upon her husband's purse". She becomes an adept in the use of woman's weapon the tongue and an unruly evil full of deadly poison. I have seen an angry woman in a passion of rage pouring out torrents of reviling and abuse - a fury incarnate. The jealousy of rival wives, often leads to dreadful crimes: a woman whose eyesight was destroyed by throwing vitriol in her face; a mother whose little son two years old was poisoned; and a young bride who attempted suicide are instances that have come under my own observation. After such a life on earth what are a Moslem woman's hopes of heaven? As to her place in paradise the Koran is strangely silent, no delights are promised and specified for women though every Moslem man is to have a house "made of one pearl, full of women, fortunately, it is added, who cannot see each other, so the horrors of this life will not be repeated there. These houris are described as having large dark eyes, like pearls hidden in their shells and their number is specified as "72 women and 80000 slaves for every Moslem". In one passage forgiveness and a mighty recompense are spoken of as prepared for "the /designed men and the resigned women" "The believing men and the believing women etc" and there is this passage in one of the latest suras: "They shall enter together with the just of their fathers and their wives and descendents" into gardens of Eden. Under the condition above described it is doubtful whether any woman would enjoy such gardens of Eden. The religion that robs Moslem women of happiness in this life and gives her no hope of happiness in the next, lays the same obligations upon them that it lays upon men. The "five foundations of practice" as they are called are witnessing to the unity of God, observing the five stated periods of prayer daily, giving the legal alms, fasting during the month of Ramazan, and performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and in Persia is added a month of mourning. As in all religions, women are most zealous in the performance of their religious duties. In the early morn they rise at the call of the azan to pray and even during a social visit how often have we seen a woman go thro the recital with no thought of its seeming strange and out of place. Being in Arabic it is a mere mechanical art, truly a vain repetition. During the month of mourning one is struck with the complete change of costume; the rich gay dress is changed for dark calicoes and the complete absorption in the observance makes it a month when we cannot hope to do much among them as also the month of fasting. During these two months there seems to be a revival of religious zeal and increase of fanaticism. As we pass thro the street at night crowds are gathering at the mosque where many lamps and steaming semivars make a festive appearance. The mullah on his white donkey arrives and ascends the pulpit to give a harangue while the men sit on the rich carpet inside the women crouch in the dusty streets outside to pick up some crumbs of instruction. Many times at wealthy house for the sake of merit the tazieh is held and a crowd of women sit under awnings in the courtyard alternately weeping over the woes of the martyrs as recited to them and gossiping among themselves as they sip their tea. I have heard from some who attend at this service that the instruction given the women by the mullah was too disgusting and obscene to listen to. Thus the practice of Islam has nothing to satisfy their souls. Their belief in God is a cruel fatalism and all their rites work no change of heart or peace of conscience.

3rd sheet) Under such a religion we can have no doubt that Moslem women are in need of the Gospel we bring them. However degraded and lost they are still Gods children. This is a continual source of hope to me. There must be a resonance in their hearts to His words for he is the Father of their spirits and can by His spirit reach and impress them and Jesus Christ is the Savior they need and in whom there is neither male nor female, Friend of sinners. The Healer of Mary Magdalene possessed with seven devils and in whose heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage but are as the angels of God. There is an open door for us to reach these women. The natural Persian hospitality and their monotonous shut-in lives make them welcome us as visitors in their homes. The only danger is that in the abundance of refreshments, the interest and curiosity in our appearance dress and different customs and the interchange of compliments, we may be distracted from our purpose. But religion is not a tabooed subject/it does not surprise them to introduce it nor offend them to compare our faiths, and as few of them read it is always a pleasure to them to have us read in their language and their reverence for the Injil insures, usually, their interested attention. On the other hand there are many difficulties. One is their ignorance, not only of Christianity but of the world and of history. A Mullahs wife after hearing some of our doctrines said: "Your religion is just like ours. Whatever is good in it you have borrowed from us". The historical fact of Mohammed being 600 years after Christ had no effect on her. Arguments from the results of Christianity are useless for they think, as one woman said to me, "Our country is the largest and most beautiful in the world and you have come here from your country because this is so much the better". Another difficulty is their false knowledge of scripture facts as related in the Koran. Israel is sacrificed by Abraham, Gabriel blows into Marys sleeve that she may become the mother of Jesus. The likeness of Jesus is crucified, but he was taken to heaven and never died. These are some examples and it is surprising how widely and firmly they are believed. The one great truth of Islam the unity of God makes the trinity and divinity of Christ stumbling blocks to them. I have often had a woman ask me "Has God married, can he have a son?" most unfortunately the Koran declares the trinity as accepted by Christians to be God Mary and Jesus. Among Muslims the vicarious sufferings of the martyr Hussein at Karbella are said to be in expiation for the sin of true Moslems so that Satan has devised this counterfeit of Christs sacrifice to oppose the doctrine of the atonement. Their fanaticism is another difficulty. Strange that they espouse the religion so warmly that loss of honor. Among our visitors is a Mullahs wife who always comes with a crowd of her daughters in law. She is a strict observer of fasts and pilgrimages and prayers. It is most baffling to have her counting her beads and repeating in undertone the 99 names and attributes of God. While you talk to her she interrupts you to tell a long and tedious tale of some Imam or to relate the joys and miraculous experiences of her stay at Karbella. She returns your interest in her soul by anxiety for yours, with a tiny superiority and entire self satisfaction. Again it is as hard to cope with the liberality and politeness with which others will baldly hear all you say and answer that there are prophets for every nation & we will all reach heaven by different roads inshallah (by the will of God). The frivolity and childishness of their minds often utterly discourages one. A fixed eager look one finds it to catch a glimpse of your gold tooth and the question trembling on anothers lips is not what shall I do to be saved but when were you married and how old are you now? They often say: "Tis all good and sweet to hear but we will forget it to morrow, we cant remember". These social opportunities whether in making or receiving visits often seem of little effect and we feel that more regular and continued influence must be exerted. Sewing classes for girls with Gospel lessons are found an attraction and after years of faithful instruction these girls grow up into Christian faith as seen in some of Miss Van Duzees scholars. Weekly meetings for women are carried on successfully in all our stations. It has been a great surprise and joy in Tabriz to see how well the attendance has kept up in the meetings held at Dr Bradford's dispensary. The Gospel of Matthew is being followed in course and is found specially appropriate to Moslems as it is the Gospel for the Jews and Islam is so largely derived from Judaism. The opening sentence connects Jesus with Abraham and David whom they honor. The visit of the magi connects him with Persia.

4th sheet) The frequent references to the Mosaic law and to prophecies fulfilled, the discussion on prayer fasting ablutions ceremonial uncleanness, marriage and divorce, signs false prophets, and references to such Old Testament characters as Solomon, the Queen of Sheba/Jonah, Elijah, all known to them, the questions addressed to Jesus, just such cavils as Moslems would make the Pharisees counterpart. of the mullahs and sayids of today, the parables peculiar to Mt thew etc, make it the Gospel most easily understood and well fitted to them. The story of the Life of Christ illustrated by magic lantern pictures is much enjoyed. I remember well one afternoon when a company of high class ladies were invited to such an entertainment. As the story developed, before their eyes of that life so powerful and pitiful to human and yet supernatural the interest grew till the climax was reached in the scene of crucifixion and the utter silence showed how they were impressed and awed.

Medical work seems to give the largest opportunity for reaching Moslem women. The dispensary gives a ready audience willing to be entertained as they wait their turn tho they need not be told as in one case that the doctor will not see them till they listen to preaching. I often like to come in as a patient like themselves and as we find we have need of the same remedies for physical disease it is easy to turn to our needing to turn to the same physician and healing for our souls. It is a great help to meet on some common ground. A Kurdish woman who first looked at me as a curiosity criticizing my dress and uncovered head beamed with pleasant kindness when we got on the subject of our children and I feel a thrill of friendly equality when a ragged woman with a baby in her arms responds to my greeting "May God keep him" by the same wish and "May God keep yours" One woman told me of losing five children who she said will stand at the different gates of paradise and beg that I may enter so we often find in the common joys and sorrows of motherhood a close and tender bond and no mother heart fails to respond to the words "Suffer little children to come unto me". The doctors have a wonderful power of influencing those whose hearts are softened by gratitude. I have seen women seize Dr Bradfords hand and press it to their hearts and foreheads and kiss it telling her how they owe her their lives. Then we called at the Governor's daughters in Urumia and she extolled Dr Cochran's skill & expressed her gratitude to him for her eyesight she also remarked: "He can preach too" and I knew his work as a physician gave him a hearing no one else could gain. Often a long stay in the hospital has worked a wonderful change as for instance some being first prejudiced afterwards become zealous supporters of womens meetings bringing others to it. Would that one other means might be used that of schools for Moslem girls. Only by such continuous instruction and training in right habits and building up in Christian character can the greatest influence be exerted. During our No Ruz calls this year the subject was often brought up and many expressed their wish for their daughters to have this privilege but no one was found willing to be the first to brave public opinion & take such a step. The little school has been opened in Hianduab. I have not spoken of all the other work done in one way and another for these women. The seed sown is under Gods care to give the increase.

Signed Mrs Annie Rhea Wilson.

Urumia. Aug. 1900.

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The Saints of Caesar's Household

By Dorothy Brown Thompson

All the saints salute you, especially they that are of Caesar's household.—Philippians 4:22.

THE saints of Caesar's household—Roman slaves

In hateful bonds—and some of noble birth;
Captives of war, who, deeper than are graves,
Have plumbed the deeps of misery on earth.
Made strong by their new faith to grapple Fear,
And ever, in their life, so near to Death,
That they may feel the burning fagot near
And fancy on pale cheek the lion's breath.
Greeting each other with a whispered, "Peace!"
I know in Whom I have believed; and He
Is able to sustain us; send surcease
For troubled spirit; and to keep for me
What I've committed to Him 'gainst that day—
That blessed day—oh, may it come with speed!"

Then they, with eyes serene, go on their way,
The saints of Caesar's household—saints indeed!

EDITORIAL

Apostasy's Blasphemous Egotism

Man now openly sets himself above Christ. Nor is it the professing atheist or infidel that does this, but actually the professing Christian. Dr. Shirley Jackson Case, Professor of the History of Early Christianity at the University of Chicago, is the spokesman of this unbelievably blasphemous egotism of the predicted apostasy that must come before the Lord returns. Dr. Case's new book, "Jesus Through the Centuries," is being exploited by the University of Chicago Press and heralded in the newspapers. The *Chicago Tribune* reviews the book under the headline, "Moderns May Surpass Christ!" Speaking of our Lord only by his human name, never as Lord, Dr. Case says that He should no longer be considered a standard of perfection. "Creative religious living," says this apostate, "must strive not to imitate but to transcend all past and present standards, not excepting even the example and precepts of Jesus. . . . His way of life is not necessarily to be our way of life." If the Lord were living in America today, says Dr. Case, "we should not elect him President of the United States, or deposit our savings in a bank under his management. . . . Perhaps we might even feel hesitation in calling him to the pastorate of our family church." We must not worship Christ, says this apostate teacher, but "we take our place at his side while he worships—and we never find him worshipping himself." Instead, "we tread with him the pathway of struggle toward the realization of worthy religious attainments in the immediate contacts of life—and we never see him resting on past accomplishments, as though he had already attained to the ultimate goal. We do not ask him to tell us how we ought to worship or what we ought to do; we only ask the privilege of close fellowship with him amid the characteristic scenes of his earthly career." It is a blessed

relief to turn from such lying words of darkness and sin and read the eternally true words of Scripture. There is no "struggle toward the realization of worthy religious attainments" in our Lord's quiet word the night before his crucifixion, addressed to the Father: "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." He did indeed rest on past accomplishments when he spoke those words, and also when he said on the cross, "It is finished." He claimed sinlessness and perfection for himself: "I do always those things which please Him [the Father]. . . . Which of you convinceth me of sin?" (John 8:29, 46.) Satan once said, "I will be like the most High"; and God answered, "Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell" (Isa. 14:14, 15). But of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom Dr. Case says he and other men can improve upon, we know that "God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord."

Procrastination's Penalties

It is twice as hard to do later anything that should be done now. Or it may be ten times as hard—the longer the delay, the greater the price we pay. And delay stirs up all kinds of other difficulties for us, often extra and unnecessary work. William Feather, who writes a daily message for the newspapers, called "A Business Man's Philosophy," said recently: "I have pondered a long time the following paragraph from 'Amiel's Journal,' hoping that I might find words of my own to express the thought half as well. I find that I can't, and so I quote: 'Confusion is the enemy of all comfort, and confusion is born of procrastination. To know how to be ready we must be able to finish. Nothing is done but what is finished. The things which we leave dragging behind us will start up again later on before us and harass our path. Let each day take thought for what concerns it, liquidate its own affairs and respect the day which is to follow, and then we shall be always ready. To know how to be ready is at bottom to know how to die.'" The colored preacher who said that "Procrastination is one of the

fundamental doctrines of the Presbyterian Church" unconsciously hit more than the Presbyterians—it is to be feared that it is a cherished practice among all the churches as well as in the outside world. Delay means dragging dullness in our life; but we all know the exhilaration and positive thrill of getting a thing done on time. So God himself tells us: "Be instant in season, out of season," for thus only shall we be "redeeming the time."

The Pardon

To deserve penalty and receive pardon is a wonderful experience. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* recently told of a convict, sentenced many years ago to serve six years in prison, who had broken jail sixteen years ago and had lived all these years as a free man, conducting an honest business. And now he was rearrested as an escaped convict. He was living happily with his wife and two children when rearrested, and his attorney brought the Governor of Ohio a petition signed by hundreds of the man's neighbors asking for his pardon,—these signers included the school board, the local mayor, members of the borough council, and many others. The Governor, the paper tells us, "granted a complete and unconditional pardon." Is it any wonder that the convicted and pardoned man "dropped into a chair and bowed his face in his hands and wept"? When his wife said, "Why, Daddy, you act as though you had been condemned instead of pardoned," he answered: "Sometimes good news kills people. I've been torn to pieces these last few days." But now he is a free man; not freed furtively and illegally but by an official and authoritative act, reinstated and honored by his fellow citizens. There are things we have all done, sixteen years ago or perhaps sixteen days ago, for which we deserve no pardon. The just penalty is disgrace and eternal death. But if we have received Christ as Saviour we have been "granted a complete and unconditional pardon" by the Judge and the King of kings. After his days of agony, being "torn to pieces" by doubt and fear, what peace this pardoned man must have felt! But God gives us a greater peace; for, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Calendar Reform—a Mortal Blow at Religion

IN THE secular realm there is no more venerable institution than the calendar that has come down with little change for two thousand years, marking the rise and fall of empires as it rolled along through the centuries. But interlocked with the calendar is the ancient Hebrew time unit, the week. The most distinctive holy days of both Jews and Christians are measured and fixed in terms of this septenary cycle. Thus a sacred institution is involved when calendar change is proposed.

Who wants to change the calendar, and why? How will it affect holy days? These and other questions come immediately to one's mind. This editorial will endeavor to answer them in order.

As our modern business world has become increasingly complex, the keeping of accurate comparative statistics has become of great importance. Large corporations wish to keep an accurate record of their affairs to know whether they are selling as much this month as last, or this year as compared with last. Such comparative statistics are the chart and compass of our present business age. But as such figures have grown in importance the value of our 2000-year-old calendar has shrunk in the estimation of statisticians. The advent of so drab a thing as the adding machine is proving a greater threat against the life of the calendar than ever confronted it in the twenty centuries of changing empires through which it has passed.

In former centuries men were not greatly troubled over the fact that February, for example, had only 28 days compared with January's 31. But statisticians gnash their teeth in an attempt to make February's

figures compare accurately with January's. The same difficulty presents itself in varying degrees throughout the whole year. As if this were not enough, an added tantalization confronts them in the fact that some months have five Saturdays while the rest have only four. And Saturday means an abnormal volume of trade for various concerns, as compared with other days of the week. How compare a four-Saturday month with a five-Saturday one? All weekly magazines have this difficulty to meet.

For these and other reasons business men have developed a growing antipathy to the present calendar. So plausible have been their indictments that they have persuaded an increasing number of business leaders to believe that something ought to be done about it.

A decade ago the agitation for revision had already attained such dimensions that the International Chamber of Commerce at its 1921 meeting in London passed a resolution urging the League of Nations to give study to the question. This resulted in the appointment by the League in 1923 of a special committee. This committee presented an extended report in 1926, expressing among other things the belief that more extended study should be given to the question in the various countries and suggesting that calendar committees be appointed in every country. This suggestion was conveyed to the nations and resulted in the creation of calendar committees in a large number of countries, including the United States.

For several years before the appointment of such a committee in the United States a great amount of calendar revision propaganda had been going on here.

Back in 1923 George Eastman, the kodak magnate whose recent suicide shocked the world, had come in contact with a promoter of calendar revision, Moses B. Cotsworth, who had invented a calendar that he declared would prove ideal for the business world. Mr. Eastman became so enamored of Cotsworth's calendar that he soon began to flood the country with promotion literature in behalf of such revision. This heavily financed promotion reflected itself even in the halls of Congress, where a bill was introduced in 1928 to empower the President to call an international conference to consider calendar revision. The public hearings on this bill lasted many days and included among those testifying a number of brilliant lights in the business and scientific world. The hearings revealed that quite a number of business concerns had already adopted for their private use a calendar answering closely to that proposed by Cotsworth.

When a Calendar Committee was created in the United States, Mr. Eastman became chairman. However, inasmuch as our country is not a member of the League of Nations no official cognizance was taken of the League's suggestion that national committees be appointed, and Mr. Eastman proceeded privately to organize such a "National" committee. The only assurance he received from the Government was that it had no objection to Government officials serving on the committee in a private capacity. This point as to the relation of our Government to this "National" committee is an important one—it will be referred to again later.

In May, 1931, a special meeting of certain League officials was held at Geneva to co-ordinate the reports from these various national committees, preparatory to submitting the calendar question to the Fourth General Conference of the Committee on Communications and Transit that was to meet in October. This Transit Committee is a very important one, possessing treaty-making power. At this Fourth General Conference 111 delegates from 42 countries were present. The fact that plans for calendar revision had taken such shape and substance as to reach this Transit Committee and absorb the attention of the Conference for a whole week reveals how real, world-wide, and matured were the plans for calendar revision.

However, the Conference did not take any action because, as stated in the Resolution adopted October 19, the present troubled state of the world made it inadvisable to suggest calendar change. The Resolution gave as an added reason for not taking action the fact that on the one hand there was certain militant religious opposition, and on the other a lack of agreement among calendar revisionists as to the best of two methods of revision. After setting forth these factors in the situation the Conference declared in the final paragraph of its five-page Resolution:

In view of the situation set forth above, the Conference did not think fit to express any opinion on the principle of calendar reform but the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit will follow the efforts which will doubtless continue to be made for the purpose of enlightening opinion as to the advantages or disadvantages of reform. It will also keep the Governments regularly informed on the matter. It will thus continue its task, which has always consisted, not in any particular propaganda, but in the impartial enlightenment of public opinion on an economic and social problem which, as experience has shown, and whatever the arguments advanced for or against the reform of the calendar, arouses a lively interest in a large number of countries throughout the world.

In other words the calendar movement, while unsuccessful at this important meeting in Geneva, was not killed or even tabled. There is no reason to believe that the highly organized and highly financed interests that have in one brief decade brought the question into such prominence will allow it to die down simply because they failed of their objective in this first test of strength.

Now let us examine the relation of religion to this movement. The point where religion makes contact with each of the two plans seriously considered at Geneva is in the matter of the "blank day" which would be an integral part of each plan.

It has long been the dream of various chronologists to devise a perpetual calendar. One of the greatest obstacles in the way is the fact that the year cannot be divided into an exact number of weeks. The 365 days of the year equal 52 weeks *plus one day*. If it were not for that one extra day the year would always begin with the same day of the week, with the exception of leap-year irregularity. And how have the inventors of the proposed calendars solved the problem of this one surplus day? By a method so simple that it almost takes your breath away. They would throw it out of the count of the days of the week, making it a blank day so far as the weekly cycle is concerned.

Let us presume that one of the two proposed calendars is set in operation on January 1, 1933. This was the date originally set by the aggressive calendar advocates, for the reason that that year starts with Sunday. Thus the calendar would begin smoothly, with no split weeks between years. On through the months of that year we would go, with no disturbance to the weekly cycle, though with various adjustments to the length of months, depending on which of the two

proposed calendars was adopted. Now, remembering that 52 full weeks equal 364 days, we see immediately that when we had lived through 364 days of the year 1933 we would have come to the Saturday night which terminates the fifty-second week.

We would retire that Saturday night, and awaken next morning to discover that it is *not* Sunday. This 365th day is a blank day—so far as the weekly cycle is concerned. Just what impressive name the calendar revisers plan to give it has not yet been revealed. But no matter what name, the fact would remain that this 365th day of the year would not be reckoned in the weekly cycle. We would retire on the night following the blank day and arise the *next* morning to discover that our new calendar says "Sunday, January 1, 1934." Simple, is it not! But the whole idea of a fixed weekly day of worship or rest is sacrificed to the simplification of the calendar.

If the 364th day, the last Saturday in the year 1933, is the *seventh* day of the week, as it is, then the next day, the 365th day of the year, is certainly the *first* day of the week. And by simple addition we discover that New Year's Day of 1934 is really the *second* day of the week, even though the calendar would label it "Sunday." The mere fact that some ingenious calendar inventors propose that the 365th day be skipped in reckoning the septenary cycle cannot alter the arithmetical fact that this 365th day is the first day of the true, historical week. One would feel guilty of expressing a truism in stating that the first day of the week follows immediately on the heels of the seventh day, were it not that the calendar revisers have done all in their power to obscure this simple yet important fact.

They have endeavored to convey the idea that nothing of vital importance to religion would occur at the close of each year, and that only the Jews and a few Sabbatarian Christians raise any protest. But this attempt to give a sectarian turn to the question is only a subterfuge, a smoke screen to hide the real dimensions of the problem. This is no petty sectarian question—unless the weekly cycle is something sectarian. Every man who believes that God set apart as holy a certain day of the week—it matters not whether he believes the first day or the seventh day of the week is the sacred day—has a vital interest in this calendar issue.

The devout first-day Christian would be the first to be confronted with the problem. When he retired on that last Saturday night of the year 1933 he would have to decide whether to follow his life-time practice of recognizing the following day—the first day of the next week, the blank day—as a day of rest and worship. Logic, faith in God's Word, and simple arithmetic would demand such a course. To wait until the newly invented New Year's Day of 1934 to worship, simply because that day has been labeled "Sunday" by some Twentieth Century calendar inventors, would be to admit that, so far from God's having set apart a certain definite day of the week, men may annually juggle their sacred days as best suits the interest of the business world. And that juggling would be annual, for at the end of every year there would be a blank day. Think of the confusion worse confounded that would develop!

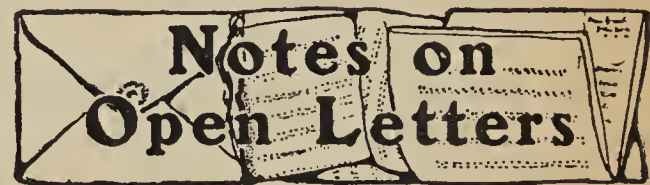
As has just been explained, in the new calendar the count of the days would begin all over again with the so-called "Sunday," New Year's Day, 1934. But the blank day, immediately preceding, was the *real* first day of the week. Thus "Sunday," January 1, would actually be the second day of the week. "Monday" would really be the third day of the week, "Tuesday" the fourth, "Wednesday" the fifth, "Thursday" the sixth, "Friday" the seventh, and "Saturday" in the new manipulated calendar would really be the first day of the next or true week. The first-day Christian would be worshipping on the calendar "Saturday" during 1934, and the seventh-day Christian would be worshipping on "Friday." When the blank day is added at the close of 1934 it would simply mean that the weekly holy day would move one day farther back, and the first-day Christian would worship on the calendar "Friday" during 1935, the Sabbatarian on "Thursday." The reader can carry this on for the following years, not forgetting to add an extra blank day in the *middle* of leap years.

The simple facts are these: If a man does not believe that God would have us observe a certain day of the week as holy, then he has no religious opposition to the blank-day principle. But if he does believe God would have us honor a particular day of the week, then he is irreconcilably opposed to this scheme that would annually break the continuity of the weekly cycle. The newness of the whole idea, and the speed with which the calendar promoters have moved, doubtless explains why so little opposition thus far has been voiced by religious groups.

However, as the matter has been explained to, religious leaders it has resulted in vigorous adverse statements in some instances. For example, the Disciples Church has gone on record against any calendar revision that incorporates a blank day, and their protest was presented at the recent Conference in Geneva. At this same Conference the protest of the Lord's Day Observance Society of Great Britain was also

presented; this protest declared that the proposed change "would outrage the religious convictions of British Christians." Canon Hellins of the Church of England, in speaking before the Conference, read a resolution that had been passed by the House of Convocation of Canterbury on April 28, 1925, to the following effect: "It is not desirable to disturb regular incidence of the Sunday by excluding one or two days from the sequence of the days of the week." The strong protests of Jews and Seventh-day Christians were also registered with the Conference.

The next opportunity that the calendar revisers will have to bring the question to a head will be at the 1935 General Conference of the Transit Committee in Geneva. We may naturally expect that they will work zealously in the interim to generate support for calendar revision. And in no country may we expect their activity to be more pronounced than in America, where a highly efficient propaganda organization has been operating for years under the impressive title, "The National Committee on Calendar Simplification for the United States." While this so-called National Committee has unlimited money behind it, the fact should be remembered that it bears no official relation to the Government. Our Government is not committed to any calendar revision scheme. The next few years will probably reveal whether our nation, along with others, will be committed to some plan that will disrupt the historic week. The calendar revisionists have had their innings for a decade; it is time now that all those who oppose such revision raise their voices.



When Do You Want the Answers?

Your plan of publishing answers to Lesson Questions in the issue of THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES the week following the questions themselves is without any adequate explanation that I can think of. On the contrary it is a disadvantage, a distinct and even tantalizing disadvantage to those who fail to get the succeeding issue in time for lesson preparation. I am satisfied that all who use the TIMES to prepare the lesson would be greatly aided in time and convenience if the answers appeared in the same issue with the questions; if in the same column, immediately following the questions, all the better for those most deeply concerned.—An Illinois reader.

Do other readers who use the Questions for Teacher and Class given every week in THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES (they appear in this issue on page 184) agree with the Illinois reader in preferring to have the answers given in the same issue, either at the end of the questions themselves or perhaps on a later page, rather than in the issue of the following week? The thought of the editors in publishing the answers the following week was that the holding over of the answers might be an incentive to study them out for oneself, whether teacher or pupil. An editorial suggestion made in the note accompanying each week's set of questions is the following: "Have you tried assigning some of the questions to different members of your class, letting them see whether they can discover the answers as given in the following issue?" If this is done, and the teacher brings the answers the following week, there would seem to be somewhat greater interest in digging out the questions and having to wait a little to know the correct answer. But if readers would rather have the answers in the same issue the TIMES will gladly make this change if they will write and say so, addressing Questions Editor, THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES, 325 North Thirteenth Street, Philadelphia. Any suggestions will be welcomed, also, as to ways in which the Lesson Questions may be made still more useful to teachers and classes.

Have you noticed another question feature appearing each week both in THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES and in CHRISTIAN YOUTH—the weekly paper published by The Sunday School Times Company for young people? It is a novel plan and many classes are finding a new interest in home study of the lessons by using it. It appears on page 186 in this issue of the TIMES, and the questions are based on material given on the same lesson in CHRISTIAN YOUTH. Young folks search out the answers to these questions by studying the lesson helps in CHRISTIAN YOUTH. With the TIMES and CHRISTIAN YOUTH in hand a Sunday-school is equipped for a really compelling study and teaching of the Uniform Lessons—and these two papers are free from the unsound and unscriptural teaching found in so many lesson helps today. If your class is not yet taking CHRISTIAN YOUTH, you can try it for ten weeks for ten cents a pupil if your subscription covers five or more copies mailed to one address, by ordering it from The Sunday School Times Company, 325 North Thirteenth Street, Philadelphia.

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THIS IS HOW THE PROPOSED THIRTEEN-MONTH CALENDAR LOOKS

Shall Our Year Have Thirteen Months?

What Effect Will the Proposed New Calendar Have on the Progress of Christianity?

By TOM MASSON

UNTIL the present time there has not been any concerted movement in the churches or religious bodies of this country, generally, regarding the question of the proposed change in our calendar. As this change has been widely discussed in business circles, and as the thirteen-month or perpetual calendar has received the endorsement of many prominent business men and organizations, it is now time that this highly important and radical departure from our present world-wide time-table receive the attention of Christian people.

The new calendar, if adopted, will produce profound changes in our whole system of living—in our church-going and our Sabbath-day observances, in holidays and festivals. It will have a far-reaching effect; for it not alone means climatic changes which will involve international relations all over the world, but it will also affect our reading. Our past literature and history, both church and state, is bound up in the old Gregorian calendar, upon which we have been running for centuries. To scrap this and replace it with a fixed perpetual calendar, where all the days of the week and month will be the same, and where, at the end of the year, we will have a wandering Sabbath and in leap years possibly another (an extra day)—these changes, widespread and cutting directly into the lives of all human beings in their daily and weekly and monthly activities, are not to be lightly made without careful consideration and a fully informed public opinion.

In order to be of service to our readers in helping them to form this opinion without prejudice, I present the following facts bearing on the whole question; and this with an open mind, pending still further light. The new calendar does undoubtedly present many distinct advantages. It is well known that the most prominent advocates of the proposed change are George Eastman of Rochester, Moses Cotsworth, the one who seems to have proposed the idea first, and the Liberty Calendar Association of Minneapolis.

In January, 1928, the Eastman Kodak Company adopted the thirteen-month calendar. At the same time, the Rev. C. E. Wagner, in a sermon endorsed it, and H. L. Stoddard denied that there was any religious opposition to the proposed reform. How could there be, when there was so little real knowledge about it? In March, 1928, a meeting of the Committee on Commerce of the American Bar Association urged the adoption of the new calendar; and a similar endorsement followed in April, 1928, by the financial executives of the annual conference of the American Management Association. In September, the National Academy of Sciences in Washington gave its unofficial approval. In October, the National Committee on Calendar Simplification reported a

number of pledges in support of the reform. On December 21, C. E. Roberts and George Eastman appeared before the House Committee of Foreign Affairs to request the President to call an international conference to work on redividing the year as proposed. Following this, in opposition, representative Sol Bloom of New York and Dr. A. Simon objected in the House to the plan because the Sabbath would be made a "migratory day." Just before the close of the year the rabbis of Greater New York met to discuss the plan, with especial reference to what was termed "the wandering Sabbath." At the same time the Merchants Association of New York favored the proposed conference to be called by the President.

As there will be thirteen months, an extra month will have to be inserted, called, say, "Liberty." Thirteen times twenty-eight makes 364 days, which will leave one day over, and it is proposed to make this an international Sabbath. Every leap year there will be another extra day which can be disposed of in like manner.

The whole trouble seems to be that our comparatively little planet, as obliging as it seems to have been in some ways, was unfortunate in not having the number of its daily revolutions tally with its yearly progress around the sun. The earth should have been thoughtful enough to get around the sun in exactly 364 days, instead of lagging behind a day and an irritating fraction each year. We can not get rid of this day very well, and the proposal to make it into an international Sabbath is doubtless excellent, if on this day of days we can get people really to worship God all over the world.

Some of the most radical movements flower in the most conservative fields. Conservative England, which for nearly two hundred years resisted the claims of the Gregorian calendar (from 1582 to 1752), produced the man who, more than any other, is responsible for the proposed new calendar. Reforms in long-established habits come slowly. Daylight saving would now doubtless be only a dream were it not for the war. But the world moves faster than it did. And the proposed international calendar may come sooner than even its warm advocates expect. Let us see, briefly, just what it means to the world.

In the year 1888 a young man named Moses B. Cotsworth was working in the office of the Chief Traffic Manager of the Northeastern Railway, England, engaged upon the problem of net earnings and their great variation from month to month. Handicapped by the unequal number of days in the months,

and by other inconsistencies, he set about studying the calendar until, finally, it became the one object of his life to reform it. In 1902 he printed a 540-page book entitled *The Rational Almanac*, and in 1909 the Royal Society of Canada unanimously endorsed the Cotsworth proposal for calendar reform.

Strange to say, the Liberty Calendar Association of America, (formed in Minneapolis) of which Joseph U. Barnes was the first president, arrived, independently, at practically the same conclusion. George Eastman is chairman of the National Committee on Calendar Simplification, and in July, 1927, this committee, which was formed at the suggestion of the Secretary of State, held its first meeting. In addition to this committee for the United States, the National Academy of Sciences has appointed a special committee on calendar reform. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Bar Association (as stated), the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and other organizations have taken similar action. In the National Association of Cost Accountants, 90 per cent. of its membership were in favor of the thirteen-period system. Mr. Eastman has sent out a questionnaire to representative business firms and corporations, and 93 per cent. of the replies were favorable.

The fact that under the new calendar all months would be equal, is quite evident at a glance. What are the other advantages? As the complete four weeks would exactly quarter all months, this would harmonize weekly wages, expenses, rent, etc. Pay-days would be regular. Every month-end would coincide with the same week-end. Interest calculations and all financial transactions depending upon the calendar would be enormously simplified. All holidays could be placed on Monday.

The turnover in money would be greater, as there would be thirteen monthly settlements instead of twelve. The saving from this would be considerable.

WILL it come? Undoubtedly. But it will take some time yet. The various attempts hitherto made to reform our complicated and stupid system of spelling have one by one fallen into the discard. And we shall probably always go on spelling knee-deep in the accumulating philological wastage we are in at present. But this wastage is not economically apparent.

The advantages accruing from the proposed standardized calendar are, however, much more apparent. They appeal to us, because even to those who abhor arithmetic—in which I count myself as a conspicuous example—it is evident that, by hitting on thirteen chronological cylinders instead of twelve, we would really have more time to spare, and possibly more money.

Satan as Lightning

By BASIL KING

Illustrations by S. Hulme

Synopsis Owen Hesketh, a minister's son, serves a term in prison for forging a check with his chum Wrig Coppard, who is not caught. Owen comes out hungry for revenge. Outside he is met by Danny Bird, a former prison friend, who takes him home and introduces him to his mother and to Katy, his crippled sister. Katy becomes interested in Owen and secures him a job in a garage. She engages herself with the Heskeths as a seamstress, and there learns that they long for Owen's return. Meanwhile Blandina, a former sweetheart of Owen's, becomes engaged to Wrig Coppard. Danny reverts to crime and robs his mother and Owen. The latter gets his first success when he sells an article on crime to *Wardle's Magazine*. This, and the announcement of Blandina's engagement to Wrig, change Owen's feeling somewhat. Learning that Tiddy Epps, his employer, is determined to go to the elder Coppard with the truth about Wrig's part in the forgeries, Owen becomes uncertain what course he should pursue. Blandina, suspecting that the article in *Wardle's* was written by Owen, shows it to Wrig. Meanwhile, Katy is gaining the confidence of Mrs. Hesketh, and gradually extracting bits of information about Owen.

★ ★ ★ ★



BLANDINA

MRS. HESKETH was often struck by Katy's certainty. Katy talked about Owen as if gifted with a kind of second sight. She could almost tell his mother what he was doing, and what kind of character he was building for himself.

She, Owen's mother, came indeed to listening to this woman. Don't worry over what you can't change, said Katy. That is in the hands of mightier forces than you can bring to bear. With the Kingdom and righteousness as your goal you'll find that evil—the things you're afraid of—will go out of your Heaven like lightning.

Though a clergyman's daughter and a clergyman's wife, Mrs. Hesketh had never heard this familiar truth made so positively a rule of life. Never had it been put to her that the surest way in which she could help her son would be in cleansing her own mode of conduct. Her own mode of conduct she had always supposed to be good enough; but now, when she came to inspect it . . .

But with Mrs. Frankland Katy had as yet made no headway. And making the most of her own all at once became more difficult. On a day when her mother was in bed, and she had to stay home from work, the front door, which was not always kept locked, was suddenly flung open, and Danny crept in with the sneaking swiftness of a mouse gliding to a hole.

"They're after me," he whispered, from the entry; "where can I go?"

A forlorn object, white as a sheet, he was hatless and coatless, his shirt torn as from a scuffle, his cheek stained with blood. Katy, who had been limping about the kitchen, was struck dumb and motionless in the middle of the floor.

Danny indeed had not much choice. There was the attic, where Owen was asleep, and there was his mother's room. Instantly he chose the latter. With the instinct of the fugitive, once inside the room, he popped into his mother's bed beside her, pulling the bedclothes over his head. The mother herself, from long experience, seizing the situation quickly, began to arrange the coverings so as to look as if she were the only occupant. Luckily the room was dark, the one small window being heavily shaded to protect her eyes.



KATY FACED THE POLICEMAN UNAFRAID

Katy, returning promptly to her work about the kitchen, carried out the comedy by singing as she washed the dishes. Her voice, like her laugh, was shrill with the piercing note of ceaseless pain. The song was one she had heard from her mother.

Katy had not screamed out the concluding word before the door was again flung open, and two policemen, stout, breathless, and rather comic, came into the little entry. "Say, you! You've got that brother o' yours in here again somewheres. Where is he? Haul him out."

With a lifelong experience of policemen, Katy was no more afraid of them than she was of postmen. Turning, with her crutch beneath her arm, and a plate which she was drying in her hand, she said, nonchalantly: "As you wouldn't believe me if I said he wasn't here, you'd better look. Won't take you long. There's my mother's bedroom, with her sick in bed in it. There's the attic, with our lodger asleep in his cot. Here's the kitchen. And that's all. No cellar. Ain't even an outhouse."

The policemen searched everywhere but in the mother's room.

Back in the entry one of them raised the question as to whether they should disturb the old lady. "Sure," replied the other. "Like as not she has him in her hangin'-closet, or under the bed." They knocked respectfully, however, receiving a weak: "Come in."

Tiptoeing timidly, the one followed the other into the darkened chamber, Katy, still rubbing a plate with a dish-towel, bringing up the rear. Mrs. Bird was lying propped up in the bed. A pillow beneath the bedclothes fortified her on the left; what seemed like a similar pillow did the same thing on the right; a third pillow lying across her abdomen simulated a

large and distressing tumor. To any one but a doctor or a nurse the sight could not but be appalling.

Policemen having hearts just like any one else, the kindly men apologized for this intrusion. "Oh, I know you has to do your dooty," Mrs. Bird breathed, faintly. "When any one's so near the end as I be, a little more don't make no difference. I daresay one o' you's 'ad a mother what's suffered—"

The gentler of the two stood at the foot of the bed, gazing at her compassionately. "My mother was operated on four times for a—"

"Come along, now, Timmy," his colleague reproached him. "This ain't no time for grand-mother's talk. See what she's hidin' in t. there closet, and I'll look under the bed."

Neither investigation yielding fruit, he turned to Katy. "Any barthroom?"

"No," Katy answered. "But there's the chest of drawers. See?"

As she ostentatiously pulled out a drawer or two the man who seemed the leader cast her a look of mingled rebuke and friendliness. "See here, young woman, it don't do to insult the law gratuitous. One of these days you may find yourself in its tiles."

But they went away.

In the evening, fitted out with some old clothes he had left behind, and a little cash from Owen, who had long ago forgiven the theft (Continued on page 24)

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL

A JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY



On Sabbath afternoon, Saturday, March 31, after 3 P.M., and before sun-down, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the sepulchre. And the angel said unto them, "He is not here; for *He is risen, as He said.*" Matt. 28:6. Later, in the night, "*when it was yet dark,*" Mary Magdalene, Peter and John saw the empty sepulchre, and Mary talked with the Lord. See John 20:1-18. At sunrise Sunday morning, the women came to anoint Him, and the angel said, "He is risen; He is not here." Mark 16:6; Luke 24:22-24.

over. See John 19:14. The Lamb of God died on the cross about 3:00 P.M., Wednesday, while the Jews were sacrificing their paschal lambs. He was placed in the tomb just before sundown, where, according to the Scriptures, He was to remain for "three days and three nights." When the scribes and Pharisees asked Jesus for a sign of His divinity, He replied that there would no sign be given but the sign of the prophet Jonas.

"For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Matt. 12:40.

We quote the following statement from Dr. Torrey:—

"It is remarkable how many prophetic and typical passages of the Old Testament are fulfilled, and how many seeming discrepancies in the gospel narratives are straightened out, when we once understand that Jesus died on Wednesday and not on Friday." —R. A. Torrey, D.D.

Saturday the 17th

The three days and three nights when Jesus was in the tomb expired near sundown on Saturday, the 17th day of Nisan.

In the afternoon of the 17th day, Saturday, and before the first day of the week had come, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the sepulchre, but found it empty. The angel told them that Jesus had already risen from the dead. Matt. 28:1-6.

Sunday

Sunday morning, while it was yet dark, and before sunrise, Mary Magdalene visited the sepulchre, and there met Jesus who had risen.

At sunrise the women came to the sepulchre with spices to anoint Jesus, but the angel told them He was already risen, and they were shown the empty sepulchre. In the afternoon He met and talked with the two disciples going to Emmaus, and joined ten of the disciples in the evening of that day.

"Then opened He their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures,

"And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day." Luke 24:45,46.

The question is often asked, if the first visit to the tomb on Saturday P.M., discovered that Christ had already risen, why did those women make the second visit as recorded in John 20:1-9.

To the disciples "their words seemed . . . as idle tales, and they believed them not." Luke 24:11.

Thus stands the word of instruction for all time. The people believed not *then*, and the people believe not *now*.

"The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talketh of judgement. The law of his God is in his heart; none of his steps shall slide." Psalms 37:30-31.

OUR PAGAN EASTER

In the past we have given much space to an exposé of the annual Easter festival, noting its origin, growth, and now final adoption by the Christian Church.

If there is any one great truth uncovered and easy to be understood it is that the reasons offered by the Christian Church for the observance of Easter are groundless; that in the observance of Lent and Easter, Protestants are humbly bowing to the mandates of the Roman Catholic Church. Read the warning. Rev. 14:9,10.

The origin and celebration of the Easter festival has been recorded by numerous historians, and the manner of its adoption into the Roman Catholic church in the fourth century has been fully set forth by various writers of that period.

The best authorities attribute the observance of Easter to the perpetuation of ancient pagan customs, and all confess that its revival in these modern times is accounted for by the fact that, in theory, at least, it has been attached to the great truth of our Lord's resurrection from the dead.

Easter is but the modified form of a pagan festival brought into the Christian Church at a time when libraries were few and when but few copies of the Scriptures were available. It is not surprising, therefore, that the superstitious practices of the people should exalt the best they had in giving expression to their natural desire to worship. The human family will worship, even though they "know not what." John 4:22.

The term "Easter" comes from the Anglo-Saxon *Ostara*, the divinity of spring of the ancient Norsemen, signifying the season of new birth, from which we have the symbols of the Easter egg and the rabbit as prolific producers of the species. The festival of *Ostara* contributed to the practices of sun worship which was the most abhorrent of all the false systems of religion in the sight of God.

Prior to A.D. 325, the observance of feasts and holy days sprang from a misdirected, unenlightened religious feeling, and superstition and excessive reverence were elements that Paul had to meet in his day. His sympathies became exercised for the early Christians as he saw the benighted Greeks in their highest court worshipping at the altar of the "unknown god." To this ignorance a most merciful God closed His eyes until such times as the Apostles could teach them the way of light and life. Will He do as much for us who are living in this age of Bibles and libraries? The pomp and display during the Lenten season, including Easter time, so manifest in many of the American cities are but a revival of the same spirit that characterized the first three centuries of this dispensation. The Gentile Christians refused to follow Jewish tradition, and the Jews refused to accept the light of the gospel. Thus began the first denominational controversy.

The Gentile Christians refused to observe the fourteenth day as the preparation day

of the passover, and ignored the true time of the Passover by shifting the day of the crucifixion to Friday and the resurrection to the first day of the week following. This substitution as supported by the customs of the people today is a direct perversion of truth.

At the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325, it was decided that Easter should be observed on Sunday, and the same Sunday throughout the world. The exact date was to be calculated from Alexandria. The Bishop of that See was to announce it yearly to the churches under his jurisdiction and to the occupant of the Roman See by whom it was announced to the western churches. When the Roman Catholic church was fully developed in A.D. 538, it continued this observance. The following is taken from one of our encyclopedias:—

"The Christian churches of Asia and some in the West which were founded by missionaries from the East, were slow to adopt the usage of Rome, and the diversity of usage gave rise to great controversy; the Westerns deprecating subservience to Judaic customs, and the Easterns accusing the Westerns of innovation and departure from the days of Christ and His apostles. It was not until the year A.D. 325 that a general law of the church was enacted at a famous Council of Nicaea prescribing for the universal church a day for this solemnity."—*Encyclopedia Americana*, "Easter."

It has only been within the last fifty years that Easter with all its apurtenances has been recognized and adopted into the Protestant churches. Palm Sunday, Good Friday and Easter are only contributions to pagan idolatry with the idol hidden.

The Roman church felt it to be to its advantage to assimilate the pagans into their fold for political reasons, and many of the rites and festivals were adopted from the sun-worshippers; so that the latter were found in their temples worshipping the sun at its rising, and later in the day attending the Catholic services. The true disciples of Christ were too absorbed in the events surrounding the atonement of their Lord to think of such externals as the appointing of festival or ceremonial days. The Jews continued to bring their lambs for sacrifice; while the followers of Christ recognized in Him their true paschal Lamb who had "appeared once in the end of the world to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." Heb. 9:26.

The Roman Catholic church in its celebration of the "mass" is continually sacrificing Christ, and putting Him to an open shame, against which we are warned in Heb. 6:4-6. In each service of the "mass" the Son of God is claimed to be immolated, or slain, upon the altar at the command of the priest. This is what is called the service of the blood of Christ, and the pomp and display connected with the service scarcely conceal its blasphemous character.

For nearly sixteen centuries the Western Catholic church has observed Easter on the first day of the week, while the Eastern church for years ignored the decrees of Rome and held to the scriptural date by observing the fourteenth day of the month as the preparation day, the day on which our Lord was crucified. Thus did the "man of sin" succeed in establishing the Easter festival, and today the Protestant world bows down in humble submission to the mandates of the Roman Catholic church.

That this institution should have held a place in the Christian Church calendar unquestioned until the present, is not a little surprising. Had not this festival of sun-worship been clothed in a religious garb, this pagan goddess of spring would have been relegated back into the dark ages whence it emerged so many years ago. Masquerading under the cloak of Christ's righteousness, this pagan goddess enters our temples claiming to represent Him who "brought life and immortality to light through the gospel" of the resurrection. The fruits of the Spirit have been substituted by the wares of this world, until the Christian Church has become an advertising medium for the frills of fancy found on the counters of the business world.

In the early days the Christians gradually adopted pagan worship, and truth was lost amid the maze of idolatrous customs; so now the followers of Christ are only too prone to emphasize the popular and social features of the world, until it is difficult to distinguish the true from the false. The Spirit of God is pleading with man as He did in the days of Noah, and He is calling to His people to beware of the deceptions of Satan who has "come down in great wrath knowing that he hath but a short time." Rev. 12:12.

In setting apart Friday in honor of the crucifixion, Satan struck his master blow at the divinity of our Lord, who said,—

"As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Matt. 12:40.

And the observance of Sunday as the day of Christ's resurrection is a contradiction of the inspired Word of God which definitely states that Jesus had risen from the dead before sundown on Saturday night,—

"In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.

"And the angel answered and said unto

the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.

"He is not here: for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay." Matt. 28:1,5,6.

According to this Scripture, Jesus arose from the dead in the end of the Sabbath, and not on the first day of the week, thus fulfilling the prophecy that He must be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. Counting back three days and three nights, his crucifixion occurred on Wednesday, the preparation day of the Passover, as testified to by the Apostle John, and corroborated by the calendar of all past time. John 19:14,16.

Satan's church is full of imitations and subtleties, and if it were possible he would deceive the very elect. But, praise the Lord, that is not possible; for when Christ comes He will find a people who will be able to stand before the throne of God and sing praises of victory over the "beast," and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name."

The observance of the Lenten season with its various festival days constitutes one way in which the modern world is worshipping the "beast and his image," against which worship God strongly warns us in Rev. 14:9,10. The people of God who have resisted this temptation will be found in heaven on the sea of glass worshipping and praising God. See Rev. 15:2.

"And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvelous are Thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are Thy ways, thou King of saints." Rev. 15:2,3.

A WORD TO THE WISE

With the April issue of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL we present the fifth chapter of Mrs. Hebb's experience as the wife of a Roman Catholic. Since we began running this series, numerous letters have been received evincing great interest by the readers.

Mrs. Hebb's writings speak for her personality as a lady of culture and refinement, enjoying the privilege of free speech in a country where the freedom of the press is recognized as a medium of education.

Mrs. Hebb is in possession of information which the citizens of the United States should have had years ago. It is now evident that the dormant spirit of Protestants has been made to indirectly serve the enemy, until the social, commercial and political interests of the people are bound beyond breaking.

As a party to the setting up of new homes, the editor of this paper saw the danger rising, years ago, and resolved to do his duty in directing the attention of the people to the evils arising from any union between opposing creeds, and if possible help to protect Protestant young women and men who have been attracted by Roman Catholics.

In the State and Nation, marriage is held

to be a civil contract. The contracting parties do not forfeit their individual rights while their mutual interests are developing an estate. Although acting as a unit in "one flesh," the professed religion of either party to the contract can have no part excepting as it may or may not destroy the peace and happiness of the private home. To this end the officiating clergyman is the key man, and his authority may affect the generations of the future. In the case of a Roman Catholic marrying a Protestant, the following contract has been used by the writer with great success. It has been presented at two religious meetings and been approved:—

MARRIAGE CONTRACT

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this _____ day of _____ 19 ___ by and between _____ of _____ and _____ of _____

WITNESSETH: That whereas the said _____ is professedly and religiously a Roman Catholic; and

WHEREAS the said _____ is professedly and religiously a Protestant; and

WHEREAS the difference between said beliefs are antagonistic and irreconcilable, in that the Roman Catholic church denies the State the right to consummate a marriage ceremony between said parties; and

WHEREAS the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience is a Constitutional guarantee, interference wherewith constitutes a severe form of cruelty frequently culminating in mental anguish and domestic infelicity;

THEREFORE, we jointly and severally agree to refrain from interfering with each other's religious belief, knowing that to engage in this form of cruelty would result in a broken home and consequent unhappiness to both;

THAT should an offspring be born to this union, such offspring shall be brought up,

(Continued on page 7)

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HENRY M. LAWSON, *Editor*

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WEDNESDAY CRUCIFIXION AND SATURDAY RESURRECTION DEFINITELY PROVED

OUR LORD'S PASSOVER WEEK

In the time of Christ, each day ended at sundown. Nisan was the first month of the Jewish year, beginning with the first new moon following the *vernal equinox*. The preparation day of the passover came on the 14th of Nisan, the passover sabbath on the 15th. Nisan corresponds with the last part of March and the first part of April.

Midst of Week
Dan. 9:27

Jesus in the Tomb. Matt. 12:40

Friday Nisan 9th	Saturday Nisan 10th	Sunday Nisan 11th	Monday Nisan 12th	Tuesday Nisan 13th	Wednesday Nisan 14th	Thursday Nisan 15th Passover Sabbath	Friday Nisan 16th	Saturday Nisan 17th	Sunday Nisan 18th
Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day	Night Day
Friday Nisan 9th	Six days before the passover, which was on 15th Nisan, Jesus came to Bethany. "There they made Him a supper; and Martha served; but Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with Him." John 12:1,2.								
Saturday Nisan 10th	After supper (Friday night) Mary anointed Jesus for His burial. John 12:2,3,7. Saturday morning Jesus made His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Verses 12,13; Mark 11:7-10.								
Sunday Nisan 11th	Jesus cursed the barren fig tree. Mark 11:12-14. He cast the money changers out of the temple. Verse 15.								
Monday Nisan 12th	The disciples called attention to the withered fig tree. Mark 11:20,21. Jesus spake many parables and foretold His second coming. Mark 12 and 13; Matt. 21:23 to 25:46. Jesus then said there were two more days before the passover. Matt. 26:1,2. These days would be Tuesday and Wednesday, as the passover was Thursday the 15th of Nisan.								
Tuesday Nisan 13th	Jesus had supper with His disciples. John 13:1,2. This was not the passover feast. See verses 27-29.								
Wednesday Nisan 14th	The preparation day of the passover. John 19:14. After supper (Tuesday night) Jesus performed the ordinance of humility. John 13:4-15. He instituted the communion sacrament. Matt. 26:26-30. That night He was arrested. Verses 36,57. He was tried during the night and condemned by the Sanhedrin Council. Matt. 27:1,2. On this preparation day of the passover Jesus was released by Pilate to the Jews. John 19:14,15. Jesus was taken from the cross before the sabbath of the passover, before sundown. Verse 31. He was placed in Joseph's new tomb. Verses 38-42.								
Thursday Nisan 15th	Passover sabbath, or "high day." John 19:31. The tomb was sealed for three days. Matt. 27:62-66.								
Friday Nisan 16th	The women prepared spices for anointing the body, and rested on the weekly Sabbath according to the commandment. Luke 23:56.								
Saturday Nisan 17th	Jesus arose just before sundown. The angel told Mary Magdalene and the other Mary who came to see the sepulchre, that Jesus had risen. Matt. 28:1-8. Jesus was in the tomb three days and three nights, as He said He would be. Matt. 12:40.								
Sunday Nisan 18th	Mary Magdalene visited the sepulchre alone before daylight. Two angels talked with her. She saw Jesus and talked with Him. John 20:1-17. At sunrise the women came with spices to anoint the body, but the angel told them Jesus had risen. Mark 16:1-6. Jesus appeared to two of His disciples at Emmaus about suppertime. Luke 24:13-31. He met with ten of the disciples while they were at meat. Mark 16:14; Luke 24:36-44. He then opened their understanding that they might comprehend the resurrection. Luke 24:45.								

According to the Hebrew calendar, Nisan, beginning the last of March was the first month of the year. The fourteenth day was the preparation day of the Passover, and the Passover always came on the fifteenth day of the month. Exod. 12:5,6; Luke 22:1,2, 11-16.

In confirmation of the truth taught in the foregoing diagram, the phenomena of the heavens bear unerring testimony that the full moon following the *vernal equinox* of A.D. 31 occurred, according to the Julian calendar, on Tuesday, March 27, at 2:00 P.M., Jerusalem civil time, and marked the time of the Passover, as shown by the official statement from the U.S. Naval Observatory published herewith.

As there are just thirteen days difference between the Julian and the Nisan calendars, the above harmonizes perfectly with Wednesday, the fourteenth of Nisan as shown in the diagram.

U. S. NAVAL OBSERVATORY WASHINGTON, D.C.

28th March, 1924.

Mr. H. M. Lawson,
Editor AMERICAN SENTINEL,
1244 10th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter dated March 27th, 1924, you are informed as follows:

The first astronomical Full Moon following the vernal equinox of A.D. 31 occurred, according to the Julian calendar, on Tuesday, March 27th, at 2 h P.M., Jerusalem civil time.

By direction of the Superintendent, U. S. Naval Observatory.

Very truly yours,

W. S. Eichelberger,
Captain (Math.) U.S. Navy,
Director Nautical Almanac.

There were two sabbaths in our Lord's passion week, Thursday, the Passover sabbath, and Saturday, the regular weekly sabbath of the fourth commandment. John 19:31; Luke 23:54,56; Mark 15:42.

As the Israelites were not permitted to leave their homes the night of the Passover feast (that is, from sundown following the burial of Jesus on Wednesday until the following morning, Thursday), the chief priests felt no concern regarding the safety of His body. But on the morning of the fifteenth, Thursday, they asked Pilate to seal the tomb for three days; for Jesus had said, "After three days I will rise again." The three days during which time the sepulchre was sealed expired Sunday morning, when the women came with spices to anoint the body. It was also the "third day" since the tomb was sealed to which Cleopas and Simon referred in Luke 24:21.

When Mary Magdalene saw Jesus at the sepulchre early the first day of the week, while it was yet dark, He said to her, "Touch Me not; for I am not yet ascended to My Father, and to your Father; and to My God, and to your God." John 20:17.

A WORD TO THE WISE

(Continued from page 5)

educated, and protected in the enjoyment of an education as adopted by the Public School system of the United States;

THAT during the first twelve years of the life of said offspring perfect freedom shall be accorded the child in the home of its parents to study the Christian religion as protected by our laws, and in the enjoyment

of such religion untrammelled by the practice of any church, minister or priest;

THAT the ceremony which we now engage to be performed shall be recognized as legal, and therefore lawful and final.

WITNESS the following signatures and seals, this _____ day of _____ 19_____.

_____ (Seal)

_____ (Seal)

Twenty-five Years in the Catholic Church

BY ELIZABETH HEBB

(Continued from March)

Chapter V.

THE CATHOLIC CLERGY

The tides of memory surge over me, and it seems impossible to confine my observations of the Catholic clergy to a single chapter, as one experience or one viewpoint would fill so limited a space. When there are a multitude of such to write about, to cover all or even a part of them seems a hopeless task.

My husband's brother is a priest, and I have been able to study the Catholic clergy at close range. Small wonder, then, that I read "Elmer Gantry," Sinclair Lewis' shocker, without so much as batting an eye. It seems mild to me and not at all improbable.

I was born and brought up in a non-Catholic community and knew nothing of the Catholic church, much less of the priests. My first experience with the latter occurred at the time of my marriage, which I related in my first chapter. However, I did not tell of my first experience in the confessional which occurred the day before my wedding. You see it was necessary for me to be "absolved" from all sin before receiving the sacrament of marriage. On this occasion the questions put to me involved sexual perversion. It seems almost unnecessary to add that not only was I innocent of any such vice, but I was also unable to understand the meaning of the questions. I am endowed, though, with the average amount of curiosity, and you may rest assured that I took steps to learn from my more sophisticated acquaintances the meaning of the pious (?) gentleman's questions. But why could not my thoughts have remained as unsullied as my body was? Of what benefit was his insinuations of viciousness and sexual carnality? Since then I know that Catholic girls and boys are subjected constantly to these evil interrogations, and thoughts are put in their minds never before imagined.

During my daughter's girlhood I was so fearful of this evil influence that I went to church with her every time she went to confession and sat in the seat nearest the confessional door. I told her if a priest ever said anything to her which she did not fully

understand or which sounded vile and indecent she should come to me at once and I would stand by her and see that she was not punished for leaving the confessional without the perfunctory "absolvo te." Later on we avoided this humiliating obligation by going to communion occasionally in order to keep peace in the family, without having previously gone to confession. As we were not detected in this, we ceased to go to confession years ago.

My next unpleasant experience occurred when I had been married about six months. A visiting mission priest heard my confession. He wheezed when he walked and talked. He was stuffed with food and obviously drunk. His questions became so personal and so obscene that I left the confessional in disgust and indignation. When I told my husband of this priest's vulgar questions and remarks he said that I was "prejudiced" and that a priest was Christ's "representative on earth and could do no wrong."

Catholics for the most part seem not to object to this vulgar questioning. They have been accustomed to it from early childhood, although I have seen a few of them come out of the confessional with tears streaming down their faces. To me it was unbearable, such an atmosphere being entirely foreign to my early training.

The mission priests are the worst offenders in this respect. By mission priests I mean priests who are members of the various brotherhoods such as the Society of the Precious Blood, Jesuits, Carmelites, Franciscans, etc. They are strangers in the parish, coming only at Christmas, Easter, "Forty Hours," or to conduct missions and retreats which correspond to the revivals held by Protestant churches. When one has seen one of these priests one has seen all of them. They are fat and over-fed; they are heavy drinkers; in a word, they are gross sensualists unfit to hold a conversation with women and children.

I know women in our town who have had worse experiences than those I have related.

Not more than three blocks from my home there lives an elderly woman who in her girl-

hood was seduced by a former priest in the parish where my husband and his people have always attended church. At the time this happened everything possible was done to hush the matter up. The girl was sent to a nearby city where the child, a daughter, was left. The priest left the church, entered the real estate business and became wealthy. He educated his daughter and has always provided for the woman in question. There has never been a word of criticism spoken by this woman or her people against the church, nor has their attendance or loyalty lagged for an instant. Such is the slavish adulation accorded to the church and clergy by ignorant Roman Catholics.

I have in mind a gentle old lady whom my mother always suspected of having been a Catholic. Some years after my acquaintance with her she confided in me and related her experience. Her family was Catholic and she was brought up in the church until she was seventeen years old, when, like the pitcher that goes off to the well and is broken at last, she went to confession to a priest who made an indecent proposal to her, and she left the church never to return.

More amusing are the following incidents which happened recently. One night a non-Catholic friend of mine went to a local restaurant for dinner and observed an acquaintance who had been coerced into becoming a member of the Catholic church at the time of her marriage. It was Friday, and my friend's friend was eating meat. The party of the first part said, "M—, I don't want to spoil your dinner, but I see that you are eating meat: have you forgotten that this is Friday?" The lady replied, "Yes, I know it's Friday, but that makes no difference to me. When a woman can't go into a confessional without being insulted by a priest, it's time to quit. I'm through with the Catholic church." This was said in a public place and in an unrestrained tone of voice.

My daughter has an acquaintance, a former schoolmate, who went to a Catholic hospital to become a nurse. Some months later she was awakened one night by a presence in her room. It proved to be a priest who was connected with the hospital chapel. He explained his presence by saying that he had come to "bless her bed." She ordered him out in no uncertain terms and sent for her parents to come for her immediately.

I could go on and on in this vein, or I might tell of my acquaintance with the various priests I met from time to time when visiting at my priestly brother-in-law's home. I might relate in detail the story of Father R—, a young modern in revolt against Rome's tyranny. He saw the world and its allurements when it was too late. He resented having been trapped before he had reached the age of reason. He received a year's leave of absence and went on a walking tour through Europe. He fought his battle out with himself and has now returned to his parish and is trying to carry on. Like many

priests he knows the doctrines of the Catholic church to be false, and he would leave, but he dreads Rome's persecution and the material insecurity of the future. A priest's training fits him for nothing useful. With a few exceptions priests would be unable to earn much more than a thousand dollars a year.

I might tell the story of Father S—, who drank himself to death. When I visited his home he was a physical wreck. His face and hands were scarlet; he was a mass of flabby fat, a disgusting sight. There was considerable land about his home, a country parish house, and this was used for a vineyard. He could talk of nothing else, and repeated constantly, "O the grapes, O the good grapes." He did not have sufficient character to withstand the boredom of a country parish. He had lost his perspective in a life of intellectual and physical inactivity.

It is only an ignorant and priest-ridden laity that could endure the contemptuous patronizing airs of the Catholic clergy. I have a vivid recollection of a conversation which I overheard one time while visiting in the home of a priest. It was Saturday night, and a priest had come in from a country parish to assist in hearing confessions. Father X and Father Z were chatting and "splitting a bottle" in the dining room when the former said, "Perhaps we ought to go over to the church, it is seven o'clock." Father Z replied, "Aw, let 'em wait." "But," Father X insisted, "they might think that we were not going to hear confessions tonight and go away." This had no effect on Father Z, who said, "Aw, let 'em go, they'll come back." He knew his "faithful." He knew they would come meekly back whenever the clergy was ready for them.

I could go on indefinitely relating experiences and citing instances, but I will restrain the inclination and proceed to discuss the clergy in a general way.

Perhaps one of the greatest contrasts between the Catholic and Protestant clergy lies in the manner of their being called to the ministry. The Protestant boy's youth is unhampered. He goes through high school, and he may even enter college before he feels the call to preach the gospel. With him the act is purely voluntary. He goes eventually to a divinity school because he wishes to serve the church. He has not been coerced nor trapped before he reached maturity and the age of reason.

Not so with the Catholic boy. The need for priests is urgent. Rome cannot trust to volunteers. The priest in each parish is on the lookout for likely boys. As a rule these boys come from poverty-stricken, or at best, middle-class homes, and the prestige of the clergy is constantly dangled before their eyes; it is thus that they are trapped in adolescence.

I wish that every non-Catholic in our country could see two boys who live in our parish

at the present time, and the homes and families from which they have emerged. They have been selected by the local priest for the priesthood. They are fine examples of the average priest-fodder, and if non-Catholic America could see them now, as I see them, I am sure she would never again be impressed by a Catholic priest.

As for the pretentious claims to scholarship flaunted before the world by the Catholic clergy, such claims are ridiculous. They are fed the ancient rubbish of medieval school-rooms and trained to be adept in their papistical foolery. As for culture not one of them would recognize it if he met it face to face.

I say this after a close acquaintance with them and after having seen them in their homes. I have never known one of them to read or discuss a worthwhile book. I have seen them sit day after day in idleness waiting for the next bounteous meal to appear. I know them for heavy drinkers and hearty trenchmen. I know them as gross materialists sadly lacking in spirituality. I have been seated at the table with them when their table manners were repellant. I have seen a priest so eager to get outside of his food that he reached over and helped himself to a choice piece of meat from a platter with his fingers. And I was once seated at a banquet table with a priest when I was served first and he reached over and took my plate away from me, saying, "I am sure that was meant for me." Evidently he had never heard of Emily Post or of any other authority on etiquette; and on the other hand he had become so used to being served first in all things by the slavish faithful that he had convinced himself that it was his inherent right. I have seen a room full of women rise to their feet when a priest entered.

Time hangs heavily on the hands of the average parish priest, and to relieve the tedium they gather in groups of three or four and play cards, usually in a room that is blue with the smoke from their expensive cigars. They wear expensive clothes and live in luxury and idleness at the expense of their meek and longsuffering parishioners. As a class they are actuated by greed and selfishness. I have seen them take money from the homes of the poor when they knew that little children would walk through the snow to mass in broken shoes, or that these same children would never taste a glass of milk; and I have seen a priest take the price of a pair of shoes from a feeble old woman after her children had by great sacrifice given it to her for that purpose.

Only the ignorant Roman Catholic laity could be blind to the moral weakness, the avarice, self-indulgence, arrogance and tyranny of the Catholic clergy. Only the ignorant and superstitious Roman Catholic mind, a mind that has been suppressed for hundreds of years could clothe them in near divinity. Under the *pretence* of doing things no mortal

man can do, they keep thousands in fear and superstition. They grind the face of the poor, and extort money from the rich. Under the guise of religion they escape the law, while in reality they are mountebanks of the worst type.

George Bernard Shaw in his book, "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism," pages 429-430, has summed them up cleverly and truthfully:—

"At present if a woman opens a consulting room in Bond Street, and sits there in strange robes professing to foretell the future by cards or crystals or revelations made to her by spirits, she is prosecuted as a criminal for importunacy. But if a man puts on strange robes and opens a church in which he professes to absolve us from guilt of our misdeeds, to hold the keys to heaven and hell, to guarantee that what he looses or binds on earth shall be loosed and bound in heaven, to alleviate the lot of souls in purgatory, to speak with the voice of God, and to dictate what is sin and what is not to all the world (pretensions which, if you look at them objectively, are far more extravagant and dangerous than those of the poor sorceress with her cards and tea leaves and crystal); the police treat him with great respect; and nobody dreams of prosecuting him as an outrageous impostor.

(To be continued.)

A NEW BOOK

The closing words of the Gospel by John call attention to the fact that if all the things which Jesus did were written, the world could not contain the books. Of what other person could such a statement be made covering but three and one-half years of service?

Since creation each generation has been given special light for its day, and God has promised to reveal still greater light as time advances. But of the many books written, we know of scarcely any which has placed the entire Ten Commandments before its readers in their true light.

A new book which treats each commandment in detail will soon be ready for the press. The introduction will treat the Law of God as a general theme. Each commandment will constitute a chapter. The last chapter will be entitled "The Elect of God Who Are They?" The entire book will contain about one hundred and fifty pages, and can be retailed for about one dollar per copy.

This work will make an ideal text-book for a Christian life, and the entire receipts from it will be a gift to the cause of Christ. The readers of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL are invited to have a part in the publication of this book. Five dollars in cash and a copy of the work will be given to the one sending in the best title for the book,—one which will not only advertise it, but best reveal the character of the work. A committee of three disinterested parties will choose the winner.

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IN AFRICAN VILLAGES LIKE THIS, MISSIONARIES HAVE TOILED FOR YEARS

Will Foreign Missions Die With This Generation?

By
STANLEY HIGH

★ ★ ★

For in those fifteen years of toil they had cleared the bush from the land of a bit of Africa, swept the fear and the evil from the hearts of a company of Africans and set up a little corner of the Kingdom of Heaven. They stayed to extend that Kingdom.

I had never seen any gloom about this missionary in Africa.

"I suppose you're headed back to the Bush," I said.

"No," he said, "not now. Perhaps never."

And then I understood why he—why the whole place—was gloomy. The gifts of the church to foreign missions had collapsed. The official reports called it a "falling off," a "decline." But that was the language of diplomacy. Actually, it was a collapse. And this missionary had been told he had better hunt another job. And like word had gone to other missionaries on furlough. And abbreviated cables had been sent to courageous men and women, around the world, to say that for another year they would have to curtail their plans to extend the Kingdom of God in their corner of the earth.

"If this keeps up," said the chief secretary, "foreign missions may die with this generation."

And they may.

What was happening, disastrously, in that particular office was taking place—less disastrously perhaps—in other mission offices. By drives, campaigns, eleventh hour appeals, some boards were "breaking even" with the previous year. But I have yet to talk with a missionary spokesman who was under any illusions. The appeal to evangelize the world—in this or any other generation—seems to have lost the hold it once had upon the hearts of Christian people. The rank and file in the pulpit were never more put to it to enlist the rank and file in the pew. And even pulpit support for the world program of the church has appeared to be wavering.

Why is it wavering?

Almost everyone has an answer. They run all the way from the World War to the crash in the stock market. And I have mine—which is neither anything so remote as the war nor so recent as the stock market, and may be no more significant than either.

In the first place I do not believe that foreign missions are in this present state of crisis because of the condition of the machinery by which the business of foreign missions is administered. It is true that that machinery is sometimes cumbersome, sometimes rusty, and occasionally manned by mechanics who were, unquestionably, good preachers. But with all the flaws in the missions machine I do not believe that they provide an adequate explanation of the decline in missionary interest.

As a matter of fact—if any hesitant giver desires to investigate the point—the administration of



in ecclesiastical preferment. His friends at home urged him to quit, on the spot, and return to America while he had youth enough to make a comfortable place for himself. But he didn't quit. He and his wife talked it over. They prayed it over. And then—a little lonelier than before—they carried on.

mission funds, in almost every board, comes under the careful scrutiny of qualified and highly successful business men. Moreover, laymen now participate in the deliberations of the governing bodies of almost every church in Protestantism. They have not, so far as I know, ever raised any great hue and cry about missionary maladministration. On the contrary, I have observed that the business men who have the closest contact with the operation of these organizations have, also, the greatest confidence in their fundamental efficiency.

No, maladministration may be a convenient excuse for individual givers, but it is hardly an adequate reason for the general decline in giving. That decline is too serious and too widespread to be explained on the ground of a misplaced screw or an mangled bearing or to be stopped by an efficiency engineer. In fact, it is so widespread and so serious that the issue concerns, not the fate of foreign missions machinery, but the fate of foreign missions. That issue can not be met by administrative tinkering.

I do not believe that if foreign missions die with this generation the fault will be with the missionary. I am familiar with the criticisms with which it has become popular, particularly among non-supporting outsiders, to assail the missionary. And no one—least of all the missionary, himself—contends that he is above criticism. But I have met a good many missionaries in a good many lands and—after all the shortcomings are in, properly listed and totaled—I still have the conviction that if one-half the missionary's sacrificial consecration were apparent here at home there would be no question of the financial stability of our church boards or the spiritual stability of our church life.

Despite our fashionable movements of compromise, the missionary has not toned down his faith. He hasn't dared to. While we have amused ourselves with religious debates, he has been obliged to produce results. Religion out where he works is no teatime affair and God no academic hypothesis. His post is in the bazaar. And in the bazaars of the world people aren't speculative. They are dying. The missionary professes to have a life-giving gospel. And he can't run away from his profession. He lives where he has to prove it. That he is proving it is apparent. The religious depression that seems to afflict the church at home has not spread through the church abroad. On the contrary, there is a rising tide of spiritual vitality, most recently apparent, perhaps, in the "Million Souls Movement" in Japan and in the united movement of evangelism just launched in China.

The missionary may be—probably is—guilty of administrative and tactical blunders. But he, at least, has stuck to the fundamental job for which the first missionaries went out. His methods and his terminology may have changed. But not his gospel or the need of the world for its preaching. And the missionary's ministry, as a result, was never more significant than it is today. If, therefore, the zeal of the church for the evangelization of the world is diminishing, the responsibility can not be rested upon the missionary. To blame him may be one way to side-step the issue, but it will hardly help to remedy the situation.

I believe, however, that it is precisely at this point that the real failure will be discovered. The missionary, on the field, has not lost sight of the fact that his, fundamentally, is an evangelistic—that is a life-changing—enterprise. But, in many places, the church at home has lost sight of the fact. And missionary zeal has declined in about direct proportion to the extent that the evangelical significance of the missionary message has been minimized.

Foreign missions began as an evangelistic enterprise. It grew because it remained evangelistic. There was, at least, one chief thing in common between the Haystack Prayer Meeting on the Williams College campus, in 1806, where North American missions had their beginning and the gathering of the Mount Hermon Hundred, in 1886, where they received their greatest

impetus. Both were prayer meetings. That is more than an incidental fact. No one thought of foreign missions save in fundamentally evangelical terms. The enterprise was the agent of the prayer meetings and the altars of Protestantism. The prerequisite to an aroused missionary zeal in a church was a religious revival.

Latterly this has greatly changed. One doesn't rely on prayer meetings, these days, to arouse the interest of students in foreign missions. Instead we have discussion groups: very fine discussion groups with a blackboard, an enormous number of questions and everybody taking part in the debate. The Mount Hermon Hundred had Dwight L. Moody for their leader. Today the demand seems to be, not for a leader but a referee. It's quite likely, at any rate, that Dwight L. Moody wouldn't be so popular. He was too sure. His faith didn't end in a question mark.

Now this vast dialectic with which we have been visited has probably served some Christian purpose. It has at least adapted the Christian terminology to the jargon of our times and at the most indicated that the case for Christianity can be stated without violence to our present scientific temper. But in its fundamental task I believe our effort at forensic evangelization has failed. It may have established men's belief in the intellectual respectability of Christianity. I doubt if it has reestablished their faith.

All this has affected foreign missions. Under the spell of the question-mark mentality, we have seldom gone about it to convert the doubter. Rather we have seemed to assure him that foreign missions would do no violence to his doubts. We haven't done this in so many words, of course. But we have spent a lot of time over his questions. And much of this time, unquestionably, was well spent in that way. But having done our best with his arguments we have still found ourselves with only a lukewarm individual on our hands. The gift we got was only about half what we expected; the decision we hoped for was only tentatively made.

And we seemed to forget, entirely, that real zeal for foreign missions—or for Christian work of any sort—never had its source in anything other than a religious—that is, a down-to-the-very-bottom, life-changing experience.

As a result, foreign missions, from having been recognized and supported as an agency of spiritual regeneration, have become widely regarded as merely a church-supported philanthropy. As a philanthropy they are, I believe, doomed to failure and extinction, for it will lack the power either to give them success in the field or to win support at home. A good many

people who have been and might be enlisted in a world enterprise that was dynamically religious will simply not give their aid to one that is presented to them as an ecclesiastical competitor of state and privately supported charities. As I have already indicated, the foreign missionary enterprise—in operation on the field—remains fundamentally evangelistic. But very often, it is not as an evangelistic enterprise that it is described here at home, but rather as a healing or an educational or a social service. And the response to such descriptions is written, clearly enough, in the books of the mission boards.

Now I certainly would not belittle the practical ministries represented by the hospitals and schools built up by foreign missions. I have seen those schools and hospitals in operation on three continents. I know how, in countless forgotten communities, these institutions have stood—and continued to stand—as a concrete and understandable personification of Jesus Christ, Himself. But for us, at the home end, I think a reexamination of the purpose behind the institutions might be in order.

We sent out our doctors and teachers for two chief reasons. In the first place, across the mission world lay the black shadows of indescribable human need. Agencies to meet that need were and still are tragically lacking. We could not, consistently, take our Christian faith into the presence of such want and suffering without interpreting that faith in terms of helpful, healing ministries.

But, in the second place, there was no doubt, either in the minds of the missionaries who went out or the agencies that sent them as to another fundamental purpose behind those ministries. They were to provide an avenue over which the missionary might enter upon a spiritual ministry that was even more fundamental. Few doctors have gone to the mission field for the practice of medicine and few teachers for the practice of pedagogy. They have gone in order that their medicine and teaching, vital as they were in themselves, might, none-the-less, be put to evangelical uses.

Moreover, foreign missions were not established to bring medical knowledge and modern schools to the backward peoples of the world. That they have brought these things is tremendously important. But from the beginning, down to the very present, the churches have had only one thing that they—and no other agency—could contribute to mankind. That one thing was—and is—the life-transforming gospel of Jesus Christ.

It is this one thing which appears to have been slipping more and more into the background of our missionary appeal. The language of our missionary apologetic, very often, is not that of religious experience, but of ecclesiastical institutionalism. One sometimes has to search diligently to find just where the life-changing process does come if at all.

Doubtless, the reason for this neglect in relation to the field abroad is a reflection of a similar neglect in relation to the field at home. It is probable that the world-wide business of establishing the supremacy of Jesus Christ and His ideals is slowing down simply because many church people lack the conviction that Jesus and His ideals are supreme. The declining missionary zeal of the church will hardly be restored without a revival—call it by any name you wish—as sweeping and as fundamental as those which, in the past, led Christians to dare to proclaim their gospel to the ends of the earth. Until that revival comes—and with it a restoration of evangelism to the central place in our missionary outlook—we will probably continue to see a decline in mission-board receipts and a decrease in missionary volunteers. Perhaps it is from the mission field—where evangelism has not declined and the Gospel not been toned down—that the impetus for this revival will come. But it is meanwhile true, I believe, that if foreign missions die with this generation that disaster will find its source in the loss of an evangelical emphasis in our mission appeal and will find a reflection in the loss of evangelical zeal in the Church at home.

SETH PARKER Says . . .

D ID yer ever stop ter think what funny things surprises be? The fust thing yer know something happens whay yer weren't thinking about and you're surprised, and then you commence to wonder why in the world yer didn't think about it, and that surprises you and before yer git through thinking you've been surprised all over the lot.

Well, sir, one of the biggest surprises I ever got was when Zeb Peters got up nerve ter go over ter Columbia Fall and pop the question to Sadie Dennis. Zeb weren't much of an "up-and-comer" but somchow he got up enough spunk to pop the question to Sadie and they was married and out of the union come Robert and his little sister Ruth. They was nice young ones too, just as nice as you'd care to set your eyes on.

Now comes the part I had in mind to tell you.

I was painting the cornerib over from a nice green to a soft red and I looked up and there was Robert coming down the road pulling his little sister Ruth in an express cart, I think they call it. When he come up the drive to where I was a-painting he looked up and sez, "I'm trying ter make Ruth happy by drawing her in the cart."

"That's a nice boy," sez I, "that's extrie nice. You just play around and the both of yer have a good time."

I went on with my painting and painted around the cornerib and when I got all around and come back to where I started from, I seen Robert weren't having much success. Ruth was scart to ride in the cart and she wanted to git out and do the drawing, but Robert weren't for letting her. I sez to him, sez I, "Robert, if yer want to make yer little sister happy you'll have to let her git out and be the horse."

"But I want to draw it myself," he sez. "I want to make HER happy doing the things I want ter do."

The whole question is, do yer do things fer other folks because you want to make them happy, or do you do things for them because in doing them you're doing something for yourself?

There's a woman up here who's quite a hand for doing favors, but there's a catch in them. She'll give somebody a couple of apples with perhaps a worm or two in them or she'll do a little something else and then she'll write it down in a little book she has and if you don't return the favor she'll come around and remind you that on such and such a date she done you a favor and you ain't never returned it.

I read a little poem along this order one time what sort of tickled me. I don't know who wrote it or where it come from, but it goes something like this:

To John I owed great obligation
But John unfittingly saw fit
To publish it to all the world
So John and I are more than quit.

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antagonist is in the wrong what is easier than to wrench his words out of their setting, to pick a little here and a little there until we have made him responsible for that which he never even thought of saying? In the use of the Bible the same is true. In our eagerness to buttress our own beliefs we search the scriptures not so much for that which they really teach as for passages, however unrelated, which may be made to serve our purposes. Is this honest? Is it Christian? No one is to be blamed for believing something or for believing it strongly; but when we undertake to support our contentions by anything less than methods that are absolutely fair we are doing injury to our moral natures and bringing reproach upon the cause of Christ.

Not content with juggling with the words of our opponents, in the heat of theological controversy we sometimes indulge in charges affecting the moral character of those who differ from us. They are held up as men who do not save souls, as making skeptics, as rejecters of Christ, as all that they should not be. Their motives are impugned and their purposes misconstrued. It is a fact beyond all controversy that some Christian scholars have been so caricatured by those opposed to them that great numbers of good people have come to believe that these scholars have no other purpose in life than to destroy Christianity. Possibly the accusers believe this to be the case, but such a supposition involves almost incredible ignorance on the part of those bringing the charges. The fact is that the hypocrite among scholars is as rare as the egg of the great auk. They may be mistaken, as some of them must be, but that any number of them are posing as followers of Jesus Christ while in fact they are his enemies is untrue to the point of absurdity. The scholar who assigns the book of Isaiah to two men instead of one is not therefore to be written down as anti-Christian. We need to learn that men may not agree with us in matters of criticism and yet be as spiritual and as Christian as we are.

If only the genuine Christian is the honest Christian, we shall be compelled to look carefully to our prayers and testimonies and professions. There is a constant tendency to adopt a formula and to persist in its use long after it ceases to represent any reality. Here we meet a danger that reveals itself in our young people's societies. Doubtless it is well that children be trained to give expression to their Christian faith and love. It is well that they pray and speak in public if prayer and testimony represents reality. It is not well, however, that in any way the child be encouraged to believe that public utterance is of first order of importance. Some of the most thoughtful Christians of our time are questioning the probable effect of modern methods in young people's societies, and are venturing to express the fear that testimony is being exalted at the expense of life. It is well if we can have both, but we must have the latter.

It is of the first order of importance that a man shall be honest with himself. The refusal to recognize one's physical condition is said to be characteristic of certain forms of disease. In spiritual pathology we seem to have the same phenomena. A preacher on sinless perfection some years ago left the great tabernacle where he had been speaking and within ten minutes grew black in the face with anger in controversy over his fare with an official of a boat. Was this man sinless? Possibly he may have thought so, but no one who saw him in his rage believed it. What he needed was to know himself as he might have done had he been honest with himself. No man has any moral right to shut his eyes to facts whether they concern himself or some one else. That whole class of people who deny reality to disease and sin refuse to be honest with themselves. Is it honest to "deny" pain when it has us in its clutches? to "deny" a boil when it obtrudes itself from the end of one's nose? to "deny" sin when we have experience of its power? We who are not followers of a cult which demands denial of patent facts should be on our guard lest we tacitly assume for ourselves a devotion, a zeal, a love for God and his cause that we do not feel. There is much said by way of warning against the danger of introspection. We are told that we ought not to feel our spiritual pulse or take our moral temperature lest we become religious hypochondriacs. There may be danger here, but it is infinitesimal compared with that which threatens us from spiritual indifference.

The religion of Jesus demands absolute intellectual as well as commercial integrity. The condemnation of the Master rested most strongly upon those who arrogated to themselves superiority while they failed to embody the spirit which makes one genuinely religious. The tendency which bore such unlovely fruit in the Pharisees persists in human nature. Sincerity, absolute genuineness, is a fundamental requisite in every one who would be in truth a Christian.

Our Missionaries of the Twentieth Century.

BY RILLA EVELYN JACKMAN.

If a camera could photograph thought, and there should be an exhibition of the pictures taken of the mind of the average person when he hears the word *missionary* spoken, how near would they approach the truth? People have a vague idea that missionaries are good, "but—" and if urged to explain that expressive little word, they will, in nine cases out of ten, acknowledge that they really know little about them, but that they instinctively think of a missionary as below the average in almost every particular.

The Stuff Missionaries Are Made Of.

A sensible person has but little confidence in the success of any important work undertaken by people of inferior ability and however much he wishes that work carried on he withholds his influence and support until competent workers can be found. Is not this lack of confidence in the missionaries' ability, therefore, largely responsible for that dearth in missionary interest still noted in many localities? The writer believes that if the people not interested in missions could be made acquainted with the men and women who are cheerfully giving their lives to this great work, if they could see those sincere, faithful lives truly pictured, not in somber hues as of old, but in the strong, glowing colors which characterize them, and if but a small fraction of the results that are daily being achieved could be made known to them, there would be a radical change in public sentiment and not only the missionaries in the field and the officers of the boards sending them out, but the great first missionary, Jesus Christ himself, would be made glad by the added interest that would be taken in this work.

To give an idea of the qualifications considered essential in their missionaries by the various foreign missionary organizations we quote from a letter received from the secretary of the Presbyterian Board. Dr. Halsey says: "The work needs the best the church can give; men of more than ordinary capacity, energy, tact, administrative ability, strong spiritual life, experience and devotion to Christian work. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of obtaining those who are thoroughly qualified."

Another reason that the missionaries must be well trained is because, in the words of Dr. John Gillespie, "they are to deal not only with the gross superstitions of the fetish worshiper, but with subtle philosophies and ethnic faiths advocated by men of keen intellect and high education. Every ancient cult in India is now training its men in educational institutions, the Aryans having in Lahore alone a college with a thousand students." "While it would be unwise to insist that only men with a full academic and theological training should be sent as ordained missionaries, so essential is thorough education to the highest usefulness in the foreign field that our board is slow to accept partially trained men."

But it is Dr. Jessup, himself a missionary in Syria for nearly fifty years, who has given the most condensed, yet comprehensive statement. In a talk to a company of men and women about to start for the foreign field he says: "Your success as missionaries will depend on your likeness to Christ. As Christ is the embodiment of righteousness, of love and of wisdom, so should his ambassadors, so far as it is possible for finite beings, approach the Infinite."

Physical Qualifications.

In the severe physical examination to which the candidate is subjected, not only his health but that of each member of his family for two generations back is inquired into, if living, and if dead, from what cause. Early death from a disease likely to be inherited defeats the candidate, although himself physically strong. No society can afford to send out a missionary, spending hundreds of dollars to put him in the field, who has not the constitution to back up his enthusiasm. In a letter Mr. Perkins, treasurer of the American Baptist Missionary Union, says: "To place missionaries in our field in upper India costs, including the expense of sending out their goods, from \$325 to \$350 per person. When, through the answers received to numerous questions not only from the candidate himself but from people who know him well, the board is fully satisfied as to the character, abilities, training, age, disposition, and health of the candidate, he is summoned to meet the committee, not so much for any oral examination as that the people whose work it is to select the missionaries may become somewhat acquainted with him; for there is still another requirement to be met." Another says in a letter: "Our committee in consideration of candidates for foreign service lays great stress upon the general culture and attractiveness of manner. They want men and women who will win and not repel the most cultured as well as the more ignorant among the people to whom they go." This may seem to some a step beyond

the reasonable, but let us see what a missionary who has been for some years on the foreign field has to say regarding it. Mr. E—— of Podile, Nellore District, India, wrote to the mother of a young woman who had just gone to India as a missionary: "Your daughter will be glad a thousand times that she has a good knowledge of music. Culture and the many charms which have made her a favorite in America are even more valuable here, where people are quick to appreciate such things; in their way the people of India, especially those of the higher classes, have a refinement which is very marked; and many a well-meaning but uncultured missionary, man or woman, has, by not being duly careful in matters of etiquette, done harm which it has taken long to undo."

Do the Missionaries Reach the Standard?

The standard for the foreign missionary thus set forth satisfies, but are the boards living up to it? Are such men and women as are wanted offering themselves in any numbers to this work? Offering to leave home, friends, native land and a life of usefulness here, where certainly earnest workers are none too numerous; offering to live among heathen peoples, to endure a trying climate and perhaps to be for years misunderstood by the very people whom they have gone so far to help?

From the secretaries of many missionary boards we learn that a large percentage of the men, and many of the women, who are now being sent out as foreign missionaries are college graduates, or have had the equivalent of a full college course; besides the training that most of them have had in theology, medicine or other specialties. But even this does not satisfy us. We would know how they ranked while in college and professional school, how they compared with the other members of their classes who remained in the home land; with this end in view the following questions were sent to the leading institutions of learning throughout the United States: "How many graduates have gone from — to become foreign missionaries within the last two years?" "How do they compare, intellectually and as all around men and women, with the other members of their respective classes?" Of the scores of letters that have been received in reply, extracts from only a few can here be given.

Of the ten men who have entered upon this work from Princeton Theological Seminary since 1902, Dr. John D. Davis writes: "These men without exception have been fine, gentlemanly fellows, of attractive personality. As scholars I would rate one as not up to the average of our students, two as average men. The others were above the average in scholarship and were among the leading spirits in the life of the seminary. Two of them were foremost in intellectual ability."

The Testimony of Experts.

From Auburn Theological Seminary seven men have gone to the foreign field in the last two years. Regarding them, Pres. George B. Stewart says: "They in every instance compare most favorably with the men who remain at home and are just the kind we are glad to send out, feeling that in a high degree they are worthy representatives not only of this seminary but of the Presbyterian Church."

Prof. J. W. A. Stewart, dean of Rochester Theological Seminary, sent the following: "Beginning with 1902, sixteen men, graduates of this seminary, have gone to the foreign field. Of these, three graduated in earlier years, and several of them spent one or two years in pastoral work before going out. But the number I give are actually on the field. I am happy to testify that these are among the best men in their various classes as scholars and they are all all around capable men. The fact is that in this seminary a man who was below the average in personality and class work would be discouraged from thinking of the foreign field."

From Union Theological Seminary the following reply was received: "Of the graduating class of forty in 1903 six are on the foreign field to-day and one is still studying abroad as the fellow of his class. Of the class of thirty-three graduates in 1904 one has gone to India and two more will go in time. Of the intellectual caliber of these ten men I need only remark that four of them received at graduation the degree of Bachelor of Divinity *summa cum laude*, the highest scholastic honor in the gift of the faculty except the fellowship, while only one other man received this same honor. The third of these four highest honor men is now completing an English translation of the Sanskrit Upanishads before going to India. He is counted one of the most brilliant Sanskrit scholars of America among the younger generation."

The seminary grants annually a fellowship for two years' study at home or abroad to the man ranking highest in his class for three consecutive years, providing his rank is at least 95 per cent. The incumbents of both the 1903 and 1904 fellowship are Student

Volunteers. As to the quality of the present members of the Volunteer Band in the seminary, consisting of eleven Americans, six Japanese and one Greek, Mr. Ferris says: "Some of them have already shown themselves first-class men intellectually, spiritually and in such other ways as to prove that they are at least on a par with the other students of the seminary."

The colleges and universities do not all keep statistics showing how many of their graduates become foreign missionaries, so exact numbers cannot always be obtained from them; but the records received of those who are known to have entered upon this work are as satisfactory as those obtained from the theological seminaries.

From Smith College Miss Kellogg, secretary to the president, writes: "At least five of our students have gone out as foreign missionaries during the last two years, and possibly more about whom we do not know. Those who have taken up this work have been among our best students, and all of them seemed well fitted for the field."

Of the Vassar graduates who have given themselves to this work since 1902 Miss Fleming, president of the Christian Association of the college, says: "These women were intellectually much above the average; they were well poised, and looked up to in every line of college life."

At least six Wellesley College graduates have become foreign missionaries during the last two years; of them Miss Mary Caswell, secretary to the president, writes: "It is a pleasure to say that all of these young women gave evidence while in college of scholarship and strength. As a whole, they would compare favorably, I think, with the same number of graduates who have entered any other profession during the same time. As individuals they stand respectively somewhat above the average of their classes. Two of them noticeably so, one coming from a family of much culture and literary quality, while the other was president of her class and a woman of marked power."

Pres. James B. Angell writes: "During the last two years fourteen persons have gone from the University of Michigan to the foreign fields. They have ranked high in scholarship and general ability; we have no marking system and therefore I cannot give you their exact standings."

Dr. Florence M. Fitch, dean of Oberlin College, says: "As nearly as I can ascertain eight of our graduates have gone into the foreign missionary work during the past two years, although I cannot be certain that this includes all. They would certainly on the average rank as high in every way as the average of all our graduates; and four of them at least are young people of unusual promise; one is considered the strongest, most gifted man who has graduated from the seminary in recent years."

Of the several men and one woman who have gone to the foreign field from the University of Chicago, Prof. Charles R. Henderson, chaplain of the university, says: "My own judgment is that all were well fitted for their particular work. One was a pastor in a large city with brilliant prospects and had been a very popular student here. We discourage students from entering upon this work who are feeble or under the average in mental power; we encourage the capable, the devoted and the vigorous."

Two men and three women have gone from the University of Wisconsin since 1902; of these Mr. C. H. Giffin, general secretary of the University Young Men's Christian Association, says that they were all students of high rank, three of them having won Phi Beta Kappa honors, and all of them are men and women of culture and personal charm.

From the University of Illinois, Mr. I. Webster Baker, leader of the Volunteer Band of that university, writes: "Twelve graduates of this university have gone to foreign mission fields during the past two years. These men and women ranked high in their classes, being decidedly above the average. There are at present twenty-five students in our Volunteer Band, and with few exceptions they are standing high in their respective classes, and are all around men and women representing a large number of university organizations."

The Tribute of a Great School.

But it is from Yale University that the happiest response to the call for workers is heard. During the last two years at least eighteen men, graduates from some department of that university, have gone out as foreign missionaries. At the present time there are sixteen volunteers in the university, while about a dozen Yale graduates who have consecrated their lives to this work are in various professional schools completing their preparation along theological, medical or other lines before offering themselves to the boards to be sent out. Of these nearly half a hundred men, Mr. A. C. Williams, assistant treasurer of the Yale Foreign Missionary

Society, who knows many of them personally, has given the following information: "Intellectually they have been among the ablest men of their respective classes, many of them being Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Chi men. As to all-aroundness in comparison with the other members of their respective classes, these same men are up to the average, many of them above it, and all are thoroughly respected and of recognized strength."

The leader of the Volunteer Band who, by the way, is recognized as one of the best men in his class in all ways, says: "The members of the band this year are, to a man, exceptionally strong. One recent member of this band, graduating from Sheffield Scientific School with high standing and winning Sigma Chi honors, was voted by his whole class, just before graduation, to be 'the man most to be admired in the class.'" Another Yale graduate, who is to go as a medical missionary to India, made so fine a record at Johns Hopkins Medical School that he was appointed the first man from America on the international fellowship to study pathology at Liverpool, England.

But this is not all that Yale University is doing for missions. A few years ago the Yale Foreign Missionary Society was organized, its aim being to establish a Christian college in China manned and supported by Yale men, their salaries being guaranteed by their respective classes. The men that the university has thus sent out semi-officially are acknowledged by all to be number one men in every way. Of the hundreds of men and women whose ranking has been received relative to this work only four are reported to have stood below the average in their respective classes.

Interest in missions is increasing wonderfully in our theological seminaries, colleges and universities. In many of those institutions which have sent out only a few, or no missionaries for years, there are now large, strong Volunteer Bands; this is especially noticeable at Syracuse, California, Cornell, Leland Stanford and Harvard universities. At Harvard a mission study class under the leadership of Prof. E. C. Moore has grown from eight members in 1902 to thirty-six in 1904. In June of 1904 was founded the Harvard Mission, its object being to keep in touch with the Harvard men serving in foreign fields, under whatever board, to raise funds to aid in their support, and to foster a deeper interest in missions in the university.

What a glorious advance in all this from the earlier years of missionary enterprise when it was all but impossible to induce college bred men to take up this work; not until 1815 did the first Cambridge University man go to the foreign field and not until 1836 was he followed by a second.

Numbers never quite satisfy the truly ambitious in any line. We would that those ready and willing to go might be multiplied many-fold, and that an abundance of money might be consecrated to this work to send and to maintain them; but as to the quality of the workers could man, aye, or the Master ask more!

Geneseo, N. Y.

Some Observations on Membership in Baptist Churches.

BY "VERAX," A WESTERN PASTOR.

Admission to membership in a Baptist church generally includes the acceptance of what is known as the church covenant. This document recites in solemn formal manner certain pledges which the church member undertakes to fulfil. It is true that some Baptists have been known to resent the terms of a church covenant, which was not mentioned to them prior to their admission to membership. It is also true that some Baptists have been known to take the position that the covenant was an immaterial matter, that they were under no obligation to comply with its pledges further than they pleased. In the main, however, it may be said that Baptists assent to the terms of the covenant as exhibiting a practical working basis of church fellowship and coöperative service and a compendium more or less specific and explicit of Christian deportment in the daily life.

It would seem, however, that assent to a covenant is not necessarily a requisite to church membership. If the writer is correctly informed the covenant is not used or known in the Baptist churches of England. Again, the writer is not aware that there is any one uniform covenant in use among American churches. In fact, he knows of no reason why any particular church might not formulate its own covenant, or, indeed, decide to exist without a covenant and still continue in good standing in the denomination.

But inasmuch as the monthly covenant meeting at which the covenant is read and renewed is a general custom in American churches, it may be well to consider the obligations of church membership in the light of the covenant as it is generally understood. Briefly, the church covenant pledges each member "to maintain the

worship, ordinances, doctrines and discipline of this church" and "to contribute to the support of the church and the spread of the gospel through all nations." Every church that makes this form of covenant a feature of its corporate life thereby devolves certain unmistakable responsibilities upon its members.

Church Loyalty.

Summarized in a sentence, those responsibilities may be stated thus: Loyalty to one's own church is paramount.

It is singular to note the light esteem in which many church members hold their church affiliations. It is not at all unusual for many members to form the habit of church vagabondage and to visit first one church and then another of different denominations, wherever the music is most attractive, or the social influence is strong, or the preacher bids for oratorical renown. It is not at all unusual for many members to give a ready ear to the magnetic "hustling" minister of another denomination, who behaves as if sharp, unscrupulous competition were a corollary of the golden rule, and who is so lacking in courtesy as to seek to seduce them into disloyalty to their own church. Such solicitations should, of course, be promptly resented, but, in actual experience, are they? The condition sometimes exists in a family where the wife is a member of one denomination, the husband of another, and the son or the daughter of another. While this condition is regrettable, still, if it represents differences of conscientious convictions, Christian charity and liberty should permit and encourage each to be loyal to his own church; coercion should not be exercised; recriminating reflections should not be indulged.

Frequently disloyal members are malcontents. Sometimes they take umbrage at the pastor. The pastor does not "make enough" of them. The pastor does not defer to their wishes. The pastor is not sufficiently "ladylike." The pastor is too "ladylike." The pastor is not a "hustler." The pastor is not an Apollo, a master of brilliant and scintillating rhetoric. The pastor is not a favorite with young people. It would be difficult to imagine the Apostle Paul in the place of a present-day pastor beset with such peculiar people. Sometimes they take umbrage at the deacons or other of their fellow members. A fertile imagination inflamed by a morbid sensitiveness creates a pandemonium of harsh thoughts and evil suspicions. Unchristian standards of social rank that feed pride and arrogance hurt and injure the harmony of the church fellowship. Family feuds, neighborhood bickerings, business unpleasantness, produce alienation. Friction engendered by electioneering for office; envy, jealousy and sulkiness, due to failure to obtain office in the church, or due to unconsecrated musical talent, result in savage contentions and scandalous schism.

The Sin of Worldliness.

Another class of disloyal members is those who have become absorbed by worldliness. "They are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." Pleasure has become a craze with them, and most of their spare time and most of their spare money are devoted to the shrine of this goddess. Pleasures that are enervating, that debilitate the moral fiber, that produce a disrelish for homely everyday work and that turn night into day have come to be cherished as the *summum bonum* of existence, or they are absorbed by the worldliness of business; they are so bent on making money that they neglect their church duties, ignore their church obligations and involve their souls in perdition. They are "all business from the ground up."

Now, whether disloyalty be the result of contention or of worldliness, how can members of this description possibly conform to the standard indicated by their church covenant? They have solemnly pledged themselves "to maintain the worship, ordinances, doctrines and discipline of this church" and to contribute to its support. They do neither. They violate their covenant in both particulars. There are no provisos in the covenant such as that they promise to maintain the worship of the church and contribute to its support if they happen to like the pastor or if the deacons and their other fellow-members happen to please them. Their pledge is unconditional. No mental reservation is contemplated as that they will contribute to the support of the church if everything suits them or that they will attend the services and coöperate in church work if they feel thus and so. Unqualifiedly they have pledged themselves to stand by their own church, to give it their presence, influence, service and support, to give it a sacred preëminence over all other institutions; yet they conduct themselves in grave and glaring disregard of the pledge they have solemnly made. The evils resulting from this disloyalty are manifold.

For one thing, such members fail to obtain that consecutive instruction in the doctrines of their church which is essential to the upbuilding of a permanent church life. How can members who wander from one church to another, week after week, become established in their most holy faith? Again, this disloyalty to their own church unfits them for the fellowship of their fellow-members. They become

estranged from their church. They become unfamiliar with its ways, its plans and enterprises. They lose touch with their fellow-members. This "absent treatment" is fatal to social life.

Further, their disloyalty tends to bring their church into disrepute in the community. Members who behave thus strike at the very foundation of the life and existence of their church. Their conduct places their church in a false light and opens the way to varied misrepresentations. What respect for the church can the children of such parents have when they see their parents living month after month as if it made no difference whatever whether they were faithful to their church or not?

The Dignity of the Church.

The remedy for this deplorable state of affairs must be found in inculcating a more worthy and exalted conception of the dignity of the church; such a conception as is presumed to underlie the church covenant. The writer is not of those who hold that Christ did not found the church. He believes that Christ did. We should remember that not a single word of the New Testament scriptures, as they now appear in our Bible, was written until at least twenty years after Christ's departure from earth. The church was in existence before the New Testament writings. In fact, it was members of the church who penned the gospels and the epistles. The church gave us the New Testament. Back of the gospels and before them in point of time we must picture the church. If the references to the church in the gospels are few, that does not prove that the church was an afterthought created by the necessity of haphazard circumstances; but it proves that the members of the church for whose benefit the gospels were written did not need a detailed description of the character of an organization with which they were already well familiar by virtue of their church membership.

Although the references to the church in the gospels are few, yet they are important. Christ said that upon the fact of his divinity, as the Son of God, the authoritative revealer and spokesman of the divine will, his church was to be built and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. He also ordained that a refractory church member should be brought to the bar of the church and that if he refused to hear the church he should be regarded as a heathen man and a publican. Surely, if Christ were not the founder of the church he would not have spoken of the church as "my church," nor would he have given directions concerning church discipline. When we add to these direct references to the church the ordinances which Christ instituted and commanded his disciples to observe through all time, together with the teaching which he commanded to be imparted to his disciples, we have a fairly complete outline of church organization prescribed by Christ himself in the gospels.

This is corroborated by the references to the church which we find in the epistles. The church is the one sole institution of Christianity. It is the home of Christians. Paul writes of the church that "Christ is the head of the church," and, carrying out the metaphor, he refers to the church as "the body of Christ," and again he says that "Christ loved the church and gave himself for it that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, and that he might present it to himself a glorious church. . . holy and without blemish."

In view of the exalted position accorded to the church in the New Testament it would seem to be sinful for members to be habitually disloyal to their church. Such conduct must surely be an insult to the Lord of the church himself. Disloyal members need to be sharply aroused to the realization that no ignoble criticisms of pastor, or deacons, or other fellow-members, that no absorption in the worldliness of pleasure and of business can exonerate them for disloyalty to the church they are pledged to honor; the church which is the bride of Christ; "the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

Resistance and Assimilation.

Upon these two principles all life and normal maturity may be said to depend. It is a law that applies to both physical and moral growth: The animate and inanimate worlds, really all existence after the ideal of the Creator necessarily must conform to this process of selecting the constitutional elements and rejecting all that would be foreign and deleterious. We look with interest upon the beautiful white lily that floats upon the water, wondering how its roots striking into the black mud beneath have the power of selecting the substance so attractive and at the same time preserve purity from all the defiling environments. Also the rugged oak on the hillside spreads its strong, broad branches, telling not only of years of sunshine and shower, but also of its power to resist the hurricanes and cold blasts that have toughened its sinews and made its foliage to fall like bitter tears again and again.

Thus character is made not by heredity, not by locality, not by culture alone, but by the indwelling grace of God that both selects

and resists. Whether one is a Joseph in the pit, or an Absalom, prince of Israel, the working of this principle decides the destiny. What is the scion grafted into the tree but an illustration of putting this principle into operation? The old branch is sawed off just because it lacks that power of choosing and rejecting necessary to produce good fruit.

How essential then that every one be sure that within there is ever working this formative principle. When we have the "mind of Christ" instead of living carelessly and affiliating with that which is evil, we are all unconsciously gathering the Christly and shunning that which would contaminate and have to be burned as "wood, hay, and stubble."

While reverses, sorrows and disappointments might tempt one to cry out "all these things are against me," they will ultimately be found to be wisely ordered if through towering above them all one matures into the perfect likeness of Him who was made perfect through suffering (Heb. 2:10).—B. P. Hewitt.

Silas T. Rand, the Micmacs' Friend.

By JUDSON KEMPTON.

"*Katakumagual upchelase*;—Come up to the back part of the wigwam," and I'll tell you the story of Silas T. Rand, the apostle to the Micmacs.

On rare occasions, in my boyhood, I saw the great scholar from the



SILAS T. RAND.

woods. He was known to the Sunday-school children of Nova Scotia as the most charming of all story tellers, for his tales smelt of the smoke of the wigwam, the balsam of the fir trees and the tan of the beaded buck skin. The last time I saw him was near the close of his career. He was preaching on the Twenty-third Psalm to a large congregation, composed mostly of young people. "Goodness and Mercy," he personified as two angels that "attend the Christian all through life; and when he came to the last passage, the old man slowly repeated the words, "surely Goodness and Mercy shall follow me all the days of my life," and as he spoke, he turned his back to the audience, and stood with both hands

raised, his white hair falling to his shoulders, looking up, as if his guardian angels were visible to his sight. It seemed to me that I could see them too.

It was not long after this, in the winter of '89, that the college town of Wolfville was awakened one night by the cry of fire. The Acadia boys formed a bucket brigade, heroically soaked the building, —a photographer's gallery—and themselves, and each carried off as a souvenir, an old photo from the pile that had been thrown into the snow. Mine proved to be the likeness of the Indians' missionary, who had died at his home in Hantsport but a few months before. I have treasured it ever since.

The fact that few know anything about Silas T. Rand illustrates how little we really know as to who shall be greatest in the kingdom of God. Truly, when all is manifest, many that are last shall be first, many that are unknown shall be revered.

He Loved an Obscure People

The only reason why Dr. Rand's fame is not more widespread is that his valuable life was given with a rare consecration to an obscure and hidden people. For forty years he was the missionary to the Indians of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He visited them in their secluded settlements and birch-bark wigwams until he practically knew them all, for there were less than 3,000 all told. If Southey could pronounce John Eliot, the missionary to the Indians of Massachusetts, "One of the most extraordinary men of any country," those who know of Silas T. Rand and his work may say the same of him.

He was born in 1810, near Kentville, Nova Scotia, of parents of English ancestry, who had come from New England to occupy the lands of the exiled Acadians. He was the eighth of twenty-two children. His early advantages were of the most limited kind. Outside of learning what he calls the "honorable and muscle-developing profession of bricklaying," he received scarcely any education until he was twenty-five years of age. "When I was a small boy I went to school, such as schools were then, for a few weeks, to Sarah Beckwith, Sarah Pierce and Wealthy Tupper, respectively. None of them amounted to much as teachers, and Wealthy Tupper could not write her own name; but there was one thing she could do,—she could and did teach and show us the way to heaven." When he was eighteen years old

Flugblatt

zu Gunsten der nestorianischen Kirche.

Zusammengestellt

von Lic. Dr. G. Dietrich, Pastor an der Heilandskirche
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Die nestorianische Kirche.

Die Entstehung der nestorianischen Kirche hat einen rein äußerlichen Anlaß. Der Patriarch von Antiochien hatte im Jahre 424 auf der Synode zu Markabta nach langem, langem Sträuben die Suprematie über den Bischof von Seleucia und Ktesiphon fallen lassen. Mit der Begründung, daß dieser Bischof von Anfang an das höchste Priestertum nach dem Vorbilde des Apostelfürsten Petrus empfangen hätte, wurde er feierlich zum Patriarchen ernannt und mit absoluter Vollmacht über alle Christen des persischen Reiches ausgerüstet. Damit war der erste scheinbar unbedeutendste und doch wohl wichtigste Schritt zur Loslösung der persischen Christen von der katholischen Großkirche geschehen. Der zweite, endgiltige Schritt sollte bald folgen.

Die Lehre des byzantinischen Patriarchen Nestorius (eines ehemaligen antiochenischen Mönches), die auf verschiedenen Konzilien als ketzerisch verdammt worden war, wurde von den byzantinischen Kaisern und Kirchenfürsten aufs grausamste verfolgt. Da war es selbstverständlich, daß die persischen Könige, die mit den Byzantinern ständig auf Kriegsfuß lebten, den bedrängten Nestorianern in ihrem Reiche Aufnahme gewährten und mit oder ohne Absicht eine Prävalenz des nestorianischen Glaubensbekenntnisses unter ihren christlichen Untertanen herbeiführten. Die Folge davon war, daß sich die Majorität der persischen Bischöfe auf der Synode zu Beth-Lapat (484) für die Lehre des Nestorius entschied. Gewiß, nach unseren abendländischen Anschauungen wäre die Lehre des Nestorius noch lange kein Grund zur Separation gewesen. Denn, wie die katholische Großkirche,

bekannte auch Nestorius, daß „Jesus Christus, wahrhaftiger Gott, vom Vater in Ewigkeit geboren, und auch wahrhaftiger Mensch, von der Jungfrau Maria geboren.“ Nur zur Erklärung des Verhältnisses der göttlichen und menschlichen Natur in Christo wählte er andere Ausdrücke als die herrschende Theologie, sodaß er nicht nur von zwei Naturen, sondern auch von zwei Personen in Christo sprach. Aber für eine Zeit, die den Unterschied zwischen Theologie und einfältigem Glauben noch nicht kannte und alle Aussagen

des gläubigen Gemütes in die Begriffe der griechischen Philosophie einfangen und an ihnen messen wollte, waren die Formulierungen des Nestorius eine unerträgliche Blasphemie. Da außerdem die Synode zu Beth-Lapat sich im Gegensatz zur allegorischen Schriftauslegung der katholischen Kirche für die grammatisch-historische Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia

entschied, auch die Priesterehe für alle Zeiten als göttliches Recht anerkannte, so war die Kluft zwischen der nestorianischen und katholischen Kirche unüberbrückbar geworden.

Die Bedingungen für ein reiches kirchliches und persönliches Christentum waren in der jungen nestorianischen Kirche außerordentlich günstig. Man vergesse doch nicht, daß diese Kirche eine Märtyrerkirche war, eine Kirche, die um ihres nestorianischen Bekenntnisses willen von der katholischen Großkirche, um ihres christlichen Glaubens willen von der heidnischen persischen Regierung verfolgt wurde. Während die katholische Kirche in der Gunst der byzantinischen Kaiser sich sonnte, verweilte, entartete, verweltlichte, ward diese Kirche, stand's richtig mit ihr, gerade durch ihre Verfolgungen immer wieder zu sich selbst, und damit zu Dem getrieben, der gesagt hat: „Siehe, Ich bin bei euch alle Tage bis an der Welt Ende.“ Welch eine wunderbare Bewahrung vor Entartung und Verweltlichung.

Dazu kam noch ein zweites: Die junge nestorianische Kirche hatte noch von den Tagen ihrer katholischen Vergangenheit her nicht nur alle ihre Gottesdienste, sondern auch die Bibel in der allgemein verständlichen syrischen Sprache. Jeder junge Nestorianer, der einen geordneten Schul-

unterricht besuchte, lernte schon in seinem ersten Schuljahre den Psalter anwendig, vertiefte sich dann in die Evangelien, in die Apostelgeschichte und in die Episteln — alles in der Muttersprache. Ja, selbst die große Menge des Volkes, die des Lesens unkundig war, kam doch wenigstens in den Gottesdiensten durch Liturgie, Schriftlektion und Predigt unter den Schall des Wortes Gottes. Nur wer davon gehört hat, wie unser armes deutsches Volk im Mittelalter unter der Last der lateinischen Kirchensprache geseufzt hat, vermag auch zu



Ein von den Kurden ermordeter syrischer Bischof.

ermessen, welche Segensströme von der Bibel in der Volkssprache auszugehen vermögen.

Zu alledem kam endlich auch im Gegensatz zu den oft recht faulen Früchten des erzwungenen Eölibats der katholischen Kirche das weithin wirkende Vorbild eines christlichen Familienlebens in den nestorianischen Priesterfamilien. —

Und in der Tat, die nestorianische Kirche hat noch im früheren Mittelalter ein geistiges und geistliches Leben gezeitigt, wie es in anderen Kirchen für jene Zeit vergeblich gesucht wird. Bis ins 6. Jahrhundert hinein hat sie dank des erhabenen Vorbildes, das sie sich in dem erhabenen Schriftausleger Theodor von Mopsnestia gesteckt hatte, einen Eifer in der Erforschung der heiligen Schrift an den Tag gelegt, wie er sonst nur in protestantischen Ländern gefunden wird. So wird z. B. heute noch, was die Hochschule zu Nisibis (Persien) in Männern wie Narses, Ramjesu, Johannes und Abraham von Beth-Rabban zur Ueberlieferung und Erforschung des syrischen Bibeltextes geleistet hat, von evangelischen Gelehrten bewundert und der Bearbeitung für wert erachtet.

Sodann um 600 drang der Patriarch Jesudad III. darauf, daß das alte nestorianische Taufritual, daß früher bei der Taufe Erwachsener angewandt worden war, sich aber seit der Einführung der Kindertaufe als vollkommen ungeeignet herausgestellt hatte, durch ein neues, eigens für den Zweck der Kindertaufe geschaffenes Ritual ersetzt wurde. Wenn man bedenkt, daß im Abendlande heute noch vielfach in einer unbegreiflichen Ueberschätzung der Kindertaufe nach alten Ritualen Erwachsene für Kinder gefragt werden, ob sie dem Teufel und seinem bösen Wesen enttügen und nun ihren christlichen Glauben bekennen wollen, wahrlich, dann kann man dieses liturgische Reformationswerk Jesudad III. nicht hoch genug anschlagen.

In den folgenden Jahrhunderten sind die Nestorianer als Glaubensboten in die Heidenwelt hinausgegangen. Bis nach China sind sie vorgedrungen, wie ein in Singanfu aufgefundenes, mit syrischen Schriftzügen bedecktes Grabdenkmal bewiesen hat. Aber welch ein Unterschied in der Missionspraxis! Während Karl der Große im Auftrage und unter der Billigung der katholischen Kirche die heidnischen Sachsen mit Peitschen in den Fluß treibt und jeden, der sich solch einer Taufe weigert, mit dem Schwerte hinrichten läßt, gründen die nestorianischen Kaufleute an der Ostküste von Indien christliche Schulen und Gotteshäuser und sammeln die Bewohner von Malabar um die syrische Kirchenbibel. —

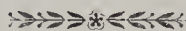
Aber freilich auch die nestorianische Kirche ist dem allgemeinen Schicksal der orientalischen Kirchen, dem vollständigen geistlichen Tode, verfallen. Seitdem Hanana von Udiabene die Verwerfung der Kommentare des Theodor von Mopsnestia und der Mönchsorden der Messalianer die Einführung der katholischen Christologie forderte (6.—9. Jahrhundert), seitdem haben die inneren Streitigkeiten nicht aufgehört. Zu dem Gezänk der Theologen kamen die Rangstreitigkeiten der Priester und Kirchenfürsten, die im Wettrennen um die Gunst der Regierung einer dem andern den Rang ablaufen wollten und dabei die Kirche der Verachtung und Mißhandlung von seiten der Moslim auslieferten. Das arme Volk aber verkam dabei im geistlichen Hunger, weil kein Mensch es der Mühe für wert hielt, die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte unverständlich gewordene Liturgie und Bibel in die allein verständliche neue syrische Volkssprache zu übersetzen. Als endlich die Kirche

sich soweit wegwarf, daß sie sich die Zusicherung der Duldung von der mohammedanischen Obrigkeit erkaufte, mit der Verzichtleistung auf jede Missionstätigkeit unter den Moslim, da hat sich das Wort des Herrn von dem dummen gewordenen Salz erfüllt: „Es ist zu nichts hinfort nütze, denn daß man es hinausgütte und lasse es die Leute zertreten.“ Die nestorianische Kirche ist von Arabern, Mongolen, Türken und Kurden buchstäblich zertreten worden. Und nun? Ihre Priester, kaum noch imstande, die selbst ihnen unverständlich gewordenen syrischen Liturgien herunterzuleiern, leben in Unwissenheit und Aberglauben dahin. Können auch Blinde Blindenleiter sein? Ihre Laien sind unter den alljährlich wiederkehrenden Raubzügen und Massakres der Kurden so eingeschüchtert und knechtiselig geworden, daß sie in ihrem viehischen Stumpfsinn, in ihrem Schmutz und Ungeziefer kaum noch das Elend ihrer Lage empfinden. Das ganze Christentum der Nestorianer ist ein in unverständlichen Formeln und toten Zeremonien sich betätigendes Heidentum, die nestorianische Kirche ein Objekt der äußeren Mission geworden.

Was ist bisher zur Wiederbelebung des toten, kaum noch $\frac{1}{4}$ Million Glieder zählenden Organismus geschehen? Viel, vielleicht schon zuviel, wenn man bedenkt, daß die mancherlei großen und kleinen Missionsgesellschaften im Wettbewerb um die syrische Christenheit in unwürdiger Proselytenmacherei*) und ehrlicher Missionsarbeit oft mehr zur Korruption als zur Reformation der nestorianischen Christenheit beigetragen haben. Wenig, sehr wenig, wenn man bedenkt, daß die einzige ausgesprochene Freundin der nestorianischen Kirche, die Assyrian Mission des Erzbischofs von Canterbury, an der man so gern den feinen historischen Sinn, die sorgfältige Anknüpfung an die Vergangenheit und die kraftvolle Stärkung des gegenwärtigen nestorianischen Kirchenregiments bewundert, mit ihren hochkirchlichen katholisierenden Tendenzen dem Evangelium unter den Nestorianern oft mehr zur Hemmung als zur Förderung gereicht.

Was also könnte noch getan werden? Nichts, was nach Gründung einer neuen Missionsgesellschaft aussehen könnte. Das hieße nicht nur unsere evangelischen Kräfte zersplittern, das hieße auch den bestehenden Missionsgesellschaften eine unnütze Konkurrenz bereiten und dadurch mehr zur Korruption als zur Reformation der Nestorianer beitragen. Vielmehr glaubt man einen Mann gefunden zu haben, der imstande ist, mit warmem Herzen und klarem Kopfe, im Rahmen der nestorianischen Kirche und doch auch im Geiste der Reformation eine Missionsarbeit in die Hand zu nehmen, so sammle man einen Freundeskreis, der bereit ist, diesen Mann innerlich und äußerlich auszurüsten und dann auch auszusenden und zu unterhalten. Jede verständige Missionsgesellschaft, die in nicht allzu großer ferne von der neu zu errichtenden Missionsstation bereits ein Arbeitsfeld besitzt, wird gern die Aufsicht über einen fleißigen, tüchtigen jungen Pionier des Evangeliums übernehmen, da ja keine finanziellen Opfer von ihr gefordert werden, sondern lediglich die Angliederung eines neuen, mit gewissen Reservatrechten ausgestatteten Missionszweiges erbeten wird.

*) Ich denke hier nur an die römischen und griechischen Katholiken. Unter den protestantischen Missionsgesellschaften haben allerdings auch die amerikanischen es oft genug an Verständnis für die historisch gewordene Größe der nestorianischen Kirche fehlen lassen. Aber die Lepsius'sche Orientmission, die ja auch nestorianische Waisenfinder in ihrem Urmiaer Erziehungshause aufnimmt, handelt durchaus korrekt, wenn sie diese Kinder nach Abschluß der Erziehung als Saat auf Hoffnung an ihre Mutterkirche zurückgibt.



Den Unterzeichnern des Aufrufes zu Gunsten der nestorianischen Kirche und ihren Freunden.

1. Bericht über die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 15. August 1904.

Wie unseren Freunden bekannt ist, erschien im Anfang dieses Jahres ein Aufruf zu Gunsten der nestorianischen Kirche in Kurdistan. Ein junger nestorianischer Lektor, Thoma Keleita, der in Urmia (Persien) das anglikanische Seminar zur Ausbildung von syrischen Geistlichen absolviert und im

Hause von Pfarrer Höppener in Bandelow (Pommern) die deutsche Sprache erlernt hatte, sollte zunächst in Berlin für eine evangelische Wortverkündigung tüchtig gemacht und dann für seine künftige Missionstätigkeit in Kurdistan mit einem Schul- und Bethaus in Targawar beschenkt werden. Da die Unterzeichner des Aufrufes sich gleich von vornherein einig

waren, nicht etwa eine neue Missionsgesellschaft zu gründen, sondern sich, sobald das geplante Hilfswerk inszeniert wäre, mit irgend einer der bestehenden Missionsgesellschaften zu vereinigen, die bereit sein würde, ähnlich wie die erzbischöfliche anglikanische Mission im Rahmen der geschichtlich gewordenen nestorianischen Kirche zu arbeiten, so hat der Aufruf namentlich in Berlin und Pommern eine außerordentlich günstige Aufnahme gefunden. Es liefen in der Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 15. August 1904 1391,42 Mk. beim Schatzmeister, Kaufmann Thiele, Berlin, Turmstr. 4, ein, die zum Teil zur Unterhaltung und Ausbildung des jungen Nestorianers verwandt, zum Teil (650 Mk.) als Fonds für den künftigen Hausbau in Targawar deponiert wurden. Da von verschiedenen Seiten die Befürchtung ausgesprochen wurde, es möchte sich die nestorianische Kirche weigern, einen im Geiste der abendländischen Reformation ausgebildeten jungen Mann für ein geistliches Amt zu ordinieren, hat man sich an den in Kudschanis residierenden Patriarchen der Nestorianer, Mar Schimun, mit der Bitte um Aufschluß über seine Stellung zu dem geplanten Hilfswerke gewandt. Der junge Patriarch, der unter dem ständigen Einflusse des feingebildeten anglikanischen Geistlichen, Rev. Browne, steht, hat darauf sofort durch seinen Sekretär ein in altsyrischer Sprache gehaltenes Schreiben an die Unterzeichner des genannten Aufrufes geschickt und nicht nur seinen Dank für die in Aussicht gestellte Hilfe, sondern auch seine Bereitwilligkeit zur Erteilung der Ordination ausdrücken lassen. Thoma Keleita hat in diesem Sommersemester schon theologische Vorlesungen der Berliner Universität gehört und auch sonst sich durch Beteiligung am kirchlichen Leben Berlins zu fördern versucht. Falls seine Ausbildung im Wintersemester wie bisher fortschreitet, soll er im Frühjahr nach einem Aufenthalt von 2½ Jahren in Deutschland zur Aufnahme seines Missionswerkes nach Kurdistan zurückgesandt werden.

2. Keleita's erste Vortragsreise durch Mittel- und Westdeutschland.

Thoma Keleita hat die Zeit seiner großen Ferien dazu benutzt, Freunde für die nestorianische Kirche und das an ihr geplante Missionswerk zu sammeln. Er unternahm zu diesem Zweck eine Vortragsreise durch den mittleren und westlichen Teil unseres Vaterlandes. Die freundliche Aufnahme, die er dabei gefunden hat, überstieg alle unsere Erwartungen. Eingedenk des Wortes des Hebräerbriefes: „Gastfrei zu sein, vergesset nicht“, haben viele Laien (Frau Dr. Haring-Halle a. S., Direktor Koch-Hanau, Dr. Limbert-Düsseldorf, Regierungsrat Dr. Linz-Darmstadt) und Pastoren dem kurdischen Fremdling Unterkunft und freitisch gewährt. Von den letzteren seien genannt: P. Horn-Naumburg, Archidiaconus Dr. Auffahrt-Jena, Hofprediger Dilthey-Weimar, P. Boesner-Erfurt, Direktor Huppenbauer-Freudenstadt, P. Kirchner-Frankfurt, Dekan Benemann-Worms, P. Seeger-Coblenz, P. Gies-Godesberg, Superintendent Stursberg u. P. Kremers-Bonn, P. Schumacher-Düsseldorf, P. Bode-Ruhrort, P. Klingenburger-Mühlheim a. Ruhr, P. Cörlies-Essen-Alten-dorf, P. Huyssen-Essen a. Ruhr, P. Papenbrock-Langenberg, P. Geysler-Elberfeld, P. Tetzlaff-Solingen, P. Ikerott-Perleberg.

Zahlreiche Leiter christlicher Vereine und Gemeinschaften beriefen größere oder kleinere Versammlungen, um Keleita zu Worte kommen zu lassen über „Die nestorianische Kirche in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart“ oder über „Religiöse und kulturelle Verhältnisse in Kurdistan“, z. B. die Herren Peglow in Halle a. S., Oberlehrer Dietrich in Stuttgart, Vogt in Frankfurt a. M. u. s. w.

Besonderen Dank schulden wir dem Herrn General-superintendenten D. Umbeck, der Keleita mit einem freundlichen Empfehlungsschreiben ausrüstete. Sicher verdanken wir's vor allem diesem wertvollen Schreiben, daß gerade in der Rheinprovinz so viele Geistliche ihre dauernde Mitarbeit an unserer Sache in Aussicht stellten. Indes auch außerhalb der Rheinprovinz haben wir viele Freunde gefunden. Wir nennen nur noch den jungen Dr. Hilgenfeld in Jena, der

sich erst jüngst durch eine Uebersetzung und Bearbeitung der Gedichte des Mar Giwargis von Arbela als einen trefflichen Kenner der syrischen Sprache und Literatur in gelehrten Kreisen eingeführt hat. Die Stimmung, in die man in Jena durch Keleita's Vortrag versetzt wurde, spiegelt am besten ein aus der Feder des Archidiaconus Dr. Auffarth stammender Artikel der Jenaischen Zeitung wieder, den wir hier folgen lassen.

3. Die Jenaische Zeitung vom 16. September 1904.

Die Christen in Kurdistan.

Zu dem Vortrage des Herrn Thoma Keleita am Montag Abend schreibt uns ein Leser:

„Der Vortrag des Herrn Thoma Keleita im „Burgkeller“ über die Verhältnisse in Kurdistan war höchst anschaulich und und lehrreich. Er ließ uns einen tiefen Blick tun in die große Not der Christen, die unter dem Halbmond schmachten. Es wird da begreiflich, daß die Aufstände gegen die türkische Verwaltung kein Ende nehmen, bis die Türken endlich mit Gottes Hilfe aus Europa hinausgeworfen sind. Wir beglückwünschen alle die Völkerschaften, die sich bereits von der türkischen Mißregierung befreit haben, und geben gern reichliche Spenden für jene Not, in dankbarem Gefühl, wie gut wir es unter christlichem Regiment dagegen haben.“

Allein es ist doch augenscheinlich, daß den nestorianischen Christen in Asien dadurch noch nicht geholfen ist, daß wir ihnen das Christentum bringen, daß wir ihnen Schulen und Bethäuser erbauen helfen, damit ihre Jugend im Protestantismus erzogen wird. Wer bürgt uns dafür, daß unsere Unterstützungen nicht morgen wieder ihren Ausplünderern und Peinigern zur Beute fallen und ihre Schulen angezündet und vernichtet werden? Wenn die deutschen Gaben für diese christlichen Zwecke helfen sollen, so muß der Kaiser dafür interessiert werden, daß die Christen in Kurdistan der Anfänge einer christlichen Kultur sicher sind; sonst geben wir offenbar nur zu Gunsten derer, die sie morgen wieder ausplündern. Deshalb richten wir an die freundlichen Veranstalter der Versammlung im „Burgkeller“ die Bitte, Schritte tun zu wollen, daß der Kaiser von jener Not erfährt.“

Diese dankenswerte Zuschrift gibt uns willkommene Gelegenheit, auf einige Fragen zu antworten, die wohl jedem der Zuhörer aufgestiegen sind. In privater Unterhaltung wurde Herr Keleita über die hier berührten Punkte befragt. Er antwortete darauf, daß für die Errichtung von Schul- und Bethäusern feste Orte, zunächst in Targawar, ausgesucht werden würden, die den Angriffen der räuberischen Kurden zu widerstehen vermöchten. Auf den Schutz einer Nacht aber wäre vor der Hand nicht zu rechnen, denn die Nestorianer seien durch ihre elende Lage so heruntergekommen, daß ihr Christentum herabgesunken sei auf einige unverstandene, von unwissenden Priestern gedankenlos ausgeübte, rein äußerliche Förmlichkeiten und Gebräuche. Diebstahl, Raub und Mord sei auch unter ihnen an der Tagesordnung, und so tief gesunken sei sein Volk, daß der Nachbar nicht daran denke, dem bedrängten Glaubensgenossen zu helfen, sondern sich sogar an dessen Unglück freue, weil er unter Umständen für sich einen Vorteil daraus zu erlangen hoffe.

So lange das unglückliche Volk in dieser furchtbaren physischen und moralischen Verkommenheit lebe, sei auf Schutz und Hilfe von irgend einer Seite nicht zu hoffen. Nur langsam und mit nie erlahmender Geduld dürfe man hoffen, eine Besserung dieser trostlosen Zustände herbeizuführen. Dazu solle zunächst dem Volke wieder das wahre Christentum in Erinnerung gebracht werden, wie es seine Väter besaßen hätten und die Kinder sollten durch regelmäßigen Unterricht aus der Nacht der Unwissenheit emporgehoben werden. Dadurch werde man das Volk erziehen und erst, wenn dies erreicht sei, dürfe man auch hoffen, daß es die Kraft finden werde, sich seiner Peiniger zu erwehren, und daß es den Schutz einer Großmacht finden werde, dessen es zu seiner weiteren Entwicklung bedarf.

Man sieht, daß es eine gewaltige Arbeit ist, die des 25 jährigen Jünglings harret, und man wird mit Bewunderung erfüllt für die glühende Begeisterung, mit der man an die Lösung der Aufgabe herantreten ist. Da seine eigene Kraft aber nicht ausreicht, das Riesenwerk zu vollbringen, so hat

er sich aufgemacht, um den Christen im Abendlande die Not und Bedrängnis seines Volkes zu schildern und ihr Herz zu rühren, damit sie ihm helfen in seinem Kampfe. Möge seine Zuversicht nicht enttäuscht werden und seine Begeisterung überall so warmes Verständnis finden, wie hiea in Jena!



Antworten auf zwei briefliche Anfragen aus unserem Freundeskreis.

1. Der verstorbene Erzbischof Benson von Canterbury über die Erziehung der Nestorianer.

Daß die Idee, junge Syrer im Geiste der Reformation für geistliche Aemter der nestorianischen Kirche tüchtig zu machen, den dringendsten Bedürfnissen dieser Kirche entspricht, hat niemand besser erkannt, als der verstorbene Erzbischof von Canterbury. Aus zwei Briefen, die dieser gründliche Kenner und aufrichtige Freund der nestorianischen Kirche an die Leiter der anglikanischen Assyrian Mission geschrieben hat, seien folgende kurze Bemerkungen hier zusammengestellt.

Addington Park, 26. Sept. 1895.

.... „Wir müssen vor allem darauf bedacht sein, daß geistige Niveau der nestorianischen Kirche und Nation zu heben. Das ist zunächst nur erreichbar durch Erziehung eines Kernes, eines heiligen Abhubs, zu höheren Ideen, zu einem Leben in Rechtschaffenheit, Vaterlandsliebe, Wahrhaftigkeit, Begeisterung und Hoffnung. Sie werden lächeln, wenn Sie das lesen im Blick auf Ihr Material. Aber Sie müssen den Dingen auf den Grund sehen und sich fragen, warum Sie drau ßen stehen in Ihrem selbstverleugnenden Dienst des Herrn. Sie müssen sich die Leute anschauen, die Sie erziehen wollen, Sie müssen mit der letzten Verheißung (Matth. 28) rechnen, Sie müssen sich die Geeigneten herauspicken und Ihre mächtigsten Einflüsse auf diese konzentrieren. Können wir keine Diakonen bilden, welche die Dörfer bearbeiten, keine Priester, welche das Vorbild Christi predigen und darstellen, keine Bischöfe wie Cyprian, dann werden wir vielleicht viel Gutes getan haben, aber nicht das Gute. . . . Unsere Hoffnung geht dahin, gute Männer und Frauen zu schaffen, gesunde Seelen, deren Religion sie treu macht. Erst wenn ein junger Nestorianer vor dem heiligen Ehrgeiz befeelt ist, Wahrheit und Ehre auszubreiten, dürfen wir etwas für diese zertretene Nation erhoffen. Der Ehrgeiz, das Gehalt eines Missionars zu bekommen, mag ja auch seinen Wert haben, aber ich muß immer wieder daran denken, daß unser eigentliches Ziel die Auswahl und Entwicklung der besten, selbstlosen Charaktere sein muß. Schaffen Sie zwei oder drei solche junge Männer, dann wird das Volk ganz von selbst sagen: „Die sollen unsere Bischöfe sein.“ Ich glaube nicht, daß das über unsere Kraft geht. Glaube ich das, dann hätte ich Ihre Mission weder ins Leben gerufen noch gefördert. Wenn wir hoch zielen, dann werden wir wenigstens die Mitte der Scheibe treffen. Wenn wir nur auf die Mitte zielen, dann gehen unsere Pfeile sicher unter die Mitte. Gott sei mit Ihnen Allen! Er stärke und segne Sie! Er erhalte Ihnen den Frieden und die Liebe! Er mache Sie einig und verherrliche Seinen Sohn in Ihnen! Ihr Ihnen zugetaner und ergebener Vater in Christo“

Eduardus Cantuariensis.

Addington Park, 26. Dez. 1895.

„Mit der Ausfendung unsrer Mission zu den „Assyrern“ wollen wir den Nöten begegnen, die sie selbst am meisten fühlen. Der Unwissenheit der Priesterschaft und ihrer Unfähigkeit, das Volk zu erziehen, wollten wir abhelfen. Die Erziehung von Priestern, Diakonen und anderen maßgebenden Personen war und ist also unsere vornehmste Aufgabe. Außerdem freilich müssen wir auch versuchen, mit denen fertig zu werden, die praktische Berufe erlernen sollen, oder sich wohl zur Ausbildung für ein Kirchen- und Schulamt anbieten, aber in Folge mangelnder Gaben für solch ein Amt durchaus ungeeignet sind. Zur Lösung dieser doppelten Aufgabe haben wir eine Hochschule in Urmiah und einige Dorfschulen eröffnet. Aber es scheint, daß wir uns vorläufig mehr auf die erste Aufgabe konzentrieren sollten, wenn anders wir für die Erziehung der Kirche und Nation etwas Bleibendes schaffen wollten. . . .

- I. In Urmiah sollte eine Hochschule im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes sein. Sie sollte nur wenig Schüler haben, nur solche, von denen man annehmen darf, daß sie einmal Lehrer, Diakonen und Priester werden könnten. Ungeeignete sollten hier nicht länger geduldet werden.
- II. Außerdem sollten wir eine große Zahl von Dorfschulen haben. In diesen sollten diejenigen unterrichten, die wir in Urmiah erzogen haben.“

Eduardus Cantuariensis.

2. Der gegenwärtige Patriarch der Nestorianer.

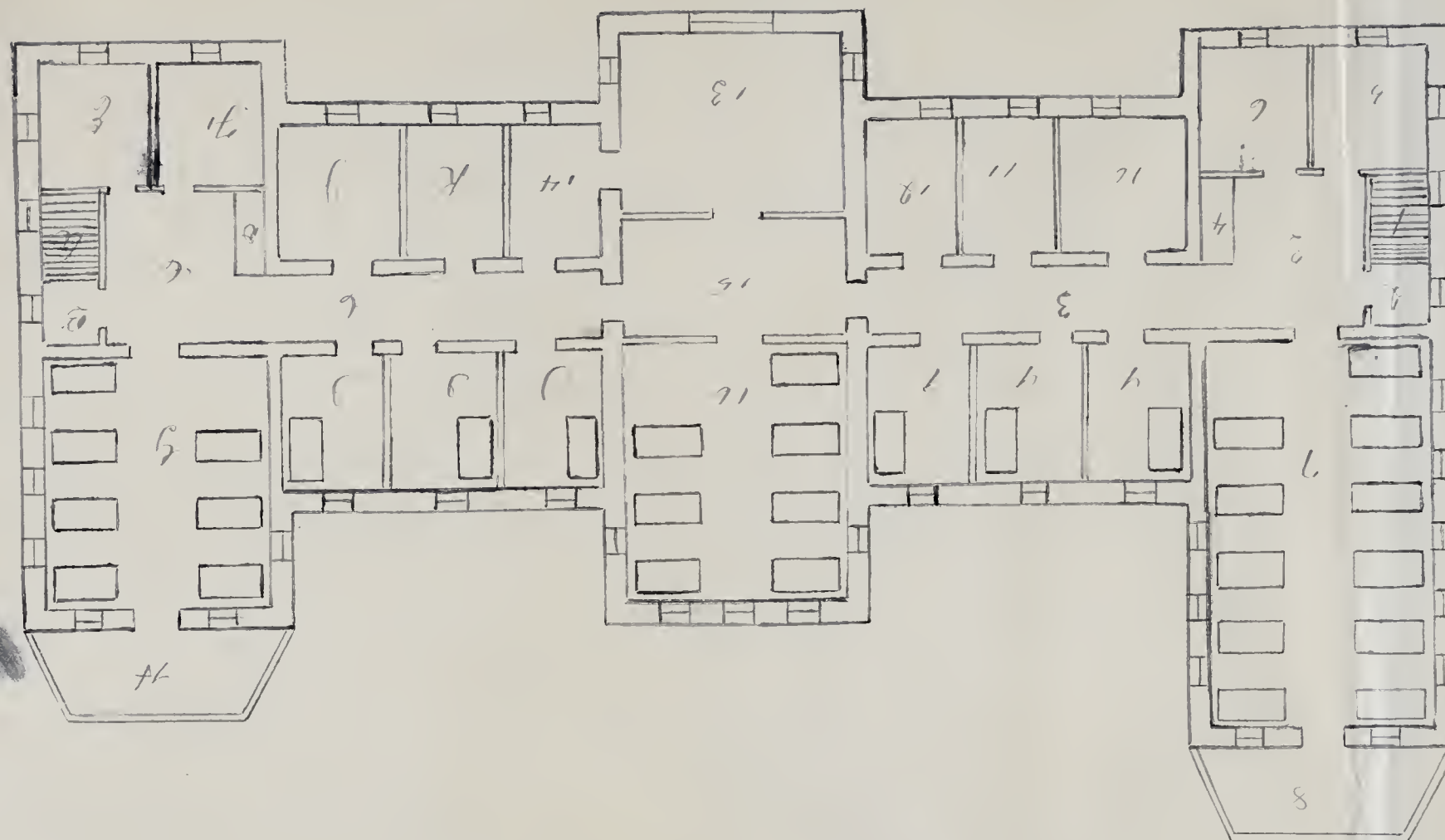
Am 29. März 1903 hatte der Patriarch Kenil, Mar Schimun in seiner Residenz Kudschanis im Alter von 61 Jahren seine Augen geschlossen. Sein Nachfolger war schon längst bestimmt. Schon am 15. März desselben Jahres, als der schwer erkrankte Kirchenfürst sein Ende herannahen fühlte, hatte er seinen ältesten Neffen, den Sohn seines Bruders, zum Bischof und Metropolitani ordiniert und damit zum Nachfolger im Patriarchat prädestiniert. So war es nur noch eine leere Form, wenn der zweithöchste Geistliche der nestorianischen Kirche von Schamsdin nach Kudschanis hinaufzog und am 12. April 1903 Benjamin, Mar Schimun, zum Katholikos und Patriarchen ordinierte. Der neue Katholikos, der 138. in der langen Reihe der nestorianischen Patriarchen, der 14. von denen, die in Kudschanis residieren haben, war erst siebzehn Jahre alt, als er unter ausdrücklicher Anerkennung von Seiten der Pforte zum bürgerlichen und kirchlichen Herrscher seines Volkes berufen wurde. Gewiß wäre es besser gewesen, wenn die Assyrian-Mission des Erzbischofs von Canterbury die Wahl solch eines Jünglings für solch ein bedeutendes Amt hätte verhindern können. Aber da erstens die ganze Sippe des jungen Patriarchen, zweitens die beiden hervorragenden Stämme der Nestorianer (Chuma und Tary), drittens die in Betracht kommenden Kurden, viertens sogar der Sultan, aus dessen Kasse der Katholikos ein Jahrgeld bezieht, diese Wahl forderten, so war jeder Widerspruch von vornherein aussichtslos. Das Beste, was die Assyrian-Mission tun konnte, war, die Wahl des Jünglings anzuerkennen und sich dadurch einen Einfluß auf weitere Erziehung und Leitung zu sichern. Da der neue Patriarch ein freundlicher, aufrichtiger, intelligenter Jüngling ist und sich der Leitung und dem Unterricht des anglikanischen Missionsgeistlichen W. H. Browne, eines gründlichen Kenners der nestorianischen Literatur und Kirche, vertrauensvoll hingibt, auch nach den letzten Zeugnissen aus Kurdistan schon gute Fortschritte in seinen theologischen Studien gemacht hat, so darf man sich wohl der Hoffnung hingeben, daß er mit der Zeit in die großen Aufgaben seines Amtes hineinwächst. „Du aber, Herr, sende Dein Licht und Deine Wahrheit, daß sie ihn leiten zu Deinem heiligen Berge und zu Deiner Wohnung!“

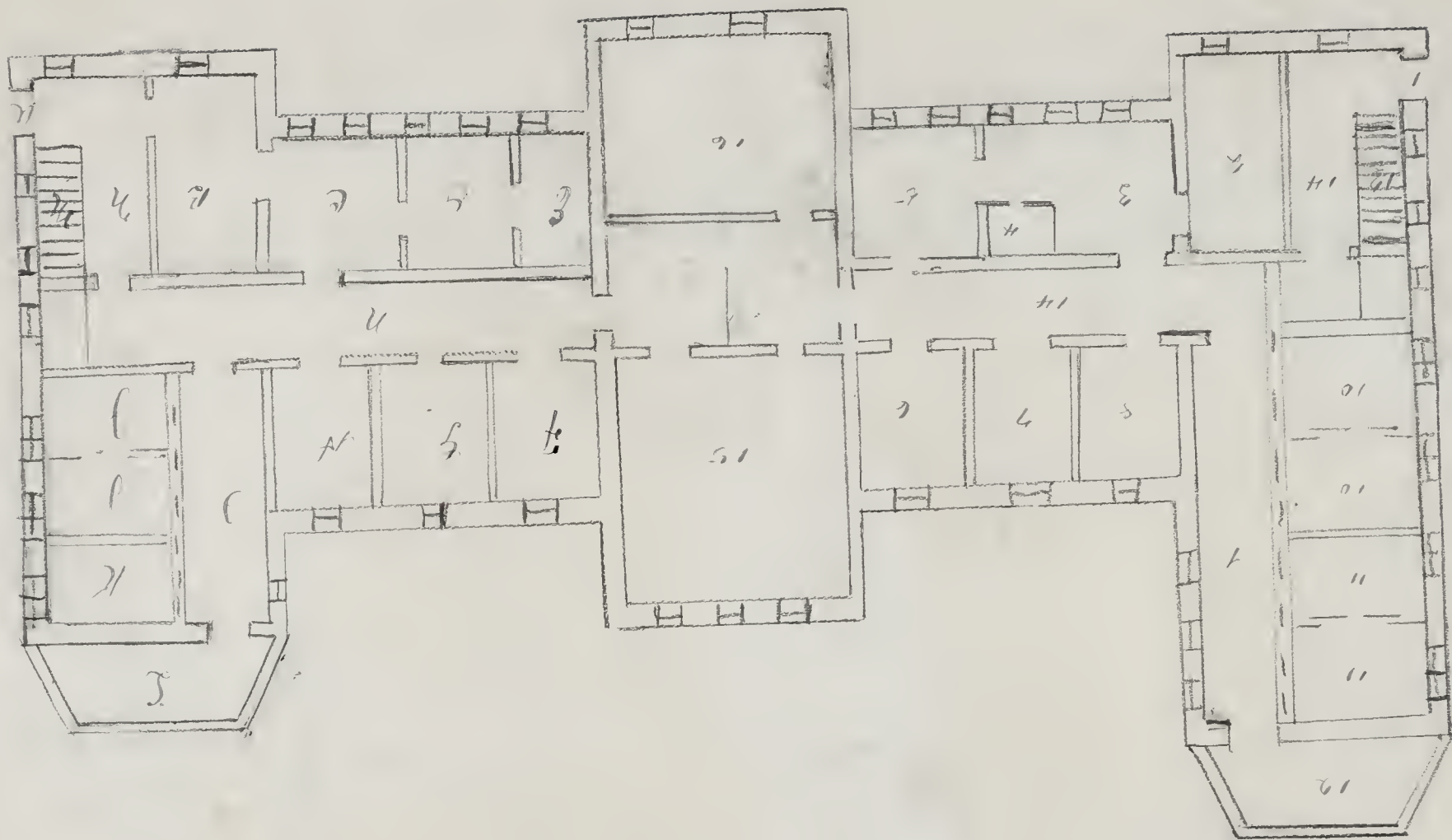
Was haben wir zunächst zu tun?

Unser Freund Keleita hört in diesem Wintersemester 1904/5 noch einige Vorlesungen über biblische Einleitungswissenschaft, Kirchengeschichte und praktische Theologie an der Berliner Universität. Ostern, spätestens Michaelis 1905 soll er, so Gott will, in seine Heimat zurückkehren, um in Verbindung mit seinem Kirchenregiment ein Grundstück für ein Schul- und Bethaus in Targawar zu erwerben und den Bau des Hauses zu beginnen. Daß die 2500 Mark, die wir bis jetzt dank der ertragreichen Kollektentreise durch Mittel- und Westdeutschland auf der Bank deponieren konnten, für das geplante Werk keine ausreichende Unterstützung bedeuten, liegt an der Hand. Möchten unsere Freunde sich überall bemühen, Keleita Gelegenheit zu Vorträgen zu verschaffen und also an ihrem Teil zur Förderung des geplanten Werkes mit beitragen.

Alle Geldsendungen nimmt gegen Quittung unser Kassensführer, Herr Kaufmann C. Thiele, N.W., Turmstr. 4, entgegen. Von ihm können auch Sammelbüchsen bezogen werden.

Sonstige Anfragen beantwortet P. Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich, Berlin N.W., Turmstr. 78.





General plan. Scale 1 inch equals 10 feet.

The hospital is a double one, one side being for men and the other for women, but as there are more male than female patients, a part of the central portion has been assigned to the male patients, the rest of the centre being for the general use of either side. The general ward for men also is larger than that for women.

The building may be described as consisting of one story and a basement or two stories according to the point of view, the lower story or basement having only ten feet ceilings while the upper has twelve feet.

The entrance for men is at the end of the men's side (left side of plan) and that for women at the end of the women's side. This completely prevents any difficulty that might arise were the two entrances near together in the central portion.

As the plan now stands it is arranged to suit the site of the present hospital, but if we have to choose another locality, its shape or the position of the wards etc. may have to be changed to suit the points of the compass and the shape of the site.

This plan is intended to accommodate 71 patients on the upper floor - 21 male and 10 female, and on the lower floor 7 patients - 4 male and three female, in addition to which are the two recreation wards, making a total of some 36 or 40 beds; but in case of need some twenty or more additional could be taken in by placing two in each private ward and two in each Korean room. But the building is not simply a hospital; it includes a double set of dispensaries with waiting rooms etc.

Men's side.

1. Men's entrance leading into hall.
2. Men's waiting room 9 x 16 ft.
3. Consultation room 12 x 16 ft. except for the
4. Dark room for examination of eyes with ophthalmoscope etc.
1 x 6 feet.
5. Dispensary, where medicines are prepared and given out.
6. Drug store room, 9 x 12 feet.
7. Bath room for lower flat and where patients are cleaned
before being placed in the wards, 9 x 12 ft.
8. Reception ward, where in-patients are placed when first
admitted until they have been prepared for the regular
ward. This will enable us to keep the other wards clean
and free from infection, 9 x 12 feet.
9. 10. 11. Hall and wards built Korean style, only more sub-
stantially. Some patients will prefer Korean rooms and
besides, sometimes several friends or a whole family come
with a patient and want to stay with him. As this brings
the whole family under instruction, we do not object if
they supply themselves with food and fuel. For this reason
the Korean rooms are arranged in pairs which open into
each other by sliding doors so that the patient may occupy
one room and the friends the one adjoining.
12. Verandah, enclosed by glass windows in winter and forming
a small solarium 8 ft. wide.
13. Stairway leading to first floor, 4 feet wide.
14. Hallway, 6 feet wide.
15. Chapel and school room 20 x 32 ft. with separate doors for
men and women. When both sexes meet together a screen will

3.
be run down the centre.

16. Furnace room 12 x 20 feet .

beds, instead of 61, are placed on women's side
rooms, the arrangement being the same as on the men's side.

A. B. C. D. E. as on men's side.

F. Drug store room.

G. Bath room.

H. Reception pass ward.

I. Unassigned yet.

J. K. L. M. N. O. as on men's side.

First Floor.

Men's side.

1. Stairway leading up from ground floor.

2. Landing at head of stairs large enough for stretcher on
which patients may be carried up to wards or operating room.

3. Hallway.

4. Linen cupboard 7 x 2 feet.

5. Doctor's private room, 11 x 11 feet.

6. Unassigned yet, but can be used for supplies et. ctc. or
an extra ward 6 1/2 x 11 ft.

7. General ward for men 22 x 24 feet.

The oblongs mark the space occupied by beds so that it will
accommodate 11 beds with a space between them of 3 ft. or
the width of one bed.

The aisle down the centre is 7 ft. wide.

The vacant space in the right hand corner is for medicine
cupboard, table, etc.

8. Solarium like one on ground floor.

9. 9. 9. Private wards 9 x 12 feet, in which one or two beds can

4.

be placed as necessary. These can be used, if occasion requires for foreign patients also and the revenues of the hospital thereby increased. The increasing number of foreigners renders such a use of the hospital very probable.

12. Bath room and W. C. 11 x 12 feet.
13. Sterile kitchen, where the nurse will keep her supplies for and prepare the extra dishes required for patients who cannot take the regular Chinese rice diet - such as beef, milk, broths etc. 11 x 12 feet.
14. Nurse's room 8 x 12 feet.
15. Dressing room, 16 x 8 feet. Large windows in front and skylight in roof.
16. Instrument and dressing room 6 x 12 feet.
17. Hallway widened to 11 feet, so as to provide an anesthetic room where patients can be anesthetized before being taken into the operating room where preparations are being made for their operation.

The dotted lines represent screens which can be placed to make it convenient for the use of either side of the hospital.

18. Surgical ward, to be always kept surgically clean where patients will be placed after operation, 22 x 22 ft. will accommodate seven patients.

Women's side.

- A. B. C. D. E. Room to men's side.
- F. Foreign nurse's room.
- G. General ward for women 22 x 22 ft. to accommodate 7 patients.
- H. Solarium.
- I. J. K. Private wards, also one to be used as a surgical ward.

Orange Oct 29th 1905
1763 Day of the 20th century -

Mr Charles Kallaudet Trumbull,

Dear Sir, [From the Oxford Times, England,
January 1888. A missionary meeting was held in
Oxford on Monday evening Nov 28th 87. In the hall
of the St. John's College.

Professor Max Muller, Presiding. In opening the
conference speaking with great beauty and force of the
two classes into which all men as regard natural
disposition may be divided, those who seem to
have eyes for all that is good, and those who seem
to have eyes for all that is bad, "the bright eyed and
the dark eyed". The professor bore testimony to the
value of missionary labour, dwelling upon those aspects
of it most nearly allied to his own special lines
of research, as a student of language, he counted
a large number of Missionaries as his best friends
and helpers. "What indeed would be the science of
" language be without missionaries?" Bishops
" Patterson, Cotton, Colenso, Caldwell, Collaway - all
" have helped me, not only in the study of language, but
" likewise in my study of religion, mythology and folklore.
" Now what has been the of studying the languages of
" so called savages, a study in which missionaries have
" been marked successful pioneers" x x x x x
" The most perfect language in the world Sanskrit
" the sister of Greek and Latin, gave us some new ideas
" about the true history of the human race. It did for philo-
" logy what Copernicus had done for astronomy,

" It gave us a new centre. With regard to other savages
" races different parts of the world we have been taught
" a similar lesson by the missionaries.

" The speech of savages and cannibals has often
" been described as something like grunting of swine
" and the twittering of birds. Even so keen sighted
" an observer as Darwin, when describing the
" language spoken by the wild tribes of Terra del
" Fuego, calls it hardly articulate. Capt Cook he
" adds compared their language "to a man clearing
" his throat" But Darwin out bid even Capt Cook by
" adding "that no European ever cleared his throat
" with so many hoarse, guttural and clinking sounds.
" After this, let us hear what a missionary has to say.
" A missionary who not only paid a flying visit like
" Darwin, but lived among those savages, learned
" their language, and wrote a grammar and
" dictionary of it. I quote from Giacomo Rovi an
" Italian missionary and therefore a good judge,
" of what is harsh or melodious in language.
" He says that the language of those savages consist
" of sweet and pleasing words full of vowels, the
" grammar is as regular and as irregular as that of
" classical languages. At this point Mr Muller
" goes into a discussion as to the number of words used
" in English literature. I have in my den 7 by 10 feet memo
" by the hundred. How I came to credit this one to E. V. B. is to me
" a mystery. I had lost track of it, and when I was informed
" of my blunder have reached for it, under the force of a misstatement
" This P.M. I laid the case before my Father in Heaven. Begging Him to
" direct my search, and in 15 min had my hand upon it in an old
" scrap book torn and dilapidated. The book is without index and has 126 pages -
" I have been exceedingly interested in the S.S. Time of late. J. S. Waterman

[As stated in the Preface, this statement of the Christian Faith and Life is to be issued by the Christian Literature Society. The committee referred to was composed of the following persons: Dr. S. L. Gulick, Mr. W. P. Buncombe, Mr. G. M. Fisher, Dr. S. H. Wainright and Dr. William Imbrie. Copies of the statement are now distributed in order to learn the number of missionaries who personally approve it. When the number is ascertained it will be inserted in the Preface, and the statement will then be published in pamphlet form in both English and Japanese. Those approving the statement are requested to sign and mail the post-card enclosed in time to reach Dr. Gulick not later than March 20th. Members of the Federated Christian Missions in Japan who may not receive copies will kindly inform Dr. Gulick whose present address is Karuizawa. The married ladies are requested to add their signatures to those of their husbands.]

PREFACE

This statement of the Christian Faith and Life is issued by the Christian Literature Society of Japan.

The work of the Society has been defined as follows:—
“The work of the Christian Literature Society of Japan is the production and circulation of Christian literature suited to the needs of both Christian and non-Christian Japanese. Representing the Federated Christian Missions in Japan, the Society is correspondingly catholic in spirit; and neither its members nor those supporting it are to be regarded as necessarily holding all the views presented in books issued.”

The present little volume is the first publication of the Society, and it was prepared at the request of the Society by a committee of five. The work of the committee was done in consultation with a large number of missionaries, and the statement has been approved by (the number to be here inserted). 400

It should be added that this volume is not issued as containing a complete presentation of the Christian faith and life. Those desiring to know more perfectly of Jesus Christ and the life that flows from a true fellowship with him are recommended to seek the personal acquaintance of some Christian pastor or missionary, to read other works presenting the subject more fully, and especially with an open mind seriously to study the Bible.

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND LIFE

Introduction

The year 1912 will always be remembered as the year of the death of Meiji Tenno. The passing of the Emperor has moved the whole nation, and with peculiar force has turned men's minds to the old and ever new problem of the meaning of life and the destiny of man.

The nation in this hour of its bereavement has had the deep sympathy of Christian missionaries; and it is their earnest prayer to God that the reign of his Majesty Emperor Yoshihito may richly fulfil the promise of the name chosen by him for the new era—the Era of Great Righteousness. They also desire to add their testimony to that of Christians of every age and nation that in the Christian religion is to be found the supreme source of comfort in sorrow and of strength in the conflict for righteousness.

On February 25th, 1912, representatives of the Three Religions were invited to meet the Minister of Home Affairs. The purpose of the meeting was to express the conviction of the Government that religion is essential in the life of

a nation; and to urge upon all present, and upon all represented by them, their opportunities and responsibilities. The reasons for grave solicitude on the part of those in authority and of all who have at heart the highest welfare of Japan are clear.

Life in Japan to-day is peculiarly one of spiritual and moral uncertainty, perplexity and peril. To many of the Japanese trained in science, history and the comparative study of religions, the old inherited faiths have lost their power; and they have found no new faith able to stand in the presence of their new knowledge. Far and wide the old standards and sanctions of duty are losing their old authority. Throughout the nation the love of money, quickened into new life by the spirit of commercialism, is strongly reinforcing all the forces of evil in their conflict with the things of the spirit. Without a compass and without an anchor Japan is drifting into perilous waters.

In Japan, as in every land, the fundamental problems are those of ideals, moral sanctions, eternal verities; the problems of God and man, and of what God requires of men and of nations. In the face of these problems Christianity proclaims Jesus Christ, the Light of the World.

It is with these thoughts in mind that the present brief statement of the Christian Faith and Life has been prepared.

Jesus the Christ

Jesus appeared in the world nineteen hundred years ago. By birth he was a Jew, and he was born to all the treasures of the Jewish religion. In the Jewish religion Christianity was foreshadowed. In truth Christianity is the flower of which Judaism was the bud; and one of the most distinctive marks of Judaism was its living hope of a coming Deliverer—the Messiah or Christ. In Jesus this hope was fulfilled. He is Jesus the Christ.

The Fatherhood of God

The great truth in religion which the Jewish nation had learned and taken to heart only through long and bitter training was monotheism; and its great message to the world was this: There is one God only; the Eternal Spirit, righteous and gracious, who created and who governs all things. This truth was the foundation of the teaching of Jesus regarding God; but the name by which he commonly called God was Father. That name above all others most perfectly expressed to him the relation of God to man: his authority and his love; his sorrow over sin and his desire to forgive and make men his true children. In one of the ancient psalms we read, “Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.” But with Jesus the name Father was the name for God that was always on his lips; and the preeminent Christian name for God is Father.

The Kingdom of God

When Christ appeared the Jewish nation was looking for a kingdom; but the kingdom for which it looked was a political kingdom. The Deliverer for whom it waited was an earthly king to bring deliverance from the rule of Rome and make the nation first among the nations of the world. Jesus also proclaimed a coming kingdom; but it was a spiritual kingdom of peace and righteousness, a kingdom of God. That kingdom he declared shall spread from nation to nation; in every land it shall have loyal subjects; and it shall be an eternal kingdom, victorious over sin and death. The theme of many of the parables of Jesus is the kingdom. Its principles are proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount. The Gospel is called the Gospel of the kingdom.

Son of Man and Son of God

The name by which Jesus commonly called himself

* Title changed to

A message to the Japanese People

was Son of Man. That is a title of the Christ given him in one of the ancient prophets; and the name is full of meaning. Jesus was a man and he passed through all the experiences of man. He grew in stature, in knowledge and in wisdom; he hungered and thirsted and was weary; he rejoiced in spirit, he was indignant at wrong, he wept at the grave of his friend. But unlike all other men he was without sin; he did always the things well pleasing to his Father. No other ever had so keen a sense of sin as he; but it is his own testimony to himself that he was sinless. In this he stands alone among the sons of men.

But Jesus called himself not only Son of Man; he called himself also Son of God. In speaking of himself he said: "No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father save the Son." To Christ, the fatherhood of God was something deeper far than to any other. It was a fatherhood that was his alone.

Man and Sin

Christ, as no one else that ever lived, knew the priceless worth of man. He knew that man was made capable of knowing God and holding fellowship with him; that man may share with God and rejoice with God in the establishment of the kingdom of God. He knew the unmeasured possibilities of man. Therefore he sorrowed deeply over sin: over the pride and unbelief, the blindness and disobedience of man; over his wandering away from God and alienation from him; over sin and the bitter end of sin unrepented and unforgiven. He knew also that his mission to deliver man from sin would bring him to the cross. He said, "The good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep"; "and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me"; "the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." He bore the burden of the sin of the world; and the burden so rested on him that he is called the Man of Sorrows.

The Message of Christ

Christ began his public ministry with the proclamation, "Repent and believe in the gospel." His message to men was this: I am come to seek and to save the lost. I am sent from God to deliver men from sin. The ceaseless longing of his heart was to attract men to himself that he might bring them to the Father. His message to a world of sin and sorrow and death was, I am come to bear your burdens and carry your griefs. "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "I am come that ye may have life and have it abundantly." To men whose eyes were fastened on the things of earth he was ever calling to look up and follow him; to follow him into the kingdom—the kingdom of their Father. Those who received him received from him power to become children of God in spirit and truth.

The Death of Christ

When Christ first began to teach, the people heard him gladly. He spoke with a new authority; and the hearts of many who heard responded to his words of grace and truth. From among the multitudes who thronged to hear him he gathered a little company who accepted him as Master; whom he taught, and who afterwards became Apostles—his messengers to all the world.

But soon his teaching awakened the suspicion and then the opposition of the chief men of the nation. What he said of God, of sin and righteousness, of the kingdom of God, and more than all his claim to be the Son of God kindled their anger. Steadily their hostility grew stronger. They determined to put him to death. They

excited the national spirit against him. They accused him before the Jewish court of blasphemy, and before the Roman Governor of sedition. They crucified him.

The Resurrection and Ascension of Christ

But the cross was not the end. On the third day he rose from the dead. From time to time for forty days by many proofs he showed himself alive to his Disciples. He declared unto them that it was appointed to the Christ to "suffer and to rise again from the dead;" and that "repentance and remission of sins should be proclaimed in his name." He taught them more fully the "things concerning the kingdom of God." He commanded them to "make disciples of all the nations," and he promised "to be with them always even unto the end of the world." Then he "blessed them" and "a cloud received him out of their sight."

The Holy Spirit

When Christ was still with his Disciples he told them that he was about to leave them, but that "another Comforter" would be sent from the Father who should "guide them into all the truth" and "convict the world in respect of sin and of righteousness and of judgment."

That promise was fulfilled. Soon after the ascension, at the Feast of Pentecost, the Disciples were "filled with the Holy Spirit." The presence of the Holy Spirit in them transformed them into new men; and from that time he was their divine guide and teacher. Especially was this true of the Apostles and apostolic men. Under his illumination they read the Old Testament in a new light. The deep things of Christ were revealed to them. Their eyes were opened to behold the meaning of his death and resurrection and ascension. They recognized in the Teacher who taught them the Spirit of God.

Jesus Christ the God-Man

In the New Testament are recorded their convictions regarding Jesus Christ. He is the "Prince of Life" and "Lord of Glory." He is "Lord of both the living and the dead," and he "shall judge the world in righteousness." He "sitteth at the right hand of God." He shall "appear a second time unto salvation." They looked for "the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily." He is the "image of the invisible God." He is "over all, God blessed forever." "Though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor that ye through his poverty might be made rich."

This was the faith of the Apostles and apostolic men taught by the Spirit of God. With them and with Christians of all ages and nations we also behold in Jesus Christ the "glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." We too believe that he is truly God and truly man.

The Significance of the Cross

Under the illuminating teaching of the Holy Spirit, the death of Christ was seen, as it is seen by us now, to be bound up with the whole purpose of God for the world; to be the supreme manifestation of his righteous judgment of sin and of his forgiving love, and the appointed and essential means of reconciliation between God and man. The death of Christ was thus the crown of his life on earth; and in all lands and ages the chief symbol of Christianity has been the cross.

The new life that flows from faith in the crucified and risen Christ has given victory in temptation; has strengthened weak men and women confidently to endure

martyrdom for his name's sake; has transformed men sunk deep in sin. Those who have had such experiences add their testimony to the testimony of the Apostles that in the cross and resurrection of the Son of God are revealed the wisdom and power of God.

The New Testament is full of references to the deep significance of the death of Christ. "He suffered the righteous for the unrighteous that he might bring them to God." "He is the propitiation for the sins of the world." "Being therefore justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," "through whom we have now received the reconciliation." "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been crucified unto me and I unto the world."

The Significance of the Resurrection

Under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection of Christ also was seen to be bound up with the whole purpose of God for the world. To the Christian death was no longer the dread portal leading into darkness, but a door opening into light and life eternal. In the words of St. Paul, "Christ has abolished death and brought life and immortality to light." The life in fellowship with Christ here begun shall there find perfect consummation: "to depart and be with Christ is very far better." In the resurrection of Christ also is bound up the resurrection of the believer in Christ. The resurrection of Christ was but the first fruits of a great harvest. "Now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the first fruits of them that are asleep." "He shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself." In triumphant faith therefore, with Christians of every age and nation, we join with St. Paul in his exultant words: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?"

General Principles of Christian Living

In the Bible are given these and many other like principles of Christian living.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself."

"Honor all men; love the brotherhood; fear God; honor the king." "Husbands, love your wives;" "wives, be in subjection to your husbands." "Children, obey your parents;" "fathers, provoke not your children lest they be discouraged." "Servants, obey your masters;" "masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

"As ye would that men should do unto you do ye also unto them likewise." "Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other." "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." "Rejoice with them that rejoice and weep with them that weep." "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." "Render to no man evil for evil." "Be ye merciful even as your Father is merciful."

"Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good." "Put away falsehood; speak ye truth one with his neighbor." "Let no corrupt speech proceed out of your mouth." "Let him that stole steal no more." "Be not drunken with wine." Put to death fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desires, covetousness." "Let marriage be had in honor among all." "Put away all wickedness, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings."

"Be ye free from the love of money; content with such things as ye have." "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

"Set your mind on the things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth." "Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness." "In nothing be anxious; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God." "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these on things." "Seek first the kingdom of God." "Be ye perfect even as your heavenly Father is perfect."

The Christian Religion and Society

The teaching of Christ regarding the worth of the individual has been of priceless value. It has taken the fetters from the slave; pled for the prisoner and the captive; proclaimed the sacredness of marriage; defended the honor of woman. It has been the friend of universal education, and another name for the spirit of philanthropy.

But Christ taught not only the value of the individual. The gospel that he preached was the gospel of a kingdom; of men related to one another in the bonds of society. The service of Christianity therefore is due not to the individual alone but to all; to society in all its institutions, divisions and interlacings. The family, the community, the nation, the world, all have their claims upon it. The well-being of the body, the enlightenment of the mind, justice, equity, purity, peace, the establishment of good laws, good citizenship, good government, are all things of concern to the religion of Christ.

This is the truth that is now proclaimed as never before: The application of the teachings of Christ to social, industrial and economic life; the demand for justice and equity and righteousness in every relation between man and man; the full recognition of the truth that Christianity has to do with the life that now is no less than with the life that is to come. This is the truth that is now proclaimed with a new insistence, and that is to be proclaimed until it is obeyed.

The Christian Religion and the State

The great principles set forth in the Christian Scriptures determining the relation of the Christian to the State are these:

"Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God: and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil."

"Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor."

"Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King, as supreme; or unto governors, as sent by him for vengeance on evil doers and for praise to them that do well."

"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's."

The Christian Church and the Great Commission

When Christ was about to leave his Disciples, he commanded them, "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: teaching them to observe

all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." This was the Great Commission. This commission the Apostles and the early Christians endeavored to obey; and from the small beginnings recorded in the New Testament have grown the Church of Christ throughout the world, and the whole Christian movement with all its myriad branches.

The Christian Church has been known in various lands and ages under various names and various forms of government. Often during its history it has proved itself unworthy of its title and high calling. But despite all its lapses and all the lapses of its members, it has preserved the truth and life revealed by Jesus Christ and transmitted them to men. It has founded institutions for the advancement of learning, for the care of the distressed, for the relief of the suffering; and it has given the impulse to the State to do likewise. It has raised up leaders to serve the world in countless ways. It has leavened with the teachings of Christ degraded tribes and great nations. If, as an organization, it has at times forgotten the spirit of Christ and shown itself a foe to civil and religious freedom, from it also has gone forth the noble army of martyrs whose blood has been the seed of freedom, both civil and religious.

For all that it has done it should be given due honor; but it must be confessed that the Church of Christ has rendered to the Great Commission but an imperfect obedience. This is now seen with steadily increasing clearness by both the Church and the world; and Christian men are today repeating, with a vision of greater faithfulness and greater victories rising before them, the words of Christ, "The Field is the world." In the words of St. Paul, "Forgetting the things which are behind and stretching forward to the things that are before," the Church of Christ in every land is to "press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

Christian Worship

From the first days of Christianity Christians have been accustomed to meet together on the Lord's Day and at other times for common worship. In these assemblies the Christian Scriptures are read, prayers are offered to God, hymns are sung, the Christian faith and duties are preached, and the rite of baptism is administered.

In their prayers Christians render thanks to God for all his mercies, confess to him their shortcomings, and seek from him forgiveness and strength for Christian living. They ask for all things needful as well for the body as for the soul. Especially do they pray for their own countries and for all in authority in them; for all who are in any way afflicted in mind, body or estate; for all Christians in every land; for all the nations of the world, and for the establishment in all the world of the kingdom of God.

It is the teaching of Christ that all prayers be offered in submission to the holy and loving will of God; and it is a chief aim of Christian prayer to bring the will of the suppliant into harmony with the will of God. This character of Christian prayer is well shown in the brief prayer which Christ taught his Disciples, and which is commonly called, the Lord's Prayer: "Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen."

From time to time in their assemblies for worship Christians also commemorate the death of Christ; rever-

ently partaking of bread and wine in memory of him. This is in accordance with his own words. At the Last Supper with his Disciples on the night of his betrayal, "He took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it and gave it to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: This do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you." This commemoration of the death of Christ is called the Lord's Supper or the Holy Communion.

The Bible

The Bible is the authoritative book of the Christian religion and the touchstone of Christian teaching. It is composed of the Old and the New Testament. The Old Testament comprises the sacred writings of the Jewish nation written by the Prophets and holy men of old. The New Testament comprises the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and the Book of the Revelation. The gospels are narratives of the life, death, resurrection, ascension, and teachings of Christ. They were written that the early Christians might know the "certainty of the things in which they had been instructed," and which they had received from "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." In the Acts of the Apostles is given an account of the first spread of Christianity. The Epistles and the Book of the Revelation also were originally written for the instruction and edification of the early Christians. They set forth the deep truths of Christianity; are full of wisdom and abound in joy and victorious faith. The writers of the New Testament were Apostles or apostolic men; and, like the writers of the Old Testament, they were men who "spoke from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit."

Conclusion

This, in brief, is an account of the Christian religion as it is recorded in the New Testament; and as, in its main outlines, it is believed by us and by the Christian Church throughout the world.

LET US REPEAT IT THAT THE HEART OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF. HE IS THE KEY TO ALL MAN'S DEEPEST PROBLEMS, THE ANSWER TO ALL HIS NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS. IN HIM ARE REVEALED THE CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF GOD AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF MAN. THROUGH HIM GOD SPEAKS TO ALL MEN, SUMMONING THEM FROM SIN AND TO RECONCILIATION WITH HIMSELF. THROUGH FAITH IN HIM MEN RECEIVE FORGIVENESS OF SIN AND POWER TO LIVE IN THE MIDST OF THIS WORLD THE LIFE OF SONS OF GOD, VICTORIOUS OVER SIN AND POSSESSED BY A SPIRIT OF FAITH AND HOPE AND LOVE.

Therefore do we like St. Paul, desire to "preach Christ Jesus as Lord." Notwithstanding many imperfections we strive to be like him ourselves and to present him to all who hunger and thirst after righteousness and peace. For it is our profound conviction that only through personal discipleship to Jesus Christ are the moral and spiritual problems of Japan both individual and national to be solved and the aspirations of every heart satisfied. The truth of our testimony and the efficacy of the Gospel of Christ can be fully tested only by experience. As our Lord said, "If any man willeth to do the will of God, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God." But our conviction cannot be shaken that every man who repents of sin and loyally accepts Christ as his Saviour and Lord will become a new creature. Old things will pass away, and he will enter into a new spiritual world, even the eternal kingdom of God.

One of the best chapters in the book is the last appendix on the tribes of Yunnan, and this is certainly a valuable monograph, containing some trenchant suggestions on the relations of the tribes to each other and to the Indo-Chinese races, based on philological comparisons. For this chapter alone the book is invaluable.

Whilst holding to our contention, that we have would liked to see the story of Yunnan told in two books, we cannot but praise such an attempt to combine them, though the result is more mottled than blended.

Judicious selection from the enormous amount of information and experience which must accrue to such an obviously conscientious and energetic traveller as Major Davies, told in the splendid narrative which he adopts in the second half of the book, would make a fine story; nor are we unimpressed by the minuteness and thoroughness of the author's technical knowledge, which makes the book valuable to many experts.

We confidently expect that the book will appeal to a wider circle than the author himself suggests, or than we would have expected on approaching it from a purely technical point of view.

The photographs are numerous and good, but we still await the big traveller who will treat photography as an art, not as a perfunctory pointing of the camera at men and matter, in distant lands.

It must not be forgotten that a photograph never conjures up the impression that the photographer himself obtained, so that it has a good deal of leeway to make up in pictorial art, that it loses in lack of association: and this it can only do by dropping its intolerable air of you-press-the-button-and-we-do-the-rest. We would select the frontispiece and plates 20, 34, 38, 44, 45 and 72 as illustrating our point: they are, in our opinion, almost in a class by themselves.

The map needs no criticism from us; it is based on the War Office map, we understand, and that should be sufficient for anyone; its chief advantages to the lay mind are that it is large and readable, so that the itinerary is easily followed.

A good index adds to the completeness of the book, which we recommend to be not merely read, but studied, by all who aspire to a knowledge of China.

MAGAZINES.

TA TUNG PAO. A Chinese Weekly Review. Shanghai: THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY.

The current issue of the "Ta Tung Pao" is full of good things. It opens with a frontispiece shewing the entrance to the Nanyang Exhibition and with a letter from the authorities of the Exhibition, the articles begin with an important and suggestive paper from Mr. Evan Morgan on New Conditions and New Responsibilities which should be read most carefully by Young China. Dr. MacGillivray points an object lesson to China in an article dealing with the reclamation of the heath in Denmark, whilst Mr. Sadler continues his valuable studies of the value of Savings Banks. The very able papers on Eucken, contributed by Mr. Morgan, are continued in this issue, the present issue dealing with Plato's Doctrine of Man. In the translation series Bryce's "Studies in Constitutional History" are continued, as also Prince Kropotkin's work dealing with Mutual Aid, the present chapter dealing with a subject that should prove particularly interesting to Chinese—The Value of Societies. Chapter VI. of the life of Lincoln continues this interesting biography, and the full selection of news of the week, Imperial Edicts, etc goes to make up a bright, and characteristic issue of a review that deserves wide reading.

THE CHINESE RECORDER. Shanghai: THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION PRESS.

The October issue of "The Chinese Recorder" is devoted to Bible Study papers. Of these there are five: A Right Life an Essential Factor in Understanding the Word of God and in Maintaining Faith in it, by the Rev. W. W. White; Abraham and the Kings of the East, by Professor R. W. Rogers; Advantages of Biblical Theism, by the Rev. L. M. Sweet; the Gospel of Matthew by Miss Palmer, B.A., and How may I know that God answers Prayer? by the Rev. W. W. White. This is a very choice collection, and should provide abundant food for thought. By the way, is "Mark Patterson" (p. 645) merely an "American" spelling, or is the gentleman not the same person as the person we have in mind? The Correspondence covers a wide field, and there are the usual reviews of books, monthly record, and missionary journal; the missionary news is particularly interesting.

"ASIA FOR THE JAPANESE."

By Saint Nihal Singh in "The Contemporary Review."

I.

As soon as the Japanese began to score successes over the Russians on the Manchurian battle-fields the nervous-minded Occidentals hastened to predict that the Sunrise Kingdom was destined to lead an aggressive "Asia-for-the-Asiatics" combine against the Western exploitation of the East. The *raison d'être* of this prophecy, we were told, lay in the fact that the intelligent, thinking Oriental had a strong conviction that the Occident had been looting Asia for many decades whilst the Asiatic led a half-awake, half-asleep existence; and this feeling was impelling him to strive to rouse his people to a sense of their precarious condition and persuade them to engage themselves strenuously in the battle of life. Such Asiatics, we were given to understand, no doubt would welcome the deliverance of their continent from the grip of the Occidental exploiters, and would worship the agency responsible for their salvation.

Indeed, the excitable Westerners were not the only ones who prophesied that the Mikado's subjects were destined to play the rôle of Sir Galahad in the Orient and free their fellow-continents from the tense tentacles of the Occidental octopus. Emotionally-inclined Asians waxed enthusiastic over the Nipponese successes, and predicted that, in the fulness of time, Japan would help the other Asiatics to fling off the Western yoke that weighed heavily on the Eastern continent. The Japanese eloquently proclaimed to the world that one of the chief reasons for their undertaking to fight the Russians was their desire to save China from being worsted and plundered by the land-hungry Czar, and the young and volatile Orientals expressed their conviction that the Japanese would help the rest of Asia in its fight to free itself from the clutches of the West.

Not a long term of years has elapsed since the Russo-Japanese conflict came to an end, but meantime the Mikado's government has formally extended "protection" to Korea and begun vigorously to "develop" Manchuria, and aggressively "negotiate" with China. These actions are fraught with grave possibilities for the Orient. They have provoked comment from the Westerner as well as the Easterner, and are compelling the world at large to ponder over the problem as to just what part Japan is likely to play in the political arena of Asia. It may be granted that the most intelligent Orientals are convinced that the Occident has been exploiting Asia for many decades, and that the Asians are anxious to throw off this unbearable incubus; but the query naturally arises: Will Asia succeed in shaking the Occidental off her back only to find that the Japanese has occupied the place from which the Westerner has been ousted?

II.

Japan is a small, sea-bound land, facing the problem of finding food for its 48,000,000, people whilst the country barely has resources to feed about half this number. Hitherto Dai Nippon has depended upon imports from foreign countries to supply this deficit, but the commercial instinct of the nation makes it long to feed all its hungry mouths with products raised by the Japanese themselves. Moreover, the population of the Ocean-girt land is steadily growing greater. Therefore it is absolutely imperative for Japan to find an outlet for her increasing mass of citizens.

North America is practically barred to the Nipponese. From the American and Canadian point of view the Japanese immigrant is unwelcome. This unpleasant truth has been forced upon the attention of the Mikado's Government, which has wisely limited the emigration from the Sunrise Kingdom to the United States and Canada by treaty, rather than compel the white man to take aggressive legislative measures to exclude the immigrants. In Australasia and in South Africa Japanese immigrants find the same sort of greeting that is accorded them in America. They are considered undesirable citizens, measured by the standards of the West, and the Occident will have none of them. The white man in North America, Australasia, South Africa, etc., is desirous of keeping those regions "white." Naturally, the Japanese, and in fact all Asiatic immigrants, are considered interlopers in those parts. The ethics of such a procedure may be questionable; but its existence is a stern reality.

Moreover, unlike other Asiatics who knock at the white man's door, the Japanese is not obsequious in his attitude toward the Occidental; and the latter, therefore, looks upon him as an upstart. The Japanese immigrant shows great aptitude to adopt the Western mode of dress and life; but this, instead of pleasing the Westerner, only makes him more hostile to the man from the Mikado's Empire. The

Japanese, more than other classes of Oriental immigrants, are apt to take up drinking, gambling, and other expensive vices of the West; but even then the Mongolian lives more economically than does the white man, and this the latter does not relish. Unlike other Asiatic immigrants, the Nipponese is willing, even anxious, to associate with the Westerner on a social footing; but, according to the Caucasian, Japanese matrimonial alliances with white people prove failures, and the progeny of such unions are unsatisfactory. To cap all this it is believed that the intense and never-dying patriotism of the Japanese stands in the way of his being loyal to the country of his adoption. For these various reasons the Japanese, as an immigrant, is unwelcome in the lands where the Caucasian is dominant.

Driven away by the frankly hostile attitude assumed by Canada and the United States, the Japanese immigrant, during recent years, has turned his attention to South America. Here the white settler has not shown any pronounced signs of opposition. Indeed, the South American republics, being engaged in an active campaign to attract colonists to settle in their territories, are now employing every means in their power to encourage Japanese immigrants to come and make their permanent homes in their respective dominions. Some of the Commonwealths even have gone to the length of offering special advantages to settlers from Japan. For instance, the Republic of Brazil has exempted the Toyo Kishen Kaisha, the Japanese steamship company, from harbour dues and poll tax. Rio de Janeiro gratuitously gives land to the Japanese. Chili allots, free gratis, 100 acres of good land to each immigrant, and, in the case of first settlers, gave away a team of oxen, agricultural implements, seed, and a monthly cash advance of one pound for one year. Naturally, the tide of Japanese emigration has turned toward South America. The Mikado's Government is encouraging this emigration through the granting of subsidies, and the steamship and immigration companies are reaping a rich reward as a result of the present situation.

Despite the attractions offered by the South American Republics, Japan would prefer to transplant her surplus population across the narrow straits dividing the island from the Asian mainland. Naturally, the Sunrise Kingdom is anxious to Japanize Korea and Manchuria, and ever since the close of the Russo-Japanese War she has shown the liveliest appreciation of her opportunity to utilize the neighbouring countries for colonization purposes.

III.

Urged on by this ambition, Korea has been seized and made into a Japanese Protectorate. Korea's position, geographically, rendered her a tempting tit-bit for Japan to chew up and swallow. She is separated on the South from Japan by a small stretch of water, not more than 100 miles in width. On the North she joins China and Asiatic Russia. For many years the mouths of Russia, China and Japan have been watering for this strategic morsel. Lucky Japan has succeeded in snatching away the prize. Japan makes no effort to hide the fact that Korea is absolutely necessary to her. In a published interview, the late Prince Ito, who not long ago fell a prey to a Korean political assassin, is quoted to have said:

I should like to see Korea independent, provided her independence can be arranged in such a way that we would be sure she would always be a friend to Japan. The geographical situation of the country is such that it is necessary to our peaceful existence as a nation that she should be friendly to us, and that to a certain extent she should be controlled by us. If the Koreans could convince us that that would be the case, and they would hold to their promise, they might be independent. Otherwise they must be subordinate to Japan. If not, they will be forming alliances with other nations, and they would be sure to bring us into trouble of one kind or another. . . . As to "Korea for the Koreans," I hope that we shall give the nation a continued existence as such, although it may be a sort of dependent independence.

The Japanese excuse for gobbling up Korea, stated in plain language, resolves itself into the fact that Japan's national entity makes this move imperative. This plea may sound plausible to the Nipponese statesman, but its force does not peculiarly appeal to the patriotic Korean, or even to Orientals at large. At all events, it is plain that in acquiring control of the peninsula Japan has not been actuated solely by the desire to civilize and modernize Korea; but, despite the assurance to the suave diplomats of Japan, selfish motives are responsible for the formation of the Japanese "Protectorate."

Japanese "protection" has already resulted in a systematic plundering of the "protected" peninsula. Just as the Huns invaded and devastated the Roman Empire, so Japan is destroying the traditions and customs of Korea and absorbing the resources of the Hermit Kingdom. Emigrants from the Mikado's Empire are pouring into Korea by thousands. It has been estimated that not less than 250,000 Japanese have settled in Korea every year since the close of the Russo-Japanese War. This means that at present there must be probably 1,500,000 Japanese in that land. These immigrants are not only settling in the main towns and cities, but the railway stations in Korea to-day form immigration centres from which the colonists scatter in every direction, some of them working their way far into the interior in their search for a rich exploitation ground. The Japanese settler immediately forms a permanent home in the particular locality which he may select for his base of operations and at once sends to Japan for his relatives and friends, taking no thought of the unhappy plight of the wretched natives whom he is forcing out of home and income.

(To be Continued)

PERSONAL PROPRIETY IN JAPAN.

A day or two ago, says "The Japan Chronicle," we reproduced a passage from "The Japan Times" on "Law and Decency." The writer urged the need of enforcing personal decency in Japan, and concluded by saying: "This is not imitating foreigners, it is simply reviving the good manners of our forefathers." Commenting on this "The Japan Herald" has the following timely remarks:—

"Thus, rather than admit a debt to foreign influence, this writer is ready to assert that the Japanese of to-day have degenerated as regards personal decency from their ancestors before the 'Age of Enlightenment'! It is a curious topsyturvation of history, and the motive is obvious. The accounts of early travellers in Japan agree that the mass of the people of the pre-Meiji times were, as regards exposure of the persons, much freer and more unabashed than they have been since, and pictures by Japanese artists bring more abundant and convincing testimony. It was not indecency so much as the absence of those conventions to which the Western nations attach so much importance. Will the writer in 'The Times' deny that suppression of the habit, especially in small towns, of taking 'tubs' at the doors of houses and also of the emblems of phallic worship which were formerly not infrequently displayed in public places and roads has not been due to foreign influence? Also that the toning down of the orgies in certain religious festivals, of which a chief feature was dances in a state of complete or almost complete nudity, was not influenced by foreigners?"

"It may be that Japan has not gained much in this point by her contact with Western prudishness, and that the earlier Japanese were not more immoral, despite their greater licence, than either the Western nations or the Japanese of to-day. The point to which we wish to draw attention is not a matter of comparative morality at all—a matter in which comparisons must be offensive to one and sometimes to both parties, and in which nothing very definite can be attained. It is another matter altogether, the tendency in present-day Japan to deny or to minimize the indebtedness of the country to foreigners, by any and every means, even by the denial of the plainest facts. This tendency is shown frequently in the Press and in the incidents of daily life, but it has its strongest seat in the schools and its strongest supporters in the very class which owes most, or ought to owe most, to Western culture, the teachers. We had occasion some time ago to point out how Baron Kikuchi, in his bulky and otherwise valuable work on 'Japanese Education,' absolutely ignores the efforts of the foreigners to whom that education owes so much, not mentioning a single one of them by name.

"It is an unfortunate tendency and is likely to have a reflex action to the detriment of this country which the Japanese do not yet clearly perceive, though it has in many ways begun to act. The day will come, however, when it will be perceived even in Japan that the falsification of history is an unsound basis for patriotism, and that the doctrine, however jealously and for a time successfully preached, that 'We are the people' is likely to lead to unpleasant results in the long run."

HU-NAN

THE CLOSED PROVINCE OF CHINA

By WILLIAM BARCLAY PARSONS
I The Approach

AFTER negotiations extending over about two years, the Chinese government signed, in 1898, at Washington, through its minister, a concession for a railway joining Hankow—the metropolis and distributing-point for the central section of the empire—with Canton, which from time immemorial has been her great manufacturing centre and trading-port on the south, and described by Marco Polo, in his travels in the thirteenth century, as carrying on even then an extensive traffic with India.

This railway concession is interesting as not only covering the longest railway yet projected in China, and, with its mining and banking privileges, constituting the most ambitious industrial enterprise yet undertaken in the East, but principally as marking the turning-point in American development—as being the first time in which American capital has considered an investment in a large enterprise wholly on foreign soil, except in the case of Canada and Mexico. April the 14th, 1898, is therefore an important date in the history of American commerce.

In accordance with the terms of this concession, the writer left New York early in October, 1898, accompanied

The province of Hu-nan, one of the eighteen provinces that constitute the empire, has an area of about 75,000 square miles, or half as much again as the State of New York. Its population is estimated by the Chinese at 22,000,000. It is well watered, for the Siang River, a fine stream, although too shallow for anything but light-draught junks during the winter months, flows northerly through it into the Yang-tse. The upper part of the province is open and gently undulating, growing the finest quality of tea. As, however, the southern portion is approached, the hills change into mountains, the scenery becomes grander, the population less dense, and the agricultural resources much diminished. But these lower regions are much more valuable from a railroad point of view, as the lower half of the province, for a length of 200 miles along our route and for a width of at least sixty miles, is underlain with certainly three, and probably more, veins of coal, which, curiously enough, is both bituminous and anthracite. It took but small flights of fancy to see future trains bearing their dark burden northward to furnish power for the furnaces and mills that will be built in central China to convert her ores into metals or work

her raw produce of cotton and wool and hemp into articles of commerce; or other trains south-bound carrying a like burden to Canton and Hong-kong to make steam for the vessels of all nations, bringing goods from other lands to China, and taking back her teas and her silks. As a field for railway development, it has from the first stood pre-eminent, but, on account of the exclusiveness of the people, has always up to the present time been regarded as unattainable.

Some three years ago the Emperor appointed, as Governor of Hu-nan, Chên Pao-Cheng, a man of modern thought, who at once set about to break down the barriers which had hitherto shut in the province from the rest of the empire and the world at large. He introduced electric lighting into Chang-sha, the capital, established schools where scientific subjects were taught, urged on the general government the advisability and desirability of railroad construction, and in many ways opened the door for the entrance of Western civilization. The Empress Dowager, immediately on accession to power, removed Chên, and appointed in his stead as governor a "conservative," an official of high character and attainments from a Chinese point of view, but who did not believe in departing from customs supported by four thousand years of precedents. He closed the schools and set about to undo the work begun by his predecessor. In a recent memorial to the throne he apologized for his tardiness in entirely uprooting the false doctrines, but hoped in the end to bring the people back to the exclusive study of the classics. In accordance with his views of what

was right, he used his influence to thwart our going, even to the extent of sending word forbidding foreigners to enter his province.

Since our course lay from Hankow along the Yang-tse and its tributary the Siang for a distance of nearly five hundred miles, until reaching the Nan-ling Mountains,



CITY GATE, HANKOW.



A VIEW OF THE YANG-TSE RIVER.

which form the divide of the watershed of the Yang-tse Valley from that of the China Sea, it was decided to establish headquarters afloat, and avoid the difficulties and dangers of sleeping on shore except when the latter was absolutely necessary. One morning, shortly after reaching Hankow, and while the preparation for our start was being made, I set out in a sampan to find among the junks a satisfactory one for our purpose, and found one. A junk is a picturesque but not a pretty object, but, in that flotilla which forms a solid surface along the banks of the Han for at least two miles, there was a stern that caught my eye. The ordinary junk stern is something that rivals any stern that a naval architect of the sixteenth century ever conceived, but this special one had something which singled it out from all its fellows. Possibly it was its height, for perched on it one could imagine himself a gay freebooter ploughing the Spanish Main, until the sight of a steel tape would rudely bring him back to the realization that he was nothing but an American engineer making a survey for hire; or perhaps it was an undefined and undistinguishable grace in the upward curve of the heavy timber on the side! Whatever it was, there was an instant resolve made that the junk of which that stern formed a part must be had. On hailing, the Laodah (which is Chinese for captain) shoved his pigtail out of the door and invited us all on board. With trepidation lest his demands would be unwarrantably exorbitant, we gradually, and with much circumlocution, according to the Chinese etiquette, communicated our wishes to charter the boat for a journey of two hundred and fifty or possibly

by a staff of engineers, to make the survey. On arriving in Shanghai it was found that the political disturbance following the *coup d'état* executed by the Empress Dowager, and the beheading of certain members of the Reform or Emperor's party, had rendered the whole Chinese official class very cautious about taking a decided stand upon any important question, especially upon one looking to the invasion of the country by foreigners, even if they came with peaceful intents. The situation was still more complicated by local considerations. The route contemplated by the concession lay through part of the province of Hupeh, thence for 400 miles through the whole length of the province of Hu-nan and across the province of Kwangtung. With the first or last little or no difficulty was to be anticipated. In Hupeh foreigners were well known and could travel at will, and the same was true, although possibly to a less degree, in Kwangtung. Hu-nan, however, was peculiar. As Lord Charles Bressford says of it in his recent work: "At present the province of Hu-nan, though very rich and the people very well-to-do, is the most anti-foreign in China. Foreigners who penetrate into Hu-nan, even by help of the mandarins with a military escort, do so at the risk of their lives." It is the only portion of the empire where foreigners are not known and where they cannot go about without fear of molestation. Although a number of foreigners have been in the extreme north-western portion of the province, where the natives are more friendly, only a few—possibly not exceeding half a dozen—have been the length of the province, and then always accompanied by a strong escort and with their journey restricted to boat travel. Our invasion, on the other hand, contemplated necessarily the going on land, and therefore through sections where no white men had ever previously been. Strangely enough, however, this hostility is directed not only against foreigners, but against other Chinese with almost equal force. In the way of exclusiveness, the Hu-nanese mark therefore the extreme of the Chinese character in that regard. They are, however, hard-working, and possess one of the richest provinces in the empire in the way of mineral resources and fertility of soil. In fact, it is doubtful if any other province, except possibly Szechuen, exceeds Hu-nan in the variety, extent, and value of its mineral wealth, while Hu-nan has the great advantage over Szechuen in having a double outlet north and south for its products and being 500 miles nearer the sea-coast market.

the general government the advisability and desirability of railroad construction, and in many ways opened the door for the entrance of Western civilization. The Empress Dowager, immediately on accession to power, removed Chên, and appointed in his stead as governor a "conservative," an official of high character and attainments from a Chinese point of view, but who did not believe in departing from customs supported by four thousand years of precedents. He closed the schools and set about to undo the work begun by his predecessor. In a recent memorial to the throne he apologized for his tardiness in entirely uprooting the false doctrines, but hoped in the end to bring the people back to the exclusive study of the classics. In accordance with his views of what



THE SURVEY PARTY IN THE FIELD.



A FUNERAL CORTÈGE.

big leather boots—which last everywhere seemed, of all our belongings, to attract the most attention—they would certainly have torn down any temporary shelter, and at such moments our guard, in spite of its pretentious proportions of three hundred soldiers, would have been but of little use. In fact, the only benefit—which, it is true, was no small one—that we derived from our guard, was its notification to the people that we were travelling officially and under the protection of the government. At stopping-places we were immediately surrounded by curious natives, on whose faces every human sentiment, from wonderment to fear, or even hatred, was depicted. Our preferred sleeping places were examination halls, in which are held the annual examinations of students in the classics for literary degrees, the stepping-stone for political preferment, the ambition of every Chinese, for in China a public office means wealth and power; temples, either public of the Buddhist faith, or private ones for ancestral worship—the latter much to be preferred as being cleaner and better tended; tea-hongs or large store-houses, or, as a last resort, inns. It is a great pity that Dante could not have visited the Chinese inn; it would have given him a splendid chance to have painted a glowing word-picture, compared with which the *Inferno* would have paled. Towns in advance of our coming were well "billed" with large hand-written placards, bearing the official chop or seal of the Viceroy, the Director-General, and the Governor, fully explaining to the people the nature of a railway, describing how "its benefits would be manifold. Through its agency the people will obtain a means of livelihood, thus suppressing vagrancy and robbery, to the benefit of all localities. An equitable



THE HIAN RIVER.

and, in fact, is said frequently to pay for his place. He makes his living by a system of extortions from the weak, by threatening to report them for petty offences, sometimes not even committed; by inflicting extra punishment when offenders are convicted, unless "squared"; by reporting persons for some special tax, or by other similar dishonest means. As showing the type of man, I remember, on one occasion, after our whole party lost its way, and the attending officials, the guard, and the baggage train were hopelessly scattered, the next morning early I started, with a solitary guide, for the agreed-on point of rendezvous for the night previous. On arrival I found that I was the first of the foreigners to get there, and had even preceded the greater part of the baggage train. Through some of our servants who could speak English, I communicated to the local official that I would like to inspect the town, and was thereupon conducted by several of these policemen, or "yamén runners." As is usual, they were armed with bamboo sticks about four feet long, split down about three-quarters of their length, so that when they were waved in the air the pieces slapped each other and made a terrifying din. With these sticks they clubbed back the people, who naturally pressed forward in their curiosity to see a foreigner for the first time. I soon noticed that the yamén men were exceedingly careful to avoid hitting full-bodied men, but fearlessly exhibited their importance by striking old men, cripples, and boys. When one of them raised his stick to strike an inoffensive old woman who was not in the way at all, I felt obliged to interfere—an act which was greeted with loud shouts of approval by the crowd. These policemen, or "yamén runners," as they are usually designated, are a cowardly, despicable, lying lot, and represent one of the great causes of discontent that the masses feel towards the governing class.

On this same occasion, while inspecting the town, a high-grade Chinese funeral was taking place. Now a Chinese funeral is a great source of joy to all but the central personage. At the head of the procession come boys bearing placards reciting the virtues of the deceased, many of which his neighbors probably failed to detect in life; then follows a hearse, and after that a collection of various eatables and silver bullion, all in paper to be burned at the grave, so as to provide the departed with these necessities on his long journey; while the coffin itself is surmounted by a grotesque and ridiculous dragon, intended probably to frighten away the evil spirit. Before and behind and on both sides are hired boys to send off enough fire-crackers to supply a small-sized New England town on the Fourth of July. It was very hard on the town that two such shows, a mandarin's funeral and the first foreigner, should both be playing at the same time. For a moment the crowd hesitated, but only for a moment! That mandarin had his paid placard-bearers and his fire-crackers, but otherwise went to his grave unmourned and unsung. I had the crowd.



A CROWD OF NATIVES.

price will be paid for all land required for the road, and no loss will be suffered by any one. The blessings of the road will be a hundredfold to the people—the disadvantages none whatever"; and closing with these words: "As the artisans of China are unfamiliar with railroad construction, American engineers have been engaged to come here to survey the line, and it is feared that some persons, ignorant of the purpose of their coming, may take alarm; therefore this proclamation is issued for their instruction. Let it be known to the scholars and merchants, and people at large, that they must peacefully pursue their occupation, and create no trouble or obstruction. The military and the gentry are to instruct the populace to create no disturbance. Should rowdies circulate rumors to disturb the populace and gather crowds together, the officials are ordered to assemble the police and arrest them, and deal with them with severity; no mercy shall be shown them."

What is called in the proclamation a "policeman" is an attendant of the magistrate's yamén (official residence), and is an individual who is even more loathed than feared by the people, if that is possible. He rarely receives wages,

three hundred miles, in short stages, so that the time might occupy a month, or even two. As a preliminary to what was evidently about to become an important financial negotiation, and in compliance with Chinese custom, the Laodah, in order to show his respect for us, offered tea. We, with a still higher respect for ourselves, with great ceremony and greater resolution, declined the same. It is wonderful what vile stuff is drunk in that country, where the finest tea that the world knows comes from; but the natives consume only what they cannot sell or give away. After a long session with Mrs. Laodah—for in every Chinese junk the woman seems to command—the Laodah returned, chin-chinned, and said that he would take us for forty taels. Now forty taels means about twenty-eight dollars, gold, and that was to include the boat, the crew of eight men, with their rice and all expenses, for possibly two months. Naturally our faces betrayed our astonishment, which the Laodah entirely misunderstood, and apparently fearing that he had lost the trade, begged us to make an offer. We finally agreed on thirty-six taels, or twenty-five dollars. Subsequently we discovered that our childlike and bland young friend, knowing that we would have a permit to pass all the Liking stations—that is, the places where heavy internal customs taxes are levied—had made this low price in order to secure the job, and had then laid in a little stock of dutiable articles to trade in on his own account; in short, he made us his partners in a smuggling enterprise. After that I had, and will always entertain, the highest respect for the ability of a Chinese to turn an honest penny.

Early in December we started, but not without much anxiety and misgivings on the part of the chief. The Chinese officials had either tried to persuade me from going, or if, like the Viceroy and the Director-General, courageous enough to have me start, nevertheless impressed upon me the necessity for extreme caution when traversing Hu-nan. The foreign residents were practically unanimous that the trip could not be made, or, if made, that a land survey would be impossible, and that we would be compelled to remain practically prisoners on our junk.

The Yang-tse, even at this distance of over seven hundred miles from the mouth, is still a noble stream, with a width of a mile, and a minimum depth, at lowest stage on shoals, of six feet, with its continual procession of large junks carrying down coal from Hu-nan, opium and silk from Szechuen, wool from the mountains of Tibet, and other large junks carrying up, in return, yarn from India, cottons from Lancashire, and oil from America. Its banks, when not high enough to be above flood-level, are built up with dikes, behind which are farms of rice, oil-beans, cotton, tobacco, and, on approaching Hu-nan, tea.

For about one half of the time we were obliged to sleep on shore, where camping in tents was impossible on account of the great curiosity of the people. In their eagerness to see a "foreign devil," to examine his short hair, to feel his queer cloth clothes, to inspect his extraordinary

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOMINION

WITH the opening, in the spring of 1900, of the canals skirting those portions of the St. Lawrence River which have heretofore been navigable only by light-draught vessels a new era of commercial and industrial development will open for Canada. The inauguration of the traffic which these enlarged canals will make possible will be quite the equal of the activity induced by the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railroad some years ago; and yet this betterment of the facilities for water-borne commerce is but one of several revolutionary factors which the closing year of the century will bring forth.

Prominent among the promises of the year is that of the development of the steel industry in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, by two stable organizations, each backed by millions of capital. Probably nowhere else on earth are iron ore and coal, the two indispensable components in steel manufacture, found in such close proximity; and when to rich deposits of these are joined the advantages of water communication facilities the outlook is assuredly tinged with a rosy hue.

To the latent possibilities already outlined may be added those to be found in the recently discovered Michicoten ore-fields on the north shore of Lake Superior; in new gold-fields and old ones yet to be developed; in unlimited water-power; in a lumbering industry, the magnitude of which is only just beginning to be appreciated;

and finally in the project of recent inception for making Montreal the terminus of much of the grain trade of the Great Lakes, thereby securing at once the advantage to be found in the cheapness of a long water haul, and also the economy of time and money conferred by a grain-shipping port nearer to Europe by hundreds of miles than any other in America.

A feature of the new conditions in Canada worthy of emphasis is found in the fact that in the growing development along various lines almost all the moves of any importance will be due to the instrumentality of American capital. The largest of the new steel plants at Cape Breton is being erected by a syndicate, at the head of which is a well-known New-Yorker, and almost all the machinery installed will come from the States; exploration and prospecting in the new ore-fields are being carried on by a firm at Cleveland, Ohio, which already holds leases covering most of the territory. Americans have during the past year largely increased their holdings of lumber-lands, and finally a syndicate headed by W. J. Conners, of Buffalo, New York, has gained a foothold in the great Canadian grain trade, for which the future holds such wonderful possibilities.

It does not require great foresight to imagine circumstances which will make it highly advantageous to have the development of the wonderful natural resources of our neighbor on the north dependent upon American money and American brains, but in probably no phase is it so ap-

parent as in the grain situation. It is inevitable that as the product of the almost limitless wheat-fields of Manitoba increases, much of the grain will find its way to Montreal as a point of transference from the lake vessels to the ocean steamers which carry it abroad. Yankee instinct divined this, and as a consequence Canadians have scarcely commenced to realize the important possibilities of the new traffic ere an American syndicate has possession of the concessions which control it. Best of all, this turn of affairs will preserve for American-owned vessels the trade of the Great Lakes, the greatest protected interest in the country.

That Canada as a competitor of the United States in the world's markets must not be slightly considered is proven by a glance at the export statistics of the past few years. In exports of flour, butter, cheese, and wood—commodities which formerly brought to our coffers many millions of dollars annually—the Dominion has made heavy inroads. In the case of cheese, for instance, whereas Canada's annual exports a decade ago scarcely amounted to half a million dollars in value, they now aggregate fully thirty-five times that sum each year.

The official returns of the customs department of the Dominion government for the fiscal year ending in 1899, which were completed only a few weeks ago, make some very interesting disclosures. In the first place, the aggregate trade showed an increase over the previous year of fully \$17,000,000, and the value of dutiable goods imported

The Uprising in China and Where the Blame Rests.

By Rev. Thomas Marshall, D. D., of Chicago, Field Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

The history of China may be said to begin at the close of the ninth chapter of the book of Genesis. The Chinese claim to have the oldest continuous history of any people in the world. It runs back 2,852 years before Christ, or only 363 years after the deluge.

The Chinese empire comprises about one-third of the habitable part of the earth's surface, and its population embraces near-

testant missions, or to the Protestant missionaries in China for the present disturbed condition of the empire? A brief review of the planting and growth of Protestant missions in China will be the best answer that can be given to this question.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

Robert Morrison of the London mission, in 1807, was the first Protestant missionary to enter China. So averse were the Brit-

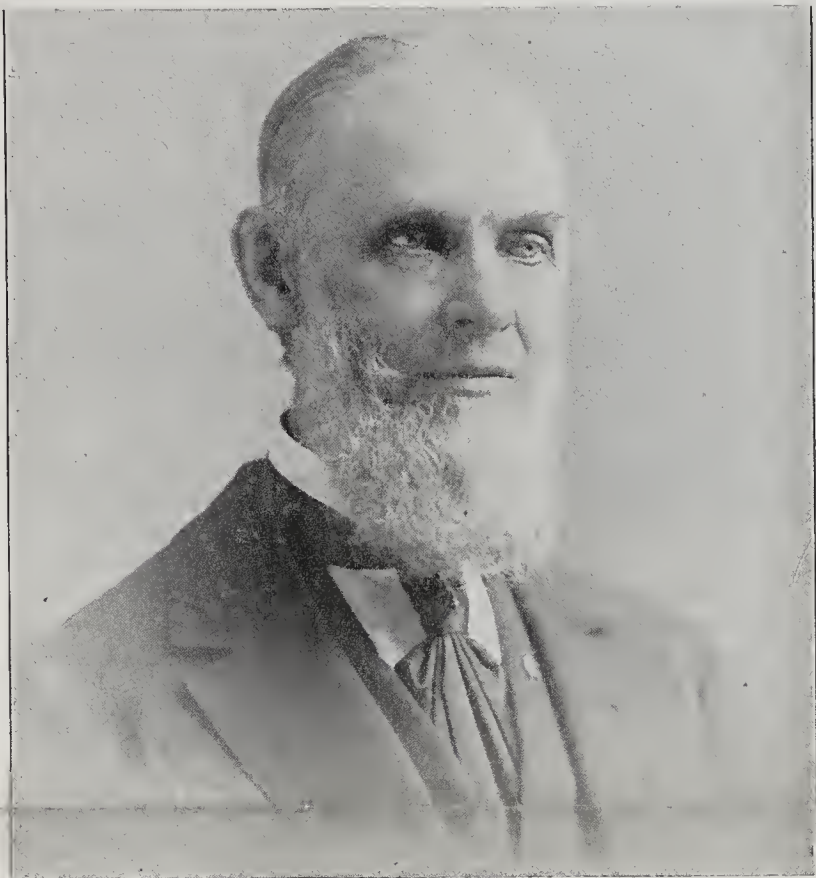
ish merchants to the introduction of Christianity into that country that they refused him transportation on any of their ships. So far from being discouraged was young Morrison that he at once crossed the Atlantic ocean to the United States and took passage to China on an American vessel and was safely landed in China, beginning his great work at Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river. The difficulties from lack of hostility on the part of his own countrymen; the formidable barrier of a new and strange language with no helps to its acquisition; the intense opposition of hoary pagan superstition to the proclamation of the glad tidings of the gospel, and the climax of all the obstacles put in his way, the reward offered by the emperor for Morrison's head, or the heads of the two Chinamen who taught him the language—all these give some idea of the difficulties encountered, and the

would die in his place of self-imposed imprisonment. While in this seclusion he made a dictionary, or lexicon, of the Chinese language, and translated a part of the bible into the Chinese tongue. This lexicon has been the foundation of all study of the Chinese language from that time to the present, and Morrison's translation of the bible was the first ever given to the Chinese people.

For twenty-seven years this faithful missionary toiled in laying the foundation of the kingdom of heaven in the midst of the superstitions and cruelties of pagan idolatry, the growth of more than four thousand years. The visible results in actual conversions were almost too small to be counted, yet no one can truly estimate the value of his life of patient, hopeful toil. He died in 1834 at Macao, where, in a quiet little cemetery, the traveler is pointed to his grave.

The next to enter China were the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1830. The American Baptists entered in 1834; the American Episcopalians in 1835 and the American Presbyterians in 1838. The missionaries of these four organizations labored together with the London mission that was already in the field, until 1843, or thirty-six years from the time Robert Morrison entered China, and at that time one authority says the whole number of native Christians in China was only six, another authority says ten. In 1857, or just fifty years after the first Protestant missionary entered China, there were five hundred. New recruits were yearly being added to the missionary force. Other denominations entered the field until, in 1880, the number of converts was 13,000. In 1893 there was a great gathering of the missionaries from all parts of the empire, in conference at Shanghai. From their reports it was shown that there were 50,000 Chinese church members. Five years more passed away when another great conference of missionaries was held. This was in 1898, or two years ago. At that conference it was shown that there were fifty-four different missionary organizations laboring in China. Twenty-three from the United States, seventeen from Great Britain, ten continental and four international. There were in these organizations a total of 2,461 missionaries, 5,071 native ordained ministers, evangelists, bible readers and school teachers; 105 colleges and schools of higher grade for Chinese young men and young women, with 4,285 students.

There were also 1,766 common schools



REV. THOMAS MARSHALL.

Rev. Thomas Marshall, D. D., of Chicago, the writer of the accompanying article, has been for nearly ten years past the field secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. He is thoroughly equipped for the work he is appointed to do. In 1888-9, at his own personal expense, he made an extended tour around the world, traveling extensively in Japan, China and India, also visiting Korea, Siam, the Straits Settlements of Malacca, Burmah, Egypt, Palestine and Syria. He traveled over that part of China that is now so greatly disturbed. He is, by his extensive studies of the whole subject, and by his personal acquaintance with many of the conditions that now confront us in the Chinese Empire, well qualified to prepare the article that we, with this issue, give to our readers.

ly one-third of the human race. The country is fertile, highly cultivated and rich in natural resources.

The government is purely patriarchal. The emperor is, by way of eminence, the father of his people, and, as such, he demands and exacts the most absolute obedience from all his subjects. No other nation, whether it be Jewish or Christian, has more rigidly observed the spirit of the fifth commandment. The child unwaveringly obeys the parent. The parent obeys the mandarin and the mandarin obeys the emperor. It is obedience from the cradle to the throne. Above all other heathen nations, obedience and industry characterize the Chinese people. Into such a soil the gospel seed fell about one hundred years ago.

In reviewing the present condition of the empire, there are two questions to be considered:

(1) Does any blame attach itself to Protestant missions, or to the Protestant missionaries?

(2) Are foreign powers blameworthy?

These two questions must not be mixed nor confused, one with the other. A careful survey of the present conditions and an honest inquiry as to the cause will throw much light upon this whole subject. Carefully, and freed from all prejudice, let us investigate along the lines suggested by these two questions.

(1) Does any blame attach itself to Pro-

dangers to be met only to be overcome by this devoted young missionary of the cross. For a time he was hidden away in an old warehouse for fear he would be killed, until it was feared he



RESIDENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES AT WEI HEIN.

with 30,046 boys and girls studying, with their arithmetic, grammar and geography, the life-giving principles of the Word of God, and in the churches there was gathered an enrolled membership of 80,682 baptized communicants. "So rapidly grew the Word of God and prevailed."

The relative number of workers of some

China's redemption, we may have some conception of the vast work that is being done in the effort to lift the 400,000,000 of Chinese people out of the darkness of paganism into the light of Christian day.

The heaven of the gospel has been poured into China unceasingly for almost a century, and it is now working its way through

actual cost of living in the location where the missionary resides. The Presbyterians pay to unmarried missionaries a salary of from \$400 to \$600 per year. In case of married missionaries the salary is \$1,000, with an addition of \$100 for each of their children. Medical missionaries receive no more salary than do the others.

The duties of the missionary are constant and varied. He is an evangelist, occupying a circuit sometimes a hundred miles in extent, and requiring frequent and unremitting tours through the country occupied, and preaching from city to city. If he is a physician the hospitals and dispensaries are thronged at the time of his visits with patients, curables and incurables, many of whom come long distances to be healed. Oftentimes the most difficult surgical operations are successfully performed with the most astonishing results upon the native mind, leading them in some instances to believe that these missionary physicians can even raise the dead.

Not only must the missionary be an evangelist, or a physician, but he must also be the pastor and shepherd of the people in the churches he has gathered and which are committed to his care. The missionary, by virtue of his high office, must combine with the duties of evangelist, pastor and physician, various other lines of service such as superintendent, school teacher, theological seminary professor, explorer, diplomat—in truth, he must be to the people a living exemplification of the Sermon on the Mount as he holds forth Jesus Christ, the only possible hope of salvation to any human being anywhere in all the world. In making his long journeys, if he travels first class, which is in a Chinese cart or a shantz, he pays about one dollar per day, the distance made being about twenty-five or thirty miles. If he chooses to travel second class, which means to go by donkey or wheelbarrow, the fare is about fifty cents. For accommodation at night he is sheltered in a first-class Chinese inn, where, if he is in north China, he sleeps on the ordinary kang, which is raised about three feet from the ground, which is the floor of the inn. This kang, or bed, is built of good solid masonry with an oven under it to warm it up in cold weather. It is plastered over and is as smooth and hard as a patent sidewalk. The entire bedding consists of a grass mat, which makes a bed about as soft as a bamboo chair bottom spread on a rock. There is a stone, or block of wood, for a pillow. There is no covering save that which the missionary may carry with him. For such accommodation for the night, at a first-



STREET IN PEKING.

of the larger missionary organizations is shown by the following statistics: The China Inland Mission has 296 missionaries, the largest number of any organization laboring in China. The Presbyterian Board (north) stands next with 194 missionaries. The Church Missionary Society (English) has 166. The Methodists (north) have 152, the American Board (Congregational) has 112, and the London Mission, the first to enter China, has 108. But these are only six of the fifty-four societies of the United States, England and the continent of Europe that are toiling for the regeneration of China.

It may serve better to show what is being done by all the fifty-four organizations at work in China, if we take into view what a single denomination is doing. Take the Presbyterian church (north). It alone has 194 missionaries. These missionaries carry on their work in 336 stations and preaching places. The Presbyterians also have the largest mission printing press in the world. It is located at Shanghai and is occupied entirely in printing the bible and christian literature for the Chinese alone. The report of the superintendent of that press for 1899 shows that for that year there came from that press 45,915,343 pages of bible and christian literature for the Chinese alone. This literature found its way to nearly every part of the empire. It flew from the press like leaves from the trees in autumn time. Its mission is for the healing of the nation. Twenty-one tons of paper were used by the press, and a force of nearly two hundred Chinese operatives and other laborers were required to do the work.

The Presbyterians also have in China thirty hospitals and medical dispensaries. In one year the Presbyterian missionary physicians reported that they had treated 139,211 patients. To these sick and suffering ones the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ was taught and preached. Multitudes of those who were healed went back to their homes in distant parts of the empire, to tell the wonderful story of their healing, and the more wonderful story of Jesus Christ and His love.

When we consider the above-mentioned work that is being done by the Presbyterians alone, and then remember that the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions of the United States of America is only one of the fifty-four organizations at work for

the entire mass with wonderful activity. The missionaries have made their way as messengers of peace through the Chinese empire, with no carnal weapon, armed only with the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God. They have been shielded by imperial mandate commanding viceroys and magistrates to protect them and assist them as the nation's guests, and, at the same time, declaring that these missionaries were and are messengers of peace, benevolence and good will to the people wherever duty calls or wherever their lot may be cast.

In passing it may be said that the missionary takes no part in the politics of the country; neither is he engaged in commercial pursuits or speculations. All money he may receive for medical services rendered, or for any favors done to any person or persons, is credited to the organization whose servant he is to the people to whom he is sent. This is the rule laid



ENTRANCE TO MISSION HOSPITAL, WEI HEIN.

down for and observed by the missionaries in the Presbyterian church. The other boards and societies generally act in full accord with this plan.

The salary of the missionary is small and is made out in strict proportion to the

class inn, the missionary pays ten cents. If supper and breakfast are included he pays fifteen cents more, or twenty-five cents for all. The writer is an experienced traveler in the Chinese empire and has for weeks at a time undergone these privations,

if not actual tortures, in making his journeys.

The missionary, for the good he may do to a lost people, cheerfully and gladly undergoes all these privations for the Master's sake.

These apostles of the cross in China, as



COLOSSAL MUD IDOL, PEKING.

in all other lands, in all that ennobles men or nations, rightfully take rank among the foremost men of the age. Those who would belittle either them or their work, unwittingly proclaim their own ignorance of things and events they ought most of all to know.

The humble missionary, with the open bible in his hand, has done more for the entrance of light and the multiplication of blessings to the nations whither he has gone, than all other means combined. China's open door to the commerce of the nations is due more to the work of the missionaries than to any other cause. Col. Charles Denby was for three administrations and a part of a fourth minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of Peking. He was, from his high position, particularly qualified to judge of the real character and value of the labors of the missionary in China. In writing a private letter to Gen. Shackelford, his old comrade in arms, he emphatically declared: "Believe nobody when he sneers at the missionary. He is not posted."

Let investigation be made, the more thoroughly the better. Let the work of the Protestant missionary, for the past more than ninety years, be laid open to the brightest light, and we will challenge the investigator to show that even a shadow of blame attaches itself to the Protestant missionary for the present troubles in the Chinese empire.

Where then shall we turn to find the source of the present trouble in China? This leads us to a discussion of the second question, namely:

THE FOREIGN POWERS.

Are foreign powers blameworthy?

Much has been said by the nations of Europe about "sphere of influence" and "concession." In plain language this "sphere of influence" has simply meant the power of the stronger to compel the weaker. "Concession," on the other hand, has meant the necessity of the weaker party's yielding to the demands of the stronger in order to be freed from greater injury.

The European nations have boldly and for years past made known their designs on China. They have located their coveted points, even going so far as to suggest a division of the empire among themselves.

Russia arrogantly talked "sphere of in-

fluence" and then swooped down and took from China Port Arthur, one of her best naval stations.

Great Britain, in like manner, demanded another of China's best coast defences and grasped Wei-Hai-Wei.

France, also coveting that which is her neighbor's, enlarges her borders in the region of Yun-Nan.

Germany, with little or no pretext, only to gratify her pride, sails her men of war into Kiao Chou and wrenches from China that port, and, robber-like, shoots down the villagers who resist the crime they commit. It is the story of Ahab and Nabal's vineyard over again. Ahab, although a king, found that he had an expensive job on hand, and so will Europe's robber nations find that their ill-gotten plunder from China will not pay. The cost in blood and treasure will be immense.

In considering the attitude of the Chinese towards those who, either by pretext or by open fraud, have been robbing them of their country, let us illustrate.

Suppose France should come to the United States and demand New Orleans, and threaten to do us great harm if the government did not concede. Then Russia seizes Fortress Monroe and defies us with great show of violence. Great Britain next, with great pretense to "sphere of influence," demands New York and Brooklyn in order to be equal with Russia on our coast. Then comes Germany and demands Boston lest her pride be humbled. All these strongholds fall, one after another, and pass out of our hands because the government is not able to cope with these more pretentious and powerful antagonists. Should such circumstances transpire in our country "the spirit of 1776" would soon manifest itself. The toiling farmer would leave his plow in the furrow, the cowboy would leave his ranch. From the shop, the factory, the counting room, the college, the university, from every nook and corner of the land would come a vast army for defence, with the avowed purpose of driving the hated foreigners from our land. Such an army would, like our sires of old, be called patriots, nor would it be strange if the president approved by joining with them the army of the United States. Nor would anything else be expected than that such an army, embittered by the unrighteous acts of the nations, should sweep on to Washington and make the representatives of the governments that had committed the wrong first to feel the fury of their vengeance.

Have not the Chinese just cause for this uprising, speaking after the manner of nations? Are not those who are rising up in defence of their country against these aggressions, really the patriots of China? If the missionary suffers or falls in this general uprising, it will not be because he is a missionary, but because he is a foreigner and belongs to a supposed



WASHING CLOTHES BY THE RIVER.

class of people from whom China has received great wrongs. The slaughter of Protestant missionaries by the Chinese and the destruction of mission property are only incidents resulting, not from any ill that the missionaries have done, but because the missionaries are supposed to have come from those countries that have wronged them. The native Christians are also subjected to persecution and marked

out for destruction, not because they are disturbers of the peace, for the opposite is true, but because they are followers of the hated foreigner, concerning whom, whether he be a missionary or a diplomat of a foreign power, the average Chinaman cherishes none other than the most deeply-seated and intense hatred. In the disturbed parts of China to-day, no discrimination is made whether a man be a Russian, British, French, German or American. His foreign face is sufficient mark for his extermination. In this connection it is with



SMOOTHING OR IRONING CLOTHS.

pride that the Americans look upon the position taken by the government of the United States as voiced by Mr. Hay, secretary of state, in the warning issued to the other nations, namely: That the United States has no other interest in China than to help her to restore order to the empire, and to protect American citizens. Our boasted christian civilization demands that we do this. As a friend to China and as an act of simple justice to American citizens resident or traveling in China, our government can do no less.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

It would be a long way on the road to the restoration of order in China and of peace and friendship towards foreign na-



CHINESE SHANTZ, OR MUD LITTER.

tions, if the powers that have wronged and robbed China would acknowledge their wrong and restore their illgotten plunder. But this they probably will never do. In detail no one can foresee just how the matter will be settled. We do not believe that China will be dismembered and divided among the European powers. That is a matter too formidable to be seriously entertained. Armies sufficiently large to hold in control each nation's allotted section would be impracticable, if not impossible. China will continue to be ruled by Chinese, but by the outside pressure of foreign powers the future rulers of China must be moderately progressive. Civilization cannot be forced upon a great nation. The people must be led and taught. That civilization which counts in building up a great, prosperous and happy nation manifests itself first in the hearts and homes of the people. Along this line will China's real progress be best marked and made most observable. Of this, however, we may be assured: The hands on the dial of day never move backward. From whatever cause the present disturbances in the Chinese empire may have arisen, or however unrighteous the acts of foreign nations may have been, God is able to overrule it all for good and for the entrance of greater light for the oldest and most populous empire the world ever saw. Then will it be seen that what now seems to be "China's sorrow" was so controlled and directed by a Divine hand as to become her greatest joy.

A Trip Through Niagara's Raging Rapids.

Described by PETER NISSEN.

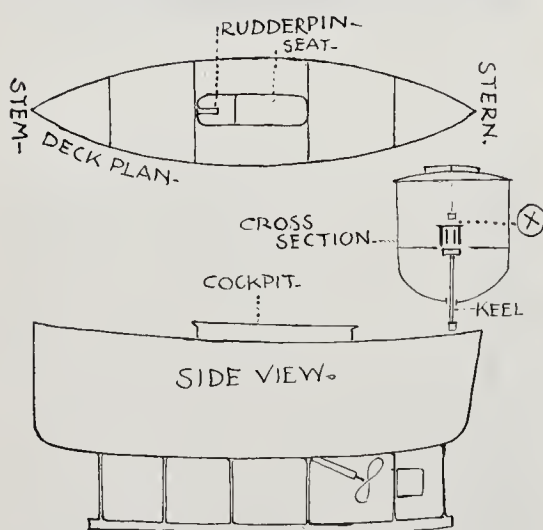
When asked what put the idea of making a trip through the Niagara rapids recently into his head, Peter Nissen of Chicago said:

"Now you have hit on a point I am glad you mentioned. Some years ago I had a political Sunday school on the west side; but times became poor and I saw I was going to have to give up the school.



PETER NISSEN.

Then I began to look around for something else to do. About that time I happened to visit Niagara Falls and while there I heard numerous discussions of plans to convert the Niagara waters to commercial uses. Being of an inventive turn of mind, the agitation then on set me to thinking. The rapids interested me and it occurred to me that whoever could get up a safe method of transportation through the rapids for seekers after pleasure and excitement, and there are plenty of them, could easily find financial backing to put the scheme



XBeam running through from end to end.

Following is a description of the boat as furnished by Mr. Nissen himself: Length, 20 feet; beam, 3 ft. 6 in.; 4 ft. stem and stern; deck fore and aft and open cockpit in center; weight of keel, 1,250 pounds; total weight of boat, 4,300 pounds. The boat has six airtight cells, two in each end and one in each side of the cockpit. In four of the compartments were 300 pounds of cork.

through. My idea was to have the boats brought back by rail, just as is done with them in 'shooting the chutes,' which has become so popular. I was present when the Grand Trunk Railroad bridge was finished and watched the action of the waters on the large timbers that were thrown into the river. I went back when the ice broke up and watched the action of the waters on the large chunks of ice as they went



Horseshoe Falls, over 3,000 feet from one edge to the other, following crest of falls; water on crest from 15 to 50 feet deep, and a most gorgeous emerald green; fall, 153 feet. If it were possible for a boat to approach within 10 feet of the base of this fall, the force of the wind and spray would crush and sink it.

through. I finally made up my mind that a boat could be built that would go through safely and I went ahead and built my boat. That was three years ago. My friends made such a fuss and objected so strenuously on account of possible notoriety that I let it go and put the boat away in the barn. When I began to think of my vacation this summer I remembered the boat, and after thinking the matter over I concluded to say nothing to anybody but to get the boat away quietly and make the rapids trip without any ostentation. I got along all right until I got to Niagara Falls. I had made arrangements with the railroad people for prompt unloading and to have the boat sent over to the place where I was to make the launch as soon as it arrived, so I could make the trip about 5 a. m. before the people were up. I would have been all right if the railroad people had not got tangled up in the switching, with the result that the boat stood at the depot a day and a half in full view. Well, you know how it

is in a small town. The boat attracted attention and a crowd gathered. I couldn't give an order about moving it without its becoming known, and when the boat was moved the crowd went with it, and when it was taken to the river of course everybody knew what was up, and as I had no time to waste there was no alternative but to face the music. Some of the people there objected, but I couldn't well back down after going to all that trouble and expense, so I set my teeth and went ahead, with what result you already know.

"The boat was launched half a mile below the falls and traveled about two miles straight away. It is three-quarters of a mile from the Grand Trunk railroad bridge to the whirlpool and we made it in two and a half minutes, according to the timekeepers.

"I did not lose my nerve during the whole trip, but had I realized what was happening when the boat was sucked down into the vortex of the whirlpool I would have

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S. P. Q. S.

On Monday last took place the formal opening of the first National Assembly of China, called by some the Senate, a name which we ourselves do not use as it has come to carry with it some implications of a bicameral parliamentary system of which the chamber to which the term is applied is the higher and generally the smaller. Moreover, the National Assembly has not exactly the functions of any parliament, being almost entirely deliberative and consultative but not legislative. In those older parliamentary lands where the monarchical system still holds its own the ruler makes all his enactments by and with the consent and counsel of the parliamentary body. In China this is not yet the case. The Assembly may consent or it may counsel, or it may counsel and consent, but the Sovereign is not bound by either its consent or its counsel or both. Its functions thus fall far short of those of a senate, and hence, except in our caption, we eschew the term.

All the circumstances of this momentous occasion have been propitious. The Assembly was opened by the Prince Regent in person, all the preliminary arrangements having been made by the Assembly itself at informal meetings. In his speech from beside the Throne His Imperial Highness pointed out that this was only the initial step in the great march to representative government on a national basis, emblematic of the hope of the country's great future, indicative of China's desire to march with the times, a recognition of the new needs and of the necessity for improved conditions and for the promotion of harmonious relations amongst all classes. His Highness took the opportunity of urging upon the members that they should carry out their duties zealously, assured of the confidence alike of the Government and of the people.

In an Imperial Edict issued immediately after the opening His Imperial Highness again emphasizes the necessity for loyalty to the Throne and a sincere desire for the welfare of the people, and throughout the public utterances in reference to the event he clearly insists upon this dual relationship in which the Assembly stands. The Assembly has a primary duty to the Throne. It is created in compliance with the express desire and wish of their late Majesties the Emperor Teh Tsung, who will be more familiar under the title of Kwang Hsu, and the Empress Grand Dowager, and in the fulfilment of the wishes of these two departed rulers His Imperial Highness finds a natural satisfaction. The relation of the Assembly to the Throne is much the same as that which obtained in the earlier parliaments of England: its business is to advise, to counsel, to approve or to disapprove, but without power to enforce its will upon the Emperor. In this fact many critics have found ground for adverse comment, but at least this is to be said in favour of the Assembly, that even with its limitations it has satisfied the people "who are overjoyed at the realization of a part of their great ambition" that the Government in general, and the Imperial House in particular, is sincerely anxious to give the fullest possible effect to the promises made in the late reign and to do what it can to assist the nation as a whole to make an effective entry into the circle of enfranchised peoples. Nobody imagines for a moment that the nation is going to accept the convening of the National Assembly as satisfaction in full of the promises to which we have referred, and it is clear that the very existence of the Assembly is in very large measure a guarantee that the other steps devised will be taken in due course, for it is impossible to call into being a body of this kind without putting oneself largely into its hands. Once called, such an Assembly would be a difficult thing to be rid of, and although it has no legislative functions it could without difficulty make things exceedingly unpleasant for any ruler who should seek to persist in thwarting its desires or in flouting its opinions. In its relations to the Throne the Assembly stands as a perpetual incentive to activity on behalf of the people's welfare, for however slight may be the actual degree of representation of the people comprised within its membership it stands as the nominal representative of the people much as did the barons at Runnymede. Having been called into existence in the name of the people it cannot now be neglected as the mouthpiece of public opinion.

This suggests a consideration of the actual degree of relationship between the Assembly and the people. It is idle to pretend that even one hundredth of the people have the slightest conception of the character or functions of the new force that has now entered into the political situation. The spread of modern education and of constitutional theories or the study of representative government has not yet proceeded so far as to afford any just ground for thinking that in the western sense this Assembly represents the people, and yet it is undeniable that in a very real sense popular representation is there. The Assembly is largely composed of men of advanced views, chosen very carefully by what are largely the official classes, and the official classes it is to be remembered are men of the people. It is not in China as in some western lands, where the official ranks are filled generation after generation by the scions of certain privileged houses and favoured clans. In the great majority of cases official rank has been obtained by merit of one kind or another. It is only in the last few years

that the merit has been of other than a literary kind, but that is besides the point. The essential thing is that these men are sons of the people, are indeed the people in a special sense, and undoubtedly the people look to them for the redress of grievances and the administration of justice. Under these circumstances the fact that the members of the Assembly have been elected from a somewhat limited circle does not alter the fact that they are essentially representatives of the people in deed as well as in theory, in this point again bearing a resemblance to the men of Runnymede and of the parliaments which succeeded it. It only needs a glance through the list of questions sent up for discussion by the Assembly to see how far it is held to be the representative of the people. The issues are people's issues—insurance, transportation of cargo, press laws, the national system of education, the opium campaign, stamp taxes, the reorganization of taxation and the removal of vexatious conditions attaching to the transfer of landed property, the embarrassed condition of the sub-prefectures and districts, which of course means the necessity under which these local governments are to raise funds by all manner of means in order to meet the demands made upon them by their superior administrative units. All these are people's questions, the solution of which will immediately relieve the great mass of the people of various forms of hardship, and it is quite certain that for the frank and effective consideration of these questions the body of men constituting the Assembly in Peking is quite as competent and well inclined as would be a body elected by universal suffrage under the conditions of ignorance which at present prevail outside the greatest cities. The country is not ripe for direct representation, and it was a wise provision that made possible the creation of the National Assembly as a stepping stone to the exercise of full rights of franchise by the people and of full parliamentary authority by their representatives.

As we said above, the National Assembly has met under the happiest auspices. The country is tranquil, the bitterness with which Peking and the provinces recently regarded each other is somewhat less in evidence, there is a movement in Peking in favour of placing in responsible posts the ablest men irrespective of their personal relations to the Court in the past, and the fact that the programme has been followed to the very day and almost to the very hour has given just that proof of sincerity on the part of the Imperial House that in this land of procrastination is most acceptable. It is not usually at the very beginning that disillusionment comes however, and we take this opportunity of uttering a word of warning. On the one hand the Government can expect nothing more than candid counsel from the National Assembly, and when it adopts that counsel it will undoubtedly have the support of the Assembly in carrying out its decisions; but it cannot possibly put any ultimate responsibility upon the Assembly, for responsibility is only inherent in power and without effective power the Assembly can do nothing. This of course is fully recognized in the constitution of the Assembly, but it must not be forgotten in practice. On the other hand the people at large will have to realize that they have not yet a parliament and that the Assembly cannot enforce its decisions on the Government and is not therefore responsible for Government action. The Assembly may well also take warning that its functions are limited and any attempt to exercise functions not within its competency will merely jeopardize the future of representative institutions in this country; the Assembly is a trial compromise and on its success or on its failure to comport itself properly depend the fortunes of that Imperial Parliament which is designed to be its successor. The Assembly is but a small beginning, but the day of small things is not to be despised.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Conditions in China.

A curious message from Reuter appears in the telegraphic columns of our daily contemporaries this week to the effect that the Washington Government has received advices from United States officials in the Far East which suggest that a critical situation exists and that an outbreak similar to the madness of the Boxer Year would not be surprising. Either Reuter or the United States officials in the Far East are very much behind the time or the Washington correspondents of London newspapers are very hard up for something sensational to supply to their readers. It may be that the Portuguese revolution will keep Reuter's hands full for the time being and China will be suffered to go on her way unmolested and unmaligned. Enquiries from various reliable sources shew

that the country is in a state of great tranquillity, the signs of unrest that were noted some four months ago having entirely disappeared and the symptoms of ignorant anti-foreignism having subsided. During a two-hundred-mile trip up-country which a frequent contributor to this paper has made during the last few days he states that he met with nothing but friendliness from everybody he met, officials and people alike, and the only sign of an untoward kind was the comparative poorness of the cotton crop. Two hundred miles is but a back garden in China, but if one may judge by samples the country is quiet and as contented as a somewhat backward harvest will allow it to be. With the gathering of the complete harvest it is likely that perfect quiet will reign.

The Kowloon Railway.

The comparatively short railway being built by the Hongkong Government from Kowloon to the border of the New Territory is now sufficiently near completion for the opening of the line to have taken place on the 1st instant. According to Hongkong papers the line is going to tap a most valuable district from which the supplies of the Colony in the way of vegetable and dairy produce will in future be largely drawn. It is anticipated that when this section of the Kowloon-Canton Railway is linked up with the, as yet not half completed, portion of the line from Canton a valuable district will be fully accessible and the traffic between the Colony and the provincial capital of Kwangtung will prove highly remunerative. It is some comfort to the Chinese who are interested in or responsible for railway building that even with the resources of a British Crown Colony at its back this line has not been built without severe criticism, as the original estimates both of expense and time have both been exceeded. Even in Crown Colonies everything is not perfect, but we congratulate the colonists on the accomplishment of their task, and we hope soon to be able to offer similar congratulations to the authorities who have in hand the Chinese section of the line from Canton.

Central China Railway Loan.

This long-standing issue appears to be in danger of further shelving if the report from Peking to the effect that Sheng Kung Pao has declined to enter into an engagement with the Quadruple Syndicate is correct. The Board of Communications is in a state of transition until H. E. Tang Shao-yi has reached the capital and taken up his duties in the Board, but when he has entered upon the task to which he has been appointed we do not doubt that he will find a way of settling affairs to the advantage of all parties. The Peking authorities recently sent a special commissioner to enquire into the capacity of the Hupeh gentry and merchants to build their own lines and his report was such that the Grand Council would take no responsibility for it but decided simply to forward it to the Throne for the Regent's perusal. This seems to imply that the resources of the Hupehese are not equal to the task they would undertake, and in that case the way is clear enough, for clamour without cash is worth nothing. If however the Hupeh and Hunan people have shewn any sign that they are really capable of doing any part of the work required their claims may well be met without any sacrifice of the pledge to the Quadruple Syndicate, and means of doing this are not beyond the capacity of the new President of the Yuchuan Pu.

The Canton Railway.

A note in our senior morning contemporary states that for a long time endless confusion has been caused in connexion with the Canton Railway through alleged speculations and struggles for power amongst shareholders and directors and work has been practically at a standstill, whilst the shares have gone down nearly fifty per cent. Recently the shareholders invited Taotai Jeme Tien-yu, who is a native of the Kwangtung province, to direct the railway and supervise its construction. Taotai Jeme made it a condition of his acceptance of office, that he should have full powers and a free hand in his work as well as in employment of men. He also asked that, whatever happened, no stricture should be passed upon him at any stage of the work till the line has been completed. It is now stated that the shareholders have decided to accept his terms and have asked the Yuchuan Pu to sanction H.E. Jeme's engagement and to urge his departure for Canton. The Ministry has agreed that he shall proceed there after he has formed plans for the Szechuan-Tibet railway.

Independent Assemblies.

Some of the provincial assemblies are shewing an independence which were it exercised in a worthier cause would be commendable. The Kwangsi Assembly has decided to resign in a body because the time allowed for the suppression

FORESTATION IN WESTERN CHINA.

By F. Kingdon Ward.

II.

There are three distinct botanical formations, depending entirely on the climate, and particularly on the water supply.

These are: (i).—Desert, with an inadequate water supply.

(ii).—Grass-land, with a moderate water supply, and that falling mostly in the non-vegetative season.

(iii).—Forest, with an adequate water supply at all seasons, and particularly during the vegetative season—that is, outside the tropics, in summer.

These three formations of course overlap and merge into one another by insensible gradations, but are sufficiently distinct in the beginning to afford such complete contrasts as desert, with no living plants, prairie, with no trees, and tropical rain forest.

The greater part of western China, being mountainous, has a distinctly moist climate, and most of the rain falls in the summer; so that having established this much by observation, we are led to infer, whatever appearance the mountains may present now, that, given the chance, they would support a luxuriant tree growth; and as a matter of fact, in the far west beyond the limits of China Proper, many of the mountains are clothed with thick forest, or at least with a dense shrub vegetation.

The second point that it is necessary to insist on, is the fluctuating amount of water coming down a big river like the Yangtze.

We have already stated that the summer is the rainy season in western China, and a few months of wet weather over such an immense area of course make a big difference to the rivers flowing to the Yangtze, which consequently rises considerably in the rainy season.

But that is not all. Did the rainy season coincide with the winter months, as it does in many parts of the world, the Yangtze would probably remain at very much the same level throughout the year.

Let us see how this is.

West of the Min-ho, the Yangtze is a glacier-fed river. Even the western tributaries of the Min, as I observed for myself—the Ya-ho and Ta-tui-ho, are glacier streams. The Ya-lung, and the Kui-sa itself rise far up amongst the stupendous snow ranges of the Mantze country and Anterior Tibet respectively.

Here, then, is a source of great seasonal fluctuation, for the snows and glaciers melt far more rapidly in summer than in winter.

Even so, this difference might be counterbalanced to a large extent, if the winter happened to be the rainy season, and summer the dry season.

But it is not so, and the combination of the two causes a very great annual summer rise in the Yangtze.

This is inevitable, being due to quite natural causes, and starting with this premiss, we have to consider whether or not it is also inevitable that there should be floods lower down, in average years, or even in years of abnormal rise.

I think we shall find that it is by no means necessary, if due precautions are taken—not near the sea, for it is then too late, and we have already seen that deforestation there is of considerable benefit in building up the level of the plain and in keeping open the river channel; but where the water starts from, far up in the mountains. In a dry climate, a river tends to form a gorge, because it scours out its own bed more rapidly than the sides are worn down by weathering; hence nature comes to the rescue as before, only by a different method, and adjusts things, in the absence of protecting vegetation, along new lines.

In a wet climate, on the other hand, the reverse is the case, and the sides of the valley are gradually worn away, though the vegetation to which the wet climate also gives rise affords protection.

A blanket of vegetation is in fact the only thing which will check this, and one frequently sees a river, even in a wet climate, rolling between steep mountains densely clothed with vegetation.

In the first place, nothing is gained by clearing the timber, except the timber itself, for with the removal of the protecting tree growth from steep slopes, the soil is rapidly washed down exposing nothing but bare rock.

In southern Shensi, and also in south western Kansu, the greater part of the mountainous area is not arable for this reason, and cannot there be reforested.

In the second place, the weathering of the rock proceeds very much faster than before, though transport of the material still keeps pace with it.

It is true that two causes of disintegration have been removed, namely, the mechanical action of roots wedging themselves into the interstices of the rocks, and there swelling as they grow; and secondly the chemical action of the roots in slowly corroding the rocks by means of the acids they secrete.

But the soil so broken up remained almost entirely *in situ*, and on the other hand, with the removal of the vegetation, powerful factors have been introduced, which more than counterbalance the withdrawal of these agents.

After the surface soil has been swept away, the rocks are exposed to the powerful heating and cooling effects of day and night, which are so pronounced a feature of mountainous regions, and under the alternate expansion and contraction thus induced in the rock, strains and stresses are set up which make it very little and cause it to break up rapidly.

In the next place, water is now able to get freely into the interstices of the rock, now unprotected from radiation. Hence the water freezes, expands and forms one of the most powerful agents of denudation.

Nor must the chemical action of the rain, in dissolving portions of the rock, to which it now has free access, be ignored.

But in spite of this increase in the rate of production of soil, transport is able to keep pace with it, and bare rock prevails.

The result is that every mountain stream brings down large quantities of sand and rock *debris* and casting them into the main valley, begins to choke it up.

I have seen this over and over again in Shensi, where for days we walked along the dry, stony water-courses of shrunk streams, which flowed in broad valleys because the streams had so frequently been turned aside by a mountain torrent rushing down from above and piling up a huge alluvial fan of earth and rock half way across the valley, thus throwing the stream over to the other side. Here of course it at once begins to widen the valley still more, by attacking the other bank.

This continual choking of the mouths of tributary streams, with the *debris* brought down from the mountains, piles the water up first on one side of the valley, then on the other, and till the rains come, the stream is quite unable to cope with the material thus flung to it; hence it spreads itself out and if flowing in a broad mountain valley, overflows into the surrounding fields, as proved by the film of sand and mud frequently plastered over them. But when the rains come, it is a different story, and these bare stony valleys served to remind one how the water swept down from above in one great rush, carrying everything before it.

Such things taking place simultaneously in thousands of collecting streams, it is not surprising that floods occur lower down, and I have no doubt that the forty days of rain on the upper Han at the end of the summer of 1909, would have been sufficient to cause the disastrous bursting of its bank, which we saw a couple of hundred miles above Hankow, had the mountains not been denuded of forest.

The protection afforded by forest under these circumstances is three-fold.

In the first place the vegetation itself can take up a good deal of water; in the second place the layer of soil and humus can absorb a good deal more, in the manner of a sponge, and in the third place, and more important than all, the two processes combined act as a strainer, letting the water down gradually from the mountains to the streams.

Indirectly, a river in flood, being able to scour its bed deeper and keep a clear channel for the extra water, may keep within bounds even in flood time, if it has not previously choked up its bed with quantities of rock and sand; but great piles of rubble in the way when a sudden rush of water comes, at once tend to push it out of its course, or over its banks.

Between Tatsienlu and Ya-chou-fu last July, several mountain torrents were coming down in spate, and the rapidity of their rise and fall, and the havoc they wrought in a brief space of time, were extraordinary.

Streams which had been mere trickles of water in June were roaring floods a month later. Bridges had been carried away, roads broken, and in many places where they skirted precipices, rendered extremely dangerous for mules, and in the course of a single night, whole fields stripped bare and plastered with several inches of sand.

Several cottages, too, had suffered, the stream having taken them in its flight and poured straight through, piling up sand and mud everywhere.

All this would happen within twenty-four hours, and the stream be passable again, only the trail of wreck and ruin showing what had passed over the scene like a spirit of vengeance.

One could not help noticing in southern Shensi how very scarred the mountains were, slashed on every hand with deep water-courses, far more so than would be the case were they protected by vegetation.

And this brings us to another consideration, namely, that since the mountains are wearing away faster, the mud must be carried down to the sea faster, and the coastal plain is therefore being built out seawards more rapidly also, in spite of the deforestation on the seaboard. Calculations have been made of the amount of mud the Yangtze carries annually out to sea, and from this the rate of growth of the estuarine islands has been calculated, and their approximate ages estimated.

But in the light of the above, the probability is that in archaic times the Yangtze carried far less mud than it does now, and that it is carrying more and more every year, to the benefit of the coastal plain, though to the extreme detriment of other parts.

There is very little forest left in Shensi, but a thick scrub vegetation of oak, chestnut, willow, hazel, and other small trees, perhaps ten to twelve feet high, covers many of the mountains beyond the inhabited valleys at altitudes of 6,000 to 7,000 feet.

On Tai-pei-san, however, and the mountains beyond, there are still considerable stretches of conifer forest, though even this is being ruthlessly cut down as fast as possible, and carried in planks down to the valley.

In the loess hills of south eastern Kansu there is neither forest nor scrub, the hills are absolutely bare, and though the loess gradually gives place to metamorphic rocks as the watershed is reached, and the metamorphic rocks to conglomerate cliffs in the neighbourhood of Min-chou, yet these geological variations are unaccompanied by any considerable increase of vegetation. Altogether this was one of the most desolate pieces of country I have ever traversed.

It is undeniable then, that the headwaters of all the lower tributaries of the Yangtze rise amongst mountains practically stripped bare of forest.

Beyond Min-chou, however, south of the Tow river, and beyond Tow-chow-ting on both sides of the Tow, a startling change sets in, for here are great conifer forests stretching away up into the mountains, covering range beyond range, and reaching to the limits of tree growth, 14,000 to 15,000 feet in those regions; the trees are silver and spruce fir chiefly.

No sharper demarcation between Chinese and Tibetan territory could be devised, and from this point right away westwards to near the source of the Yellow River, where the Tow rises, it flows through similarly forested mountains.

It is therefore only in accordance with what has been said above to find no traces of flooding, no traces of alluvial fans in the tributary valleys, or of extensive sheets of dry river bed, though of course there is more water in this river in summer than in winter.

West of Tatsienlu, in the Mantze country, it is much the same; the high mountains and valleys are thickly forested, and the rivers present an entirely different appearance from that of the mountain rivers of Shensi, not altogether due to their being nearer their source; for there the only forests left are on precipices which are practically inaccessible, or so entirely remote that they have not even yet been reached by the wood-cutter. What becomes of all this wood that is cut?

Some is sawn into planks and carried to the city; some is burned for charcoal, and likewise carried to the city; but the brushwood is almost entirely used for fuel on the spot by the improvident peasants.

And the irony of it all is, there are such vast stores of coal all over China.

The sooner the Central Government goes carefully into the question of forest preservation the better; not for the sake of the timber, though it would be a good thing to stop the indiscriminate destruction of that, too, but for the sake of the crops.

We never hear of one half the floods in China, and then it is only the very big ones. It is not too much to say that thousands of acres of crops are destroyed annually by floods alone, and it may be confidently asserted that the causes can be traced entirely to the deforestation of the mountains where the big tributaries of the Yangtze have their sources—the headwaters of the Han, Kia-ling, Min, and other streams.

REVIEWS.

SCIENTIFIC TRAVEL.

YUNNAN: THE LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND THE YANGTZE. By MAJOR H. R. DAVIES. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1909.

The traveller who sets out to tell us of the foreign countries he has seen, will always be sure of an audience so long as he keeps his end in view, whether to amuse or to instruct. A very few amuse in an instructive manner, and still fewer instruct in an amusing manner, except unintentional humourists; but the average traveller aims at either the one or the other.

It is this consideration which tempts us to think that Major Davies has done either too much, or too little—for our own part we would say the latter; in fact we are inclined to think that the author would have done better had he written two books.

People who are unable to travel themselves, read books of travel with the object of following the explorer, in imagination, through his joys and sorrows, of triumphing in his triumphs, and condoling with his misfortunes; they reap where he has sown as they read of what he saw, and felt, the human touch that makes kin the traveller and the man at home. But he is frightened of names, for to him an obscure name means nothing; latitude and longitude mock his ignorance and try his patience; and attitudes, except when associated with an interesting peak, pass, or city, are apt to bore him.

In the first three chapters of the book before us the writer makes out a plain case for the construction of the Burma-Yunnan railway, and in view of recent developments, we heartily endorse his remarks as to the necessity of building this railway ourselves, before it is too late.

Chapters four to twenty-seven deal with a series of trips through the Shan States, and western Yunnan, and we are not much impressed; it is here that the long lists of names becomes rather overwhelming, the Shan, Chinese, and Burmese names being frequently given to every village encountered.

In a modest preface, however, the author disarms us, by proclaiming that the book is written primarily for the future traveller, and that it does not contain a number of amusing incidents or thrilling adventures.

Yet we are sure that such must have occurred, even in the Shan States, and we feel almost justified in asking for them from a traveller who has explored such a *terra incognita* as the tribal districts of Yunnan and the Mantze Marches of far western Suchuan.

We see that the book is addressed to a more limited audience than we had hoped—to the Civil Servant, the soldier, the merchant interested in railroad development, and the explorer; and consequently we feel that, whether or not, it is a pity, from the author's point of view, to circumscribe unnecessarily his audience at the outset, by appearing too technical, it is certainly a pity from the reader's point of view.

As soon as the author starts westwards, however, from chapter twenty-eight onwards the magnificence of the scenery and the novelty of Lolos, Shi-fans and Tibetans, have a most salutary effect, and our interest is riveted at once, with incident and description; the story of the author's attempt, with two other British officers, to cross the Mekong into Anterior Tibet is certainly one of the finest in the book.

We have no hesitation in saying that any reader who has the patience to read the first half of the book will be amply rewarded by the second half, which is as interesting and enthralling as the first half is severe and technical.

The writer is often droll, but he sees no humour in a Chinese inn or in Tibetan dirtiness; on the other hand he touches lightly, with all the nonchalance of an old campaigner, on the difficulties encountered in the bleak mountains, of sleeping in the snow and the rain, of dying transport animals, and of hostile Tibetans. Perhaps Major Davies takes life too seriously. We are sorry that the author has not come down more to our level, for we must confess to a weakness for enjoying the perils and difficulties of other men.

On outside matters other than railway routes the author refrains from touching, though we are glad to see, what indeed we should have expected from a British officer, that he pays a chivalrous tribute to the missionaries of the interior.

In a series of appendices, Major Davies sums up the physical features, area, population, climate and products of Yunnan, followed by a thoughtful chapter on its commercial prospects, and two chapters on the route of the proposed railway.

For Private Circulation only.



The Crisis in China.



SYNOPSIS.

I.—The Crisis.

1. Possibility of the speedy conversion of the yellow race.
2. Four competitors for it.
 - (1) Materialists. (2) Romanists. (3) Russians. (4) Protestants.

II.—The Methods of Protestant Work—all indispensable.

1. Evangelistic—cannot reach all personally.
2. Educational—takes many years.
3. Medical—deals with men in an abnormal state.
4. Literary—more universal in its operation.
 - (1) Necessary—(a) To supplement the work of the R.T.S. (b) To reach the higher classes. (c) To keep the door open for all Societies and all the other methods. (d) To suit the genius of the Chinese.
 - (2) The method of production. By best writers in all Societies; in two magazines; in books on all matters relating to the Kingdom of God.
 - (3) The method of distribution. (a) Among all civil officers. (b) Among all students. (c) By offering prizes. (d) By opening up depôts.
 - (4) Wonderful results—(a) speedy, (b) widespread, (c) on all classes, (d) profound, and (e) tending towards automatic support.

III.—The Relative Value of the Methods.

Literary work enormously under-estimated.

IV.—The Cost of the Literary Branch.

1. Hitherto one-sixth of that of the Bible Societies.
2. Hitherto that of the C. L. S. largely met by private parties.
3. Efficient scheme will cost £4,000.

V.—Propositions for Meeting the Crisis.

1. Send only the best missionaries—spiritually and intellectually.
2. Let them live in the chief centres.
3. Make special use of the Press and books now.
 - (1) By each Society giving at least one man for literary work.
 - (2) By each Society also granting at least £100 annually for the same.

When both cannot be done let the money grant be made.

The Crisis in China, AND HOW TO MEET IT.

[NOTE.—This is mainly the substance of an address delivered at the Secretaries' Association, in London, February 17th, 1897. As it was suggested that the speaker should lay the matter before the Committee of each Missionary Society, it is now printed for presentation to these Committees.]

I.—The Crisis in China: the collapse of its power before Japan.

1. The crisis has brought with it the possibility of the speedy conversion of the yellow race to Christianity. This would be one of the **most important** events in the history of the human race, for their civilisation is the highest non-Christian civilisation in the world, and their number exceeds that of the white race. For some centuries the rulers of China have had Christianity before them in some aspects of it. Now, since the Treaties were made, and especially since the Japanese war, there has been a profound impression produced compelling reconsideration of their past attitude toward Christianity and Christian civilisation.

2. There are now four competitors for the yellow race:—

(1) The modern Materialists and Agnostics without God or religion. These are forming syndicates of scores of millions of pounds sterling to exploit China for their own benefit. Such prosperity never lasts long.

(2) The Romanists, with the Pope supreme instead of God and conscience, light and love. They (in China) are Romanist first, French or German second, and Christian last. They have a Weekly to propagate their views. They have a **million followers** led by Jesuits, who seek to destroy Protestantism. We have to choose between adopting a more rapid method of conversion (not therefore less real), and having to work among the Chinese after their conversion to Romanism.

(3) The Russians, with a mixture of modern materialism and with devout but dark and loveless mediæval Christianity, who seek national aggrandisement and Greek orthodoxy more than Christianity. Russia, besides its vast railway and banking schemes, has decided on a forward missionary movement.

(4) Reformed Christianity, which recognises the Divine wherever found, and seeks to bring the pure life, light, and love of God to the Chinese. Protestants have **200,000 followers**.

As the Chinese have been the foremost in the Far East from the beginning of history, it is likely that they will prove one of the greatest factors in the future history of the human race, therefore by the result of this competition will the future of the human race be greatly influenced. Let us, then, see to it that we at once commend the Gospel in all its purity and fulness to the consciences of these Chinese.

II.—The Methods of Protestant Mission Work. In the main these are four, and they are all indispensable.

1. The **Evangelistic**. This method involves travelling far and wide to secure personal contact with as many Chinese as possible. But we have learnt by experience that it takes a very long time to reach many personally. We have also learnt that nine-tenths of the converts are brought in by the natives themselves. The missionary's work, then, comes to be chiefly inspiring, organising, superintending, teaching, etc., the comparatively few gathered around him, on the lines commanded by our Lord, and followed by His Apostles, of seeking first the worthy, and then sending these to evangelise their countrymen.

2. The **Educational**. This method involves the opening of primary or day schools, secondary or boarding schools, and advanced or Theological Institutions. But the training of native pastors, evangelists, and teachers involves an immense expenditure of time, some pupils being from ten to fourteen years under training.

3. The **Medical**. This is also a most important method, but it only deals with men when they are in an abnormal state. The normal state is that of health. Christianity must commend itself to men in that state also before prevailing generally.

4. The **Literary**. It deals with all the classes that the other methods reach, and some that they do not reach. For influencing men at such a crisis as the present, the literary method has many great advantages. Its **record** in China **is marvellous**. Briefly, the history of this method is as follows:—The Religious Tract Society had been making increasing grants for Christian books and tracts there, but as the work in China grew the R.T.S. could not keep up with the increasing demands of the work, therefore, in 1887, the *Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese* (known in Scotland as the *Christian Literature Society for China*) was founded by the Rev. Alex. Williamson, LL.D., of the United Presbyterian Mission of Scotland.

(1) This Society was necessary for several reasons.

(a) Because a few missionaries without books could not reach the four hundred millions, and the grants of the R.T.S. were insufficient.

(b) Because the first converts were among the poor. The rich and influential would not attend Christian places of worship, and they would not receive the visits of missionaries at their homes. The only way to get over this chasm was by means of a bridge of books which the educated would read at their homes.

(c) Because the policy of the Government and the gentry and educated classes was to oppose Christianity under the belief that the spread of Christianity would be injurious to their nation; hence the introduction of Christianity to almost every new place was accompanied by persecutions and riots more or less violent, and even by massacres, threatening lately to stamp out Christianity altogether, and therefore to stop every method of Christian work.

The leading missionaries of all societies believed that the literary method of the C. L. S. (which is entirely unsectarian, like the Bible and Tract Societies, giving expression to the united views of all true Christians of whatever name) was far more effective in securing a good understanding than appealing to Consuls for protection by gunboats. They believed that if the Chinese only knew the real value of Christianity they would not oppose, but even help on Christian work. Hence, in addition to ordinary religious books and tracts, special apologetic literature was required to meet the peculiar needs of China if missionary work was to go on at all. Therefore, in 1890, the General Conference decided to have fresh work on these lines; in 1892 twenty-nine of the leading missionaries signed an appeal to the churches at home for the support of this work among the higher classes; in 1895 twenty missionaries signed the Memorial drawn up by members of our Society and those of the Hankow R. T. S.; in 1895 the Missionary Association in Shanghai passed a resolution requesting our Society to publish a weekly paper in the Mandarin language so as to meet the masses at large, and not be behind the Romanists.

This we intend to do as soon as we have funds. Thus there was a need of a body of men there who should be above sectarianism—Christians first, their respective denominations after—recognising the spirit of the Master under many different Christian names, and speaking authoritatively to the Chinese on all matters of common interest.

(d) Because it is a form which specially suits the genius of the Chinese. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism have not been propagated so much by preaching as by books. The Chinese masses who cannot read have for millenniums followed the students who can read. The student is eager to learn from us to-day.

(2) The method of production of books. This Society was organised to get Christian books produced by the best literary men belonging to all Societies—British, German, and American—and thus prepare books for the regeneration of China. We have two monthly Magazines—a general one to inform the rulers and students of China of what Christian nations are doing for their peoples, the other a more directly religious one to inform the leaders in our native churches of what the Christian Church is doing all over the world. There are books on—

The Life of Christ, shewing how Christ influences mankind.

Natural Theology, shewing God in nature and providence.

Civilisation, contrasting the Chinese with the Christian.

The Benefits of Christianity, historically considered.

History of the 19th Century, giving the reforms of Christendom.

The Witnesses, a series of biographies of men who give their reasons for giving up their former religions, and becoming Christians.

How to Support the Nations, shewing that the development of the nation's resources and the laying down of railways, etc., is the best form of famine relief and deliverance from wretched poverty.

Altogether, small and great, we have over 80 different publications. These publications are used more or less by every missionary society in China. Our aim is to write on all subjects of importance to the Kingdom of God in China.

(3) The Society's method of distributing books to guide the mind of China is as follows:—

(a) By distributing books among all the civil officers of the Government of the rank of mayor and upwards throughout the empire (which is as large as all Europe).

(b) By distributing books among all the students gathered annually at the 200 centres (of districts as large as Wales) for examination. They average about 5,000 students for each centre, and amount to about a million students in all. The future rulers of China are chosen from among these.

Guiding the above, we **guide the 400 millions** of China!

(c) By offering prizes to the students for essays on subjects dealt with in our books.

(d) By opening a central Dépôt at Shanghai and Dépôts at each provincial capital and finally at each examination centre (of which there are ten in each province), where all the best Christian books, Bibles and tracts of all kinds are to be kept on sale.

(4) Some of the wonderful results of the work of this Society:—

(a) They are speedy. The Society was only founded nine years ago. Before the Japanese war subscriptions from non-Christians began

to come in—a thing unheard of before. The Viceroy Chang Chih Tung, in 1894, sent 1,000 taels (£160), and others (among them the head of the China Merchants' Company), *unasked*, sent smaller sums. During the Japanese war, both the Viceroys Li Hung Chang and Chang Chih Tung consulted us. At the close of the war our chief periodical had quadrupled its circulation. After the peace with Japan was signed, when Reform Societies were formed by the highest statesmen in Peking and Shanghai, they frequently asked advice of us.

(b) The results are widespread. Although our headquarters are at Shanghai, many influential Chinamen as well as missionaries in Peking, Hangchow, Foochow and Canton on the coast, and in Honan, Shensi, Szechuen and Hunan in the interior—places as far apart from one another as the capitals of Europe—have written friendly letters to us thanking us for the work of our Society.

(c) Our work has touched very important classes. Many officials, high and low, have now promised us protection and help for Christians.

Many of the Hanlins (*i.e.*, doctors of Chinese literature) thank us for the light already given, and are asking for more.

The modern Sage, Kang Yeu Wei, a man who in China occupies a position somewhat similar to that which Keshub Chunder Sen held in India, and some of his numerous and influential followers offer to co-operate with us.

Several of the native Christian leaders have been greatly quickened in Peking, Foochow, and elsewhere in consequence of our publications in a way not known before by books of any other Society.

The province of Hunan was the hot-bed of anti-Christian literature, but after two years' perusal of our books the Chancellor of Education for the whole province has invited our Chinese Editor to become Professor in their chief College in the provincial capital!

Thus the doors which were threatened to be closed violently against missionaries as their enemies are suddenly opened, and we are invited to enter in as their friends.

(d) The results are also profound. Just consider what the effect would be on England if the manager of the P. & O. or Sir Donald Currie, if Herbert Spencer, one or two of our great Viceroys, and Lord Salisbury were all to announce at the same time their belief that the former attitude of our Sovereign towards Romanism, for instance, was a mistake, and that henceforth it would be better that England should pay more attention to the claims of Rome! Something of that kind has taken place in China, but in favour of Protestant Christianity. The former conservatism is considered a mistake, and leading members of the Chinese Government and many of the leading thinkers are cultivating friendly relationship with Protestant missionaries.

(e) Consider also the bearing of the literary method on self-support. It introduces an **automatic method**. Instead of appealing apparently without end to the churches at home for funds to carry on missionary work in China, the Chinese when once convinced of the value of Christianity may do what the higher classes in Europe long ago did (and what the Chinese themselves did long ago with Buddhist

missionaries)—viz., invite Christian missionaries, and support them, in order that they may not be behind other nations. They are already beginning to invite the missionaries to help them. This will free the Christian Church to do something **more advanced** than laying the foundations.

Each of the above results is remarkable. Together they form a marvellous record, which is not easily paralleled in the annals of missions. Some have estimated that this method is **one hundredfold** more effective than others.

We have only endeavoured to follow more fully **God's Mission laws** revealed in the process of redemption of the human race, and He has brought about the results.

III.—Reconsider the relative value of methods.

In view of the remarkable results of the *Literary* method being more rapid, more widespread, more profound and more final, should not the missionary societies reconsider the relative value of the different methods? There are in China about 1,000 missionaries mainly given to the Evangelistic method; there are some hundreds devoting themselves mainly to Educational work; there are some hundreds devoting themselves mainly to Medical work. But the number of those who are wholly devoted to the preparation of Christian literature you can count on the fingers of one hand—viz., two American, two German, and only one British missionary! This shows that literary work has been enormously under-estimated.

If the power of Literature be of little consequence, then let it have but little support; but seeing it has proved itself again in China what it was at the Renaissance, at the Reformation, and at the modern Revolutions of Europe, one of the most potent methods of quickly influencing public opinion—then let it have a corresponding degree of support. Finance Committees and those who contribute largely to the Mission cause will carefully weigh these facts.

IV.—The cost of the Literary Branch.

1. It has only been one-sixth that spent on Bibles. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the National Bible Society of Scotland, and the American Bible Society spend about £15,000 per annum on Bibles in China. But the combined expenditure of the London Religious Tract Society, of the American Tract Society, and of the Christian Literature Society for China is only about £2,200, or one-sixth that of the Bible Societies!

2. The U.P. Missionary Society paid Dr. Williamson's salary, and aided him also in the formation of the Society in Scotland that sends some £300 annually to China. Since October, 1891, the B.M.S. has paid the writer's salary. The Meth. Episc. Society of the United States pays the salary of the Rev. Young J. Allen, LL.D., who edits one of our Magazines, and who has written some very valuable works for us. The Rev. E. T. Williams, who edits our Missionary Review in Chinese, devotes part of his time to earn his own living, and all the rest he devotes to the work of our Society; and Pastor Krantz, who acts as Secretary *pro tem.*, gave us \$1,200 to have one of our books placed in the hands of all the civil officers in the Empire.

3. It has been estimated that £20 per annum will supply sufficient books for distribution at each examination centre, representing a prefecture of 10 counties—i.e., a district about the size of Wales. The smaller books will be given gratis, but the larger ones will be on sale. As there are nearly 200 such centres in China, it would require £4,000 per annum to reach the whole. But hitherto we have only been able to reach some dozen centres, chiefly at the coast.

V.—Propositions for meeting the crisis.

1. Send only the very best missionaries—spiritually and intellectually—to China, bearing in mind that what we want there are **leaders of leaders** at this great national and racial crisis.

2. Let these live at the chief ports, provincial capitals, and the 200 prefectural (foo) cities, centralising there and not at county towns. Let the Chinese agents live at and take charge of these county towns. Confining the residence of the foreign missionaries to the chief centres will prevent the undesirable flooding of the Empire with foreigners, which would only rouse the national prejudice. Increase of foreign missionaries beyond a certain point becomes a hindrance instead of a help.

3. Above all, make a special effort to secure an adequate literary work in China. This can be done :

(1) By each Society setting wholly apart at least one of its best literary men to work with the C.L.S.; or, better still, a due proportion—say one in ten—of its missionaries to begin with.

(2) By each Society, in addition to setting men apart, making a grant of at least £100 annually for the production and distribution of the books of the C.L.S., or, better still, a percentage—say, two or three per cent.—of their gross expenditure in China to begin with.

When both these steps cannot be taken at once, it is of the utmost importance that an annual grant of money be given as soon as possible.

Owing to the urgency of the crisis and the remarkable success that had attended the efforts of our Society, I was requested by our Committee in Shanghai to come home to raise more funds.

I had an interview with the London Committee of the Christian Literature Society for India in regard to the union of their Society with ours, so as to save working expenses, but the conditions are so different that it was thought wise for the present to work independently.

I next applied to the R.T.S. for a grant of money, but they replied that owing to “diminished resources” they could not take up fresh work at present, yet promise to help when their funds allow.

After that, I went to Scotland to appeal to the public there for an increased effort; this they have made to some extent. But they ask, Why does not London and England help? Some friends advise me to stay in England to form other auxiliaries. Others, again, say “Do not multiply new societies; as this is direct mission work, apply to each of the missionary societies to make an annual grant, as all societies in China are greatly benefited by the literature.”

If the various societies could see their way to assist us, then I could return to China at once, and help my brethren there to make the most of the present unprecedented opportunity. At this stupendous crisis there is **no time to be lost**. A plenteous autumn harvest can only be secured by the right use of spring.

If immediate steps are taken on the lines indicated, then, with God’s blessing, we may expect to see speedy and marvellous results in the turning of the millions of China to Jesus Christ, and this crisis in China made an immense blessing to the rest of the human race; whereas, if we neglect to take adequate measures, God may take our opportunity away and give it to others.

LONDON,

March, 1897.

TIMOTHY RICHARD,

Secretary,

*Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge
among the Chinese.*

Robert E. Speer.

CHINA. No. 1 (1872).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

CIRCULAR OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

OF

FEBRUARY 9, 1871,

RELATING TO

MISSIONARIES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1872.

LONDON:

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Correspondence respecting the Circular of the Chinese Government of February 9, 1871, relating to Missionaries.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, June 27, 1871.

IN an interview which I yesterday had with the French Chargé d'Affaires, he spoke about the questions pending with the Chinese Government, and expressed a wish to know what were the opinions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the late Chinese Circular respecting missionaries.

M. Gavard told me that, just as the United States had done, the French Government took great exception to that Circular, and that the pretensions put forward in it were inadmissible. He said that he feared from the conversation he had had with Mr. Hammond, that we took a favourable view of it.

I told M. Gavard that I could not pretend to think that the conduct of the French missionaries, stimulated by the highest and most laudable object, had been prudent in the interest of Christianity itself, and that the support which had been given by the Representatives of France to their pretensions was dangerous to the future relations of Europe with China; that I had always frankly communicated to the Government of France all the information I received from China on this subject; and that I certainly trusted that the French Government would consider what was to be done with calmness and moderation, and only after communication with other Governments; that I should be ready to go into the question of the Circular, as soon as he was able to tell me what were the views of his Government.

M. Gavard assented to the principle which I had laid down; but he denied that the facts justified the accusations. If they did so, the French Government would be the first to condemn them.

I asked M. Gavard whether he knew what had passed between his Government and the Chinese Envoy; but he said that he had received no information on the point.

No. 2.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 1, 1871.

ON the 27th ultimo I informed your Excellency of what had passed at an interview which I had on the previous day with the French Chargé d'Affaires on the questions pending with the Chinese Government, and particularly with reference to the Chinese Circular respecting missionaries.

M. Gavard called upon me again yesterday when the same subject was touched upon. I observed to him that it was unnecessary to repeat what I had said on the previous occasion as to the importance which Her Majesty's Government attached to the French Government restraining their missionaries from doing things which, on account of the important objects which they had in view, appeared justifiable, but which seriously

endangered the relations of European Powers with China. But I said there were objectionable details in the Circular, and that I should be ready to communicate to him the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the different Articles, if he received instructions from his Government to communicate theirs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 3.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received July 8.)

(Extract.)

Versailles, July 6, 1871.

M. JULES FAVRE told me this afternoon that he thought the best mode of dealing with the late Chinese Circular respecting missionaries would be, that a collective answer, pointing out the particulars in which it was open to objection, should be made to it by the Powers to whom it had been addressed.

No. 4.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Pakenham.**

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 10, 1871.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, and for communication to the United States' Government, a draft of a despatch which Her Majesty's Government propose to address to Mr. Wade respecting the Circular of the Chinese Government on the subject of religious missions in China.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 5.

Earl Granville to Lord Lyons.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 11, 1871.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 6th of July, Her Majesty's Government will always be ready to join the Government of France in any representations which may conduce to the better regulation of the intercourse between China and the Treaty Powers, but on the present occasion it appears to them that, from the different nature of the Treaty provisions as affects the position of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in China, it would be better that each nation should return a separate reply to the Circular; and they mean to address a despatch to Mr. Wade, of which the draft is inclosed for communication to the French Government.†

No. 6.

Mr. Wade to Earl Granville.—(Received August 15.)

(Extract.)

Peking, June 8, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to forward your Lordship translations of a note or Memorandum addressed by the T'sung-li Yamên, in the first instance, to all foreign Representatives resident in Peking, and subsequently to those of all foreign Treaty Powers, of eight propositions appended to the Memorandum, and of a note addressed by the Minister Wensiang to Sir R. Alcock shortly before he left Peking in 1869.

The last was doubtless submitted by Sir R. Alcock to Lord Clarendon; but as I have been unable to find a translation of it in the archives, and as the Minister, Wên Siang, has again drawn attention to it, I have had a fresh translation of it made.

* Similar despatches were addressed to Mr. Petre and Sir A. Buchanan.

† See No. 9.

The note or Memorandum is, in the main, an expansion of the note to Sir R. Alcock.

Admitting that, so far as trade is concerned, the Treaties work well enough, the writer complains that their provisions fail entirely in the regulation of the missionary question; and that, through the unsatisfactory position of this, the whole question of foreign relations is affected.

The promiscuous enlistment of evil men as well as good by the Romish missionaries, and their advocacy of the claims advanced by these ill-conditioned converts, has made Romanism most unpopular; and the people at large do not distinguish between Romanist and Protestant, nor between foreigner and foreigner: not that Government has made no effort to instruct the people, but China is a large Empire.

The growing feeling against propagandism had long rendered the Government anxious before the Tien-tsin massacre; and now, although mandarins have been exiled, criminals executed, indemnities paid, Government still continues anxious, feeling that, if there are to be more such outbreaks, recurrence to such measures will be in each instance more difficult. How then about the future?

First, as to the past. The high officers both of China and of foreign countries have been sadly to blame for a hand-to-mouth policy in dealing with the missionary question. Foreigners ask and China concedes what will make things smooth for the moment. Foreigners also ask what is impracticable in order to place China in an *impasse*. The Chinese Government would have the missionaries all brought under the same control, as in other countries, amenable to the laws of the land, restrained from undue assumption of status and authority, and from acts that produce scandal (see Article II). There should be no mystery in what they do (this refers to the Orphelinats), and their conduct should in all respects conform to the doctrine they teach.

At present they constitute in China an *imperium in imperio*; and it is to be apprehended that their followers, seeing how the Tien-tsin massacre has been punished, will presume more than heretofore, and that of this will come an uprising of the people beyond the power of Government to control. The responsibility of foreign Governments will be great if they do not join China in devising precautionary measures.

This is the sum of the note. Appended to it is a Memorandum containing eight Articles, in which are set forth various griefs, each Article being supplemented by a note purporting to supply evidence in support of the charge preferred.

Article 1 recommends the entire suppression of the foreign Orphelinats; if this be impossible, the exclusion of all but Christian children, in any case registration of the children, and free admission of their friends. The present secrecy of proceedings in the asylums provokes suspicion. The common people still believe in the removal of the children's hearts and eyes. These Orphelinats besides are really not wanted, for similar asylums abound in China.

Article 2 protests against the appearance of women in the same chapels as the men, and against the employment of female missionaries.

Article 3 assails the missionaries' independence of the laws, their assumption of power and position, their oppression of the people not Christian, their abuse of Confucianism, by which they exasperate the people.

It complains equally of the assumption of independence by the Christian congregations, their refusal to render certain service as subjects of the Empire, to pay revenue to Government, to pay rents to individuals. In all such refusals they are supported by their missionaries, who interfere in suits before the Courts. Betrothals also are repudiated by Christians, and their alienation of property produces family feuds.

Article 4 complains of the demands made for indemnity over and above the punishment of offenders, while Christians offending are withheld from justice by missionaries. Missionaries so offending should be required to undergo the same punishment as the offender, otherwise to leave the country. (See the note following this Article.)

Article 5 would regulate the use of their passports by the missionaries, prevent their transfer, and limit the area of the holder's movements, the penalty of disobedience being deportation.

Article 6 condemns the reception as converts of men whose characters cannot be guaranteed. Bad Christians should be expelled, and a return of all Christians should be periodically made.

In the note to this Article some instances are given of the admission of rebel leaders and other disreputable people into the Church, and of their subsequent lawless conduct, in one case quoted, apparently under missionary protection.

Article 7 denounces the abrogation by missionaries of official attributions in intercourse and correspondence. They should accept, it urges, the status of Chinese

literati in both. Cases are cited in the note of their assuming the use of seals, or titles, or forms of correspondence to which they had no right.

Article 8 and last deals with the restitution of property formerly belonging to Christians (and now claimed by the Church under Article VI of the Convention of 1860). Buildings are demanded back without reference to popular sympathies or prejudices; some that have passed through many hands since the Christians, the original proprietors, sold them; some that their purchasers have greatly improved. The missionaries will pay nothing, but, on the other hand, when a house they claim is in ruins, they seek to exact money for the repair of it.

Had it not been for the strong resemblance between the note addressed to Sir Rutherford Aleock and the memorandum now under review, I should have been disposed to regard the latter, to a certain extent, in the light of a defensive document, put forward in deprecation of any further demands that might be made on the score of the Tien-tsin massacre. This is, to a certain extent, its aim, but not, I am satisfied, its only aim. It is intended to be an exposé of a state of things that is sorely irritating the educated class who govern China, and an appeal to foreign Governments to unite in effecting some arrangements by which the causes that provoke this irritation may be controlled.

The papers, especially the supplement, are very badly put together. They contain some statements which will be easily contradicted, and some imputations which cannot be sustained; but, taken with the matter of many a long conversation on the same subject, to which I have listened in the last eight years, they strengthen my conviction that, to secure the missionary against the hostility of the lettered class, one of two courses must be pursued,—either the missionary must be supported, out and out, by the sword of the protecting Powers, or he must be placed by the protecting Powers under restrictions which, whilst leaving him always as much latitude of action as, if simply intent on Christianizing China, he is justified in desiring, will yet enable the Chinese Government to declare to those whose conservatism chafes at the present pretensions of the missionary that he, the missionary, is not authorized by the Power protecting him to put forward the pretensions objected to.

That the appeal of the Yamên is feebly drawn up I have already admitted, and I cannot say much for its candour. Its incompleteness, in my eyes, will be seen from the rejoinder I have drafted to the Grand Secretary Wên Siang, copy of which I inclose. In this I am obliged to impugn the correctness of some of his information, and especially to reject as insufficient the explanation attempted of the Tien-tsin massacre.

The passage, to my taste, the most offensive in the whole paper is that in which credit is taken for the decision of that case as satisfactory, so much too satisfactory that Christians may be emboldened by it to go greater lengths than heretofore.

The papers when first circulated appeared to the French exceedingly aggressive. I am not a convert to this view. The Chinese keep back, as might be expected of them, all reference to the barbarous persecution of converts and missionaries in various places, if not at the instigation of the mandarins, at any rate with their full knowledge of what was passing, and they have scanty data for some of their charges of missionary intervention and pretentiousness. But I do not believe that this appeal is an excuse for some blow that they know is about to be struck.

It is fair to add that, by the testimony of Romish missionaries in all directions, the Government is doing its best to prevent any collision with Christians. Three-fourths of the Romish missionaries in China, in all, between 400 and 500 persons, are French; and Romanism in the mouths of non-Christian Chinese, is as popularly termed the religion of the French as the religion of the Lord of Heaven.

A dread of Romish ascendancy, as I have more than once reported, I have heard very frequently allowed; and the fear that the ranks of the Romanists, recruited by all who wish to set their own Government at nought, will presently outnumber the well affected, or that the Romish community, without attaining such proportions, will throw itself for support upon the French, although it is not avowed in the Memorandum, is, in my belief, the suggesting cause of its production.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

*Memorandum of the Tsung-li Yamên upon the Missionary Question, circulated
February 9, 1871.*

(Translation.)

WHEN the Treaties between China and foreign countries were concluded, it was hoped that their provisions would prove of advantage to both parties, and of disadvantage to neither, and this for evermore. The experience of a series of years, however, has shown

not only that these provisions will not avail for all time, but that even now there are difficulties which they will not solve.

In trade, indeed, there is no cause of serious quarrel between native and foreigner, but connected with the missionary question there is a vast amount of mischief on the increase, the fact being that while propagandism* starts with the announcement that its object is the exhortation of people to virtue, Romanism† as propagated in China, has the effect of setting the people against it; and inasmuch as this is entirely the result of the unsuitableness of the *modus operandi* now in vogue, it is essential that there be devised, without loss of time, such remedial measures as will bring things back to a satisfactory condition.

The missionary question affects the whole question of pacific relations with foreign powers—the whole question of their trade. As the Minister addressed cannot but be well aware, wherever missionaries of the Romish profession appear, ill-feeling begins between them and the people, and for years past, in one case or another, points of all kinds on which they are at issue, have been presenting themselves. In earlier times when the Romish missionaries first came to China, styled, as they were, “Si Ju,” the Scholars of the West, their converts no doubt for the most part were persons of good character; but, since the exchange of ratifications in 1860, the converts have in general not been of a moral class. The result has been that the religion that professes to exhort men to virtue has come to be thought lightly of; it is, in consequence, unpopular, and its unpopularity is greatly increased by the conduct of the converts who, relying on the influence of the missionaries, oppress and take advantage of the common people (the non-Christians): and yet more by the conduct of the missionaries themselves, who, when collisions between Christians and the people occur, and the authorities are engaged in dealing with them, take part with the Christians, and uphold them in their opposition to the authorities. This indiscriminating enlistment of proselytes has gone so far that rebels and criminals of China, pettifoggers and mischief-makers, and such like, take refuge in the profession of Christianity, and covered by this position, create disorder. This has deeply dissatisfied the people, and their dissatisfaction long felt grows into animosity, and their animosity into deadly hostility. The populations of different localities are not aware that Protestantism and Romanism are distinct. They include both under the latter denomination. They do not know that there is any distinction between the nations of the West. They include them all under the one denomination of foreigners, and thus any serious collision that occurs equally compromises all foreigners in China. Even in the provinces not concerned, doubt and misgiving are certain to be largely generated. Under such circumstances, how is it possible but that there should be irritation, and that this should show itself in serious outbreaks? That creed is distinct from creed, and nationality from nationality, is a truth, and it is not that this truth has not been again and again the subject of injunction and exposition, but the inculcation of the truth of such things upon every one, house by house, and family by family, is scarcely possible.

During the ten years that the Prince and the Ministers have held office‡ the apprehension (that something of this sort would happen) has been to them a subject of anxiety from night to morning; and now, this year, at a moment's notice, did come this outbreak at Tien-tsin. The condemnation of the local authorities, the decapitation of the principals, and the payments for indemnity and reparation, have all been nearly arranged, but they cannot help continuing anxious, because, if measures like these are all that one can rely on for (the disposing of) quarrels between the people and the Christians, the oftener they are resorted to the greater will be the difficulty (of resorting to them), and outbreaks like this (of Tien-tsin) will recur, each more terrible than the preceding. While things present the aspect they now wear, how is it possible that there should be no future misunderstandings? Be it that the troubles connected with propagandism come of the resentment of the people roused at last to wrath? It is not the less a fact that the Christians have given them cause of exasperation. Allowing again that, with cases of the kind in the provinces, the local authorities have not always succeeded in dealing satisfactorily, it is not the less a fact that their failure is due to the course pursued by the high authorities, native and foreign, administering (international) questions. They well know that, in the arrangements affecting the missionaries and the Christians, there is much of incongruity (much that does not go smoothly); but they do not choose to take steps for the remedying of this; and when, one day or other, an affair comes suddenly upon them, all the foreign Government thinks of is the moment's comfort (some arrangement that will do for the time being); no regard is had to the question whether the people's feelings are for or against (what is required); the one thing to be done is to constrain them by force.

* “Chuan-chiao,” propagation of the doctrine.

† “Tien-chu-chi,” the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven.

‡ That is, since the establishment of the Yamén of Foreign Affairs in 1860.

The Chinese authorities, on their side, looking only to settlement somehow or other, are without an alternative.

Thus, both parties alike being set upon the adjustment *pro tempore* of what is before them, no thought on either side is bestowed upon (measures that will continue effectual) any length of time; and when a foreign Government is applied to, as on occasion it is, to inquire (with that of China) into the source and origin (of these misunderstandings), to the end that some means may be discovered of preventing them for all time to come, there is, alas, no disposition to discuss the matter in a spirit of equity. If there be a discussion, something utterly impracticable is proposed; and this is urged with violence in order that its non-adoption may be made an excuse for a dead-lock.

This is not that spirit of honesty in which international Agents should treat affairs.

The Prince and the Ministers are taking thought for the common interest in all its bearings. Greatly desiring that China and foreign nations should be well with each other, that peace should endure for evermore, they are bound to consider maturely what course it may be best to pursue. They humbly conceive that to enable the teachers of religion in the States of the West to live as they do in each other's countries without misunderstanding ever arising (between them and the natives of the country they adopt), there must be some suitable arrangement in virtue of which neither the teacher nor follower of the religion has it in his power to give trouble. They have been told that the teacher of religion, no matter what his nationality, if residing in a country not his own, conforms to the laws and usages of that country, and that he is not allowed to assume a status of independence, that he is strictly interdicted disobedience of the laws of the State, or the commands of the authorities, usurpation of power not belonging to him, or excessive use of power that does belong to him; injury of people's characters (or, creation of scandal) and tyrannical treatment of people; for that by such acts the suspicion of the people is provoked, and their animosity excited; all lawless doings, in short. Were this the course pursued in China, if before building religious establishments, and beginning to preach [the missionary] was to make certain of not producing a feeling of aversion and odium on the part of the gentry and people, there would be confidence (between the two parties), instead of suspicion; steps would then be taken that would make a long endurance of friendly understanding a possibility, and would prevent the destruction of establishments, and the abuse of the religion. And if the teachers of religion were to make the public well understand what they are engaged about as the business of their vocation; if they did nothing that was at issue with the doctrine they teach; if, farther, they would not let their converts instigate them to meddle with the public business of the locality, and to do acts of violence and oppression on the strength of their position, acts such as move the gentry and people to wrath and hatred; if missionaries would conduct themselves in this manner, the people would be on good terms with them, the authorities could protect them. The course pursued by the missionaries who now come to China is at variance in every particular with any that the Prince and Ministers have ever understood (to be sanctioned by their religion); and being, as they are, just like an infinite number of independent rival States in the heart of another State, is it possible that, however much they may desire it, peace should be kept for ever unbroken between them (and the people among whom they may be), or that the authorities and people should be prevented uniting in feelings of anger and hatred against them?

The Prince and Ministers would guard against mischief before it becomes a fact, and what they seriously apprehend is this: that when the Tien-tsin case is closed, the Christians in different places, knowing no better, will be emboldened by it, and (so far from taking warning by what has occurred, will), on the contrary, allow themselves to swagger and bluster *ad libitum*; the dislike of the people will be intensified, and after due accumulation their wrath will burst forth at a day's warning; a great catastrophe will be the consequence of the effervescence; it will be beyond the control of the the local authorities, presently beyond the control of the Provincial Governments, and the Yamên of Foreign Affairs will be equally powerless. And if there be an unanimous rising of the Chinese people, His Majesty our Emperor may send Special Commissioners, or may set troops in motion in all parts of the Empire; but the whole population cannot be put to death. Their anger, besides, once roused, we must be prepared for the refusal of the people to bow the head and submit to death. But when it comes to this that the damage is past help, and the Governments, Chinese and foreign, notwithstanding their desire, in that they are at peace, to preserve the common interest from harm, are without a means to that end, a charge will lie at the door of the international agents of both, from which they cannot excuse themselves.

To sum up: whether in China or in any other country, it is essential that action taken be in accord with popular feeling. If it be not so in accord, and the popular feeling be

violently overborne, there is sure to be in the long run 'a popular convulsion. There are occasions in which orders, though they be the orders of the Government, will not be obeyed.

If the Diplomatic Agents of China and foreign countries, upon whom the responsibility rests, are utterly without [counsels that may] supply [what is wanting], and rescue [what is imperilled from danger]; if they are to sit still looking on at the people of China and the mercantile communities of different nations in a most critical position, unable to suggest any course of action that shall serve its purpose [in the matter under discussion], it will come to pass by-and-by that in no public matter of common interest will a satisfactory course of action be possible. The Prince and the Ministers desiring to preserve inviolate the friendly relations of China with other nations, are earnestly set upon discovering some means of remedying [the mischief here considered], and to this end they have drawn up eight Articles (or Rules), copy of which they forward for the perusal of the Minister addressed.

They are sending a copy to each of the Representatives. This is addressed to Mr. Wade, who they hope will examine it.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Eight Propositions appended to the Yamen's Memorandum on the Missionary Question.

(Translation.)

1. THE practice of taking young children into the missionary (or Christian) "yü-ying-t'ang" (infant asylums) without giving notice to the authorities has invested the proceeding with an air of mystery, the result of which is the generation of suspicion, out of the fermentation consequent on which come acts (or feelings) of hostility. It would be best to break up all these foreign asylums in order to the prevention of misgiving; but if their suppression be impossible, the admissions into the Christian asylums might be limited to the children of Christian parents unable to take care of them. Notice ought in any case to be given to the authorities, that they might place it on record on what day [any child] was taken in, who the child was, and when it was taken away again; also what person, if any, was authorized, on giving security, to adopt it; so that a means might be known to exist of ascertaining the facts. Children not belonging to Christian families it will be the duty of the Provincial Governments of China to direct the local authorities of their jurisdictions to choose members of the lettered class to deal with.

Thus each party (the Christian and the non-Christian) would do its own good work, and beginnings of suspicion would be prevented.

[Original note on the above.]—By the rule affecting Chinese infant asylums, the history of every child as it comes in and goes out of the asylum is known; it is reported to the authorities. After the child is admitted, its parents are enabled to visit it. As it grows up it may either be adopted by some childless person, security being given, or the family which entered it may take it back. Whatever may be the persuasion [in which it was born] to that persuasion it returns. The children being, withal, charitably taken care of in the asylums their reception into them is consequently a charitable work.

The way of managing children's asylums in foreign countries is understood to be much the same as that under the Chinese system: but the peculiar system under which, in China, foreign asylums are managed, the admission of children without inquiry as to their history, the absence of all notice to the authorities, the refusal of permission to persons to adopt the children or to take them back, or to their families to visit them, inevitably produce suspicion on the part of the people.

Thus, in the Tien-tsin affair, it has been represented to the Throne, no doubt, that the hearts or eyes of children had not in any case been taken out (as was alleged), but the people's doubts are not for all that entirely removed. Their mouths may be closed, but they do not surrender their convictions, and there is no saying that their misgivings may not at some future time again be productive of hostility. If all the foreign infant asylums were broken up, and [the foreigner] were to do his work of charity in his own country, the saving and bringing up of Chinese children, whether Christians or not, would devolve upon China. There is a large number of establishments for this purpose in every province of China. What occasion is there, then, for the intervention of foreign nations in a fashion which renders a proceeding in the interest of charity a cause of suspicion and indignation? It were far better that each party should do its own work of charity. This would be the surest way of preventing mischief for all time to come.

2. Women should under no circumstances be admitted into the chapels (or establishments), nor should female missionaries be allowed in China: this to show a sense of decorum on the part of the Christians, and to prevent criticism of their proceedings as extraordinary, on the part of the Chinese.

[*Original Note.*]—To China the highest importance is attached to good fame (or, to the decorum which insures it), and to modest deportment. The men and women have no immediate intercourse with each other; their apartments are separated, and the line of demarcation between them is very strictly observed (or, insisted upon). Since the relaxation of the restrictions affecting Romanism, people have heard, to their surprise, that women go into the chapels, and the fact that the sexes are not kept apart, and that they remain a long time in the chapels, produces a tendency on the part of the people to hold them cheap, and to suspect that their religion is a pretence to cover indecorous (or immoral) practices.

3. Missionaries residing in China should be amenable to Chinese law and usages. They should not be allowed an independent position. They should not be allowed to disobey the laws of the State, or the orders of the officials; to assume authority that does not belong to them, or to overstep the limits of the authority that does belong to them; to cause scandal to reputations, or to oppress the people, thereby producing suspicion, and provoking the multitude to anger. Neither should they exasperate the people by reviling Confucianism. All missionaries ought to be under the control of the local authorities; and Chinese Christians should in every respect be on the same footing as ordinary Chinese. They should be exempted, according to the rules [in force] from contributing to theatrical entertainments, and processions (or gatherings); but they ought not to be more exempt [than any other Chinese], from *corvées*, or the public obligations of the locality. Still less should they presume upon their religious profession to evade full payment either of the regular revenue, or of rent due to the landlords of their holdings; neither should they be upheld by their missionaries in their refusal to pay.

The administration of justice, in cases in which Christians and non-Christians are both interested, should be always left to the local authorities; the missionaries should not put themselves forward to fight their battles, neither should they keep Christians, whether plaintiff or defendant, from appearing in the Courts, to the embarrassment of the parties in the case.

When a missionary takes on himself to interfere, the local authorities should send up the letter of the missionary, or report his language, if his appeal was made in person, to the high authorities of the province, and these should communicate with the Yamen; and the missionary should be sent back to his own country. Chinese Christians [on the other hand], if, in law-suits affecting marriages, land questions, or the like, they attempt to take advantage of their status [as Christians], and try to get the missionaries to plead for them, should be severely punished by the local authorities.

[*Original Note.*]—In China there are adherents to the doctrine of Confucius, also to that of Buddha, and to that of Tao [but all are alike obedient to the law of the land]. The Lamas, for instance, although not Chinese, in all cases conform obediently to the laws of China. The local authorities dispose of all questions and cases [in which they are parties].

It is understood that [abroad] foreign missionaries when residing in other countries than their own, are in every case amenable to the laws and customs of that country. They are not permitted to assume a status of independence, and to violate the laws of the country and commands of the constituted authorities; to arrogate to themselves the authority [of officials], or to overstep the limits of their own powers; to cause scandal to reputations, and tyrannize over and ill-treat the people, thereby exciting popular suspicions, and calling forth general hatred and indignation.

Missionaries in China ought in like manner, when in the practice of their calling, to submit to the jurisdiction of the local authorities. Instead of doing so they go beyond all bounds in assuming an attitude of arrogant importance, and of overbearing resistance to the authorities.

Native Christians again are Chinese subjects, and it is still more incumbent on them to be well-behaved, and to be in every respect like the ordinary subjects of the country. Whether in the towns or in the country they ought to be on good terms and act in harmony with their neighbours. But far from doing so, when [for instance] a district is called on to contribute [either money or services] for a public purpose, or when a fund has to be collected in a neighbourhood for a common object, they seek to excuse themselves from contributing by pleading their religion. When they thus take the lead in isolating themselves, how can others help regarding them as isolated? (They even go so far as to

refuse the payment of taxes, and to resist the officers of justice. They coerce the authorities, and cheat and oppress the people. And the foreign missionaries, without inquiring into facts, conceal in every case the Christian evil-doer, and refuse to surrender him to the authorities for punishment. It has even occurred that malefactors who have been guilty of the gravest crimes have thrown themselves into the profession of Christianity, and have been at once accepted and screened [from justice]. In every province do the foreign missionaries interfere at the offices of the local authorities in lawsuits in which native Christians are concerned. For example, in a case that occurred in Sze-chuen in which some native Christian women defrauded certain persons [non-Christians] of the rent owing to them, and actually had these persons wounded and killed, the French Bishop took on himself to write in official form [to the authorities] pleading in their favour. None of these women were sentenced to forfeit life for life taken, and the resentment of the people of Sze-chuen in consequence remains unabated.

In Kwei-chow, native Christians, whenever they have a law-suit, of whatever kind it may be, invariably state in their plaint that they are Christians; and they do so in the hope of thereby gaining their case. The evils that result from such a practice are easily seen.

It happens frequently in the provinces that, if after a betrothal has taken place between two families, one of the families becomes Christian, while the other remains non-Christian, the non-Christian family is at once compelled to break off the marriage engagement.

Again, it may happen that the father or elder brother in a family becomes a Christian, while the sons or younger brothers remain non-Christians. The father or elder brother will at once file a petition in the courts, charging the son or younger brother with disobedience, and will be supported and assisted in this action by the missionary. These, and numberless proceedings of the same kind, have roused the deepest popular resentment.

4. Where Chinese and foreigners live together in the same locality, the law must be impartially administered.

In cases of homicide, the penalty being a life for a life, Chinese subjects ought to be dealt with according to Chinese law, and foreigners according to foreign law.* This would satisfy popular feeling.

In every case, whether dealt with by Chinese or foreign officials, the penalty to be undergone should be awarded with reference to the case itself, and no claim for pecuniary compensation over and above the punishment of the criminal concerned should be brought forward. Still less should it be permitted the [missionaries] to go beyond the criminals concerned; and by insisting on the complicity of members of the gentry, or of the mercantile class, to compel innocent persons to pay indemnity. In cases between converts and non-converts that come before the local authorities, whichever party may be found to be the aggressors, in awarding the punishment to be inflicted there ought to be no undue severity on either side.

Should the character of a convert be of a generally lawless character, and the knowledge of his conduct reach the local authorities, whether by special inquiry or by a complaint lodged [said convert] should submit to be arrested, and dealt with according to law. His missionary should not be permitted to protect or conceal him. Should there be attempts to protect him, or to resist the summons of the local authority, the offender must still be punished as the law lays down; and, in addition, the missionary attempting to protect and to resist the local authority, should be required to undergo the same penalty as the offender himself, or in default of submission be withdrawn [from China] to his own country.

[*Original Note.*]—In the case of the missionary Fêng-Pi-Lo (Mabileau), killed in a collision in Sze-chuen in 1867, one Yan Lao-wu was arrested, tried, and executed; but the missionary Mei (Mihères) persisted in asserting that the gentry were the chief instigators [of the outrage], and forced the payment of 80,000 taels as compensation. The men engaged in that disturbance were all ignorant, indigent, common people. It was an affair which came to a head and broke out suddenly. But the proceedings of the missionaries, in requiring the payment by respectable, wealthy, well-behaved people, of a sum of money by way of compensation, has caused the deepest indignation.

Again, take the case of the missionary Li Kao (Rigaud) who was killed in a collision in Sze-chuen in 1869. The real cause of the affair was the repudiation of a betrothal at the instance of a native Christian, who insisted upon its repudiation. The Tartar General

* The writer means that the foreigner ought to be put to death.

Ch'ung, and the Governor-General, Li, were associated in dealing with the case. They arrested and executed Ho Ts'ai, a Chinese non-Christian, the principal in the murder of the missionary and native Christians, and sentenced one Liu-Fu to death by strangulation. But as regards the native Christians, Wang Hsiao-ting, Ch'ang Tien-hsing, and others, who have murdered poor non-Christians, and who are well known to be the leaders of a gang of evil-doers, who for years have been committing acts of extortion, rape, abduction, arson, and murder, though sentence has been passed upon them, they have never delivered themselves up.

Again, in the case of the Seu-to (sacristan), T'an Fu-Ch'ên, who at the head of a band [of assassins] killed Chao Yung-lin, and over 200 others, members of the local militia, the missionary Mei (Mihières), asserts that this offender has gone abroad, and that there are no means of punishing him; and the indignation and hatred of the people of Sze-chuen have been greatly increased in consequence.

5. The passports taken out by French missionaries, [authorizing them] to proceed to any province to preach and teach, should state distinctly and precisely the province and prefecture they propose going to. If the passport of a missionary states that he is to pursue his calling in a particular province, he should not be permitted on any false pretext to repair clandestinely to another province.

The name of the holder of a passport should be set forth thereon and he should not be permitted to transfer it at pleasure to another person.

The missionary should not be permitted to defraud the revenue by carrying dutiable goods through the barriers and Customs stations he may pass *en route*. On arrival in the province and prefecture for which he is bound, he should deliver up his passport for inspection at the *yamên* of the local authority. If, on examination, it be found that the holder and the locality do not correspond [with what is stated on the passport], or if the passport has been transferred to a native Christian who assumes therewith the status of a missionary, the passport should be cancelled; and if the transfer has been corruptly made for a money consideration, or if there are any other circumstances of illegality connected with the affair, the native who has illegally assumed the missionary status will be punished with severity, and the missionary should himself be expelled the country.

In regard to the names of the missionaries inserted in the passports, the name, as written in Chinese, must be taken as the real name, in order that the local [authorities] may be able to distinguish one from another. On the death of a missionary, or if he return to his native country, or if he change his calling and cease to be a missionary, his passport should be delivered up at once to be cancelled. In order to show the genuine desire [of the Chinese Government] to extend an efficient protection [to missionaries, it should be laid down that] no holder of passports will be permitted to go to districts in any province where there are rebels, and no passports issued for any province in which military operations are being carried on.

[Original Note.]—In a missionary case in Kwei-chow, there was mentioned one Chao, a missionary, but in the Missionary Passport Register for Kwei-chow, no such name was found. M. Deveria, the Interpreter [of the French Legation], wrote to say that he found, on reference to the old foreign register, that Chao Seu-to (sacristan) who had died of wounds he had received, had been called Chao by mistake, and was in reality the person who, under the name of Jui Lo-ssu, had taken out a passport on the 25th day of the 6th moon of the 4th year of T'ung Chih (16th August, 1865). Now it appears from the records that one Jui Lo-ssu did take out passport No. 325 on August 16, 1865, but he was proceeding to Sze-chuen, and in the Passport Register for Kwei-chow neither the name Chao nor Jui Lo-ssu occur. If such discrepancies and such interchanging of places and names as the foregoing is allowed, how is it possible to arrive at that knowledge of the truth which is necessary to the rendering of due protection? Again take the case of the missionary Lin Fu-chên (Paul Splingaert) who killed the Russian. Lin Fu-chên was at first a missionary, and afterwards became a servant in the Prussian Legation, but his passport was never returned to be cancelled. Should the document be transferred to another person, or should it fall into other hands, not only would the irregularity of falsely assuming an improper status unavoidably take place, but should it eventually reach the hands of a rebel, the resulting injury to the Government would be very serious, and it may be asked, "would the good name of the Christian Society not also be compromised?"

6. Since the missionaries have for their object the exhortation of men to virtue, it is their duty, before receiving any person into their society, to ascertain whether he has or has not been an offender against the law, [or whether he is a person] of bad character. [If he is found to be such as] can be received, let them receive them; if not, they ought

ot to receive him. In accordance with the law of China, providing that a return [of the inmates] of all temples shall be sent in to the headman of the district [to be entered by him] in a register [which he shall keep] for reference. A separate report ought to be made to the local authorities within a given time, of every man received into their sect, stating the year, month, and day of his reception, the place he comes from, and his means of subsistence up to that date. [They ought] further to [guarantee that the man is not an offender against the law, and that he has not changed his name, [that a note may be made of the same] for [future] reference; and if any man so received die or go away, they should in all cases immediately report. If, when a man is received into a sect, there be nothing against him, but if after his reception he commit a breach of the law, he should at once be expelled and, as in other cases [above detailed], a report be made.

Every month and every quarter a general return should be sent in to the local authorities for inspection, and those officers, in accordance with the law of China, [authorizing] the inspection of Buddhist nunneries and temples, the Taoist establishments should in the same manner pay a visit of inspection to the missionary establishments monthly and quarterly.

By this means the [good] name of the sect will be preserved unharmed, and peace will be preserved [between Christian and non-Christian].

[*Original Note*].—In the 5th year of T'ung Chih (1866), the Governor of Kwei-chow reported [the following] case:—

At Kuei-ting-hsien, Jan Shih-pao and others, followers of the rebels, had joined a society established by Yüan yü-hsiang and Hsia Chen-hsing, converts, and had made their Christianity a pretext for getting together a number of men, joined with whom they murdered two men, Wang-chiang-pao and Tso yin-shu, and wounded three others, taking all their money, household property, oxen, and horses.

Again, in the 8th year of T'ung Chih (1869), the Governor of Kwei-chow reported [the following] case:—

The whole prefecture of Tsun-i had sent in a petition complaining that Sung Yü-shan, T'ang Shen-hsien, T'an Yuan-shuai, and Chien Yüan-shai, *soi-disant* rebel generalissimos, had been received as converts, and that innumerable people in the towns and villages [of the Prefecture] had suffered injury at their hands.

Again: Yang Hsi-po, Liu K'ai-wên, Ch'ing Hsiao-ming, Ho Wen-chiu, Chao Wên-an, and others, all of whom were converts and people of disreputable families in the jurisdiction of Tsun-i, employed in the business of the religious establishments, were tyrannising over the orphans and the weak, and oppressing and extorting money from the simple villagers. They went in and out of the courts [as they pleased] and engrossed the management of [all] lawsuits. If any converts were non-suited (or lost their cause) Yang Hsi-po and the rest at once forced their way into the magistracy with a crowd of [their fellow-] converts and compelled the magistrate to alter his decision. If any convert was taken into custody they went at once with the foreign missionary's eard, and requested his immediate release. They were very many cases of unlawful possession of men's wives and daughters and of property, and murder, and all such crimes.

7. Missionaries should obey the established laws (or respect the dignity) of China; in this they ought not to transgress, be it ever so little. They have no right to use official seals or to attempt official correspondence with Yamêns, large or small, in the form arguing equality of position. If a case occurs in which they have to appeal in their own behalf to the authorities, the case not being connected with other lawsuits, their application to the authorities ought to be in the form which, in accordance with Chinese usage is employed by the literati, a ping (petition). If they visit Chinese high officials they ought to observe the same ceremonies as those laid down by Chinese law to be observed by Chinese literates when visiting high officers; and when they have to request an interview with the local authorities they ought also to observe the same rule. They have no business to come straight (unceremoniously) into a public office to the confusion and disturbance of public business.

[*Original Note*].—In the spring of the 6th year of T'ung Chih (1867), the General at Ch'eng-tu wrote to report that the French bishop [by name] Hung (Pinehon) had, when writing to the official Committee (most likely that charged with raising funds for the suppression of rebellion) in Sze-chuen, made use of a [Chinese] official seal which he had had cast.

In the 7th year of T'ung Chih (1868) Hu Fu-li (Fawrie), Bishop of Kwei-chow, took upon himself to address the Yamên a communication in the form "chao hui," which he sent by the Government post couriers, commending To-wên, the former Taoutae and others, and requesting that extraordinary marks of favour might be bestowed upon them.

A case occurred of a missionary in Shantung assuming the title of Sinn-fu (Governor of a province).^{*} Both in Sze-chuen and Kwei-chow missionaries have held such language as that in consequence of cases affecting the religion they were obliged to request the withdrawal of the local authorities. This is not only encroachment upon the authority of the local officials but usurpation of the authority of the Chinese Government. How is it possible that all these improprieties should not arouse general indignation?

8. In the interest of peace it will not do for missionaries to be demanding restitution of any chapel they may please to indicate. When Christians wish to buy land for the erection of religious establishments, or to rent public places, they should, first, in conjunction with the real owner of the property, lay the matter before the local authority, that he may ascertain whether the fêng shui[†] will be interfered with. If he allows the sale, after inquiry, and if, moreover, the people of the place are not hostile to it, authority can be given to proceed in accordance with the Agreement of the 4th year of Tung Chih (1865), that is, it ought to be stated on the title-deed that the land belongs to the Chinese Christians as their common property. It should not be permitted in buying property to effect the transfer by making use of some other name [than that of the real purchaser]; nor should it be permitted to effect the transfer irregularly (otherwise than as the law requires) upon the deceitful representations of dishonest people.[‡]

[*Original Note.*]—As missionaries have to reside permanently in China, it is, of course, desirable that they should be on good terms with the Chinese, and that they should not provoke the irritation and dislike of the Chinese. They would then be able to live in harmony with them without exciting suspicion. At the present time much of the conduct [the people] are unwilling to allow the missionary to remain in any place that he goes to. of Christians clashes against the feelings of the Chinese people. To take claims for the restitution of chapels as an instance:—During the last few years the restitution of chapels in different places in every province has been insisted upon without any regard for the feeling of the masses, the missionaries obstinately persisting in their claims. They have also pointed out fine handsome houses [belonging to, or occupied by] the gentry or others as buildings once used as churches, and these they have compelled the people to give up. Places even [the surrender of which] was a question of dignity improper,[§] with meeting-halls, clubs, temples, all such being places held in high respect by the gentry and people of the whole neighbourhood, they have forced from them for the benefit of the Church, in lieu [of other lands or buildings].||

A farther consideration is this:—Buildings which were once used as chapels have been in some cases sold years ago by Christians; and having been sold and re-sold by one of the people to another, have passed through the hands of several proprietors. There is also a large number of buildings which have been newly repaired at very considerable expense of which the missionaries have insisted on the restitution, refusing at the same time to pay anything for them. On the other hand there are some houses which have accidentally become dilapidated, and the missionaries put in a claim for the necessary repairs. Their conduct excites the indignation of the people whenever they come in contact with each other, till they appear to be at feud with each other, and it becomes impossible for them to live quietly together.

The grievances detailed in this Memorandum are only a few instances cited to show the impropriety of missionary proceedings, and the [consequent] impossibility of a good understanding between the Christians and the people. No time should be lost in looking for a remedy suited to the disease, one that may so avail both parties as to prevent the missionary question injuriously affecting friendly relations between China and foreign countries. There are other cases, too, in every province too numerous to mention.

There are good men as well as bad; by the removal of the tares the wheat is strengthened. Thus, in trade, by dealing severely with fraudulent merchants, the interests of the upright are secured. Now, if the missionaries make no distinction between good and bad men, but receive all men alike that come forward into their church, then the wicked who become their converts will use their religion to compass the ruin of the good.

* The words literally mean, "to go the rounds comforting or consoling;" used as a title they designate a provincial Governor.

† The "fêng shui," air and water influence, is one of the great pests of China. In the aspect of a house, choice of a grave, opening of a door or window, planting of a chimney, this influence has to be consulted, and to the neglect of it most direful consequences are attributed.

‡ To avoid discussions, the missionary, I believe, occasionally endeavours to acquire the ground needed by putting forward this or that particular Christian. There can be no real objection to this proceeding.

§ Probably Yamêns are meant.

|| Other lands, &c., restoration of which they could not obtain.

Extreme indeed would be the danger if, popular indignation having been once seriously aroused by this opposition to the authorities, the hatred of the whole population of China were excited like that of the people of Tien-tsin against foreigners, and orders, though issued by the Government, could not be for all that put in force.

In the propositions here enumerated, the Chinese Government, while making every effort to assure the security [of the foreigner], is adhering, on the other hand, to a policy of liberal treatment. If the missionaries will faithfully endeavour to abide by what is laid down, peace can be maintained between them and the Chinese; but if they consider themselves [too much] restricted by it, or if they regard it as at issue with the tenets of their religion, they had best not proselytize in China. Native Christians will, of course, be treated as favourably as non-converts. No distinction will be made. The meaning of this is not that China is laying a prohibition on missionary preaching, but that by not attending peaceably to their proper work, and by allowing themselves to be made tools of by native Christians, missionaries will for certain provoke an amount of popular indignation that there will be no facing, [and that on this will follow] a universal catastrophe.* It is better, therefore, now to explain [what the danger is] beforehand than to prove unable to give due protection when the moment arrives.

Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

Note addressed by the Minister Wén Siang to Sir R. Alcock.

(Translation.)

THE writer again addresses [Sir R. Alcock].

The object of foreigners who enter the interior to propagate their doctrines is the exhortation of men to virtue. But among their converts there are men evil disposed and well disposed; [the latter] relying on their creed as a sort of magic spell which shall protect them, by their conduct bring the preaching of Christianity into such discredit that Add to this, that the missionary thinks only of the number of converts he can make; he makes no inquiry into private character, but receives and enrolls all [who come]. Having entered the [Christian] society, the good are bent no doubt on being good, but on the other hand the evil make [their religion] a pretext for defrauding and oppressing unoffending people, till by degrees indignation and rage reach a point at which the relations [of the two parties] become as those of fire and water. At the present time, as the British Minister must doubtless be well aware, case after case of murder has occurred, the consequence of feuds between Christians and non-Christians. Although the creeds of the various foreign countries differ in their origin and development from each other, the natives of China are unable to see the distinction between them. In their eyes all [teachers of religion] are "missionaries from the West," and directly they hear a lying story [about any of these missionaries] without making further and minute inquiry [into its truth], they rise in a body to molest him. The Yang-chow affair is plain evidence of this.

Now if no preventive measures are adopted some great catastrophe will inevitably arise.

Regulations ought, therefore, to be drawn up, with such care as shall enable them to prevent native Christians from making their religion a pretext for extorting money from honest people, or the non-Christians from taking advantage of their numerical superiority to defraud and oppress the Christians; which shall besides bring missionaries, even as the priests of the Buddhist and Taouist sects, under the jurisdiction of the local authorities. Seeing that missionaries wish to reside in China, that their doctrines may gradually be propagated far and wide, they cannot wish the Chinese to look upon them as differing from themselves. They ought, therefore, to put themselves on the same footing as Chinese subjects. Buddhism is also a creed of Western origin, but the reason why its followers have so long been at peace with the Chinese, each party adhering to his own religion, is this, that although there is a difference of religion, the propagators of this creed are, as well as the others, under the control of the local authorities. And so in Confucianism, the system most esteemed in China, when such men as Chin shih and Han lin (those who have taken the highest degrees), after having filled official positions return home, or become the heads of schools, they become subordinate as they were before [they took office] to the local authorities. This is always the rule. At the present time foreign missionaries, as a general rule, adopt the Chinese dress, but they do not [at the same time]

* *Lit.*, a grand smash in every place.

submit to Chinese law. They thus begin by holding themselves as outside [the pale of the law], and show to others that they are not to be treated as ordinary people. And the native Christians go farther: they defraud and oppress ordinary subjects of the country, or withstand and disobey the authorities. [Such being the case] it is not to be wondered at that men become indignant, and that surprise is everywhere manifested.

But let only this change be made, viz., that [missionaries] be placed under the control of the local authorities (who must not be allowed to be vexatious in their treatment of them), and the result will be that Christians and non-Christians will be placed on a just level *vis-à-vis* with each other, and no troubles will arise from unexpected sources.

The missionary question, moreover, gravely affects the whole question of commercial relations. Some measure must, therefore, be devised in time that shall insure the maintenance of everlasting and sincere friendship.

The writer hopes for a reply.

8th year, 5th moon, 17th day (June 26, 1869).

Inclosure 4 in No. 6.

Mr. Wade to the Minister Wén Siang.

Sir,

Peking, June , 1871.

IN accordance with the promise I made your Excellency when I had the pleasure of meeting you at the Yamên of Foreign Affairs a few days ago, I beg to submit to you some observations on the papers relating to the missionary question which were forwarded me by yourself and the President Shên on the 9th of February last.

It will be in your recollection that, when they were sent me, I made an effort to have their circulation postponed until portions of them which seemed to me open to criticism could be revised; and, in my note of the 11th February, I proposed to lay before you a statement in writing of my views on the subject. I was engaged on a Memorandum to be submitted to you when I received your subsequent note of the 13th, urging dispatch, as you wished to address all the Legations at the same moment. I rode to the Yamên the following afternoon for the purpose of tendering my explanations in person, but I was not so fortunate as to see your Excellency; and, on inquiry, I learned that the papers had already been circulated the evening before.

I had been anxious to prevent their issue unrevised, for two reasons in particular: in the first place, on account of the prominence given to the name of France and to the Roman Catholic religion, which I thought might be offensive not only to France but to other Powers whose nationals are also engaged in missionary enterprise in China; in the next place, because the review of the difficulties of the missionary question, more especially in those parts which attempt an explanation of the Tien-tsin massacre is by no means calculated to insure the Chinese Government that sympathy and support on the part of foreign nations for which these papers are ostensibly an appeal. It was with no small regret, therefore, that I found them in circulation; and my silence up to the present time must be attributed, among other reasons, in no small part to the discouragement I have felt at discovering, in this instance, as so frequently before, that my advice, even when asked for, has little chance of being attended to.

However, as your Excellency has once more expressed a wish to hear what I have to say, I address myself to the task.

Reversing the order of the documents under review, I begin with the eight Articles appended to the covering note.

Article 1 relates to the infant asylums. Protestant missionaries have not, to my knowledge, established any such asylums, but I am assured that, in those of the Roman Catholics, no objection is ever made to the visits of the parents or friends of an infant. Many of these, at the same time, have neither friend nor parent. They are children who have been abandoned by all. It would be difficult to find any one who would become security for unfortunate outcasts who have been left by the wayside to die.

As I have above stated there are no Protestant asylums in China, and I have, of course, some delicacy in expressing an opinion upon the expediency of this or that course to be pursued by those not of my own persuasion; but I shall concede that, as these children are undoubtedly Chinese subjects, it is not unreasonable to require that a register of the admissions should be kept for the inspection of the Chinese authorities; that they should be free from time to time to visit the asylums; and that the deaths of the infants should in all cases be reported to the authorities.

Article 2 lays down that no Chinese woman should be admitted into the chapels, and that female missionaries should be prohibited in China.

The usage now in force, it is alleged, produces an impression unfavourable to the repute of Christian women, and consequently discredits Christians altogether.

I cannot imagine that any Government, Protestant or Romanist, will consent to the exclusion of its female subjects from China, or that in the face of the various Treaties allowing freedom to natives and foreigners to preach and practise Christianity, they will attempt to interdict their female subjects any more than their male subjects from imparting the truth they prize as professing Christians to others.

Confucius teaches that, while we are not to fail in the practice of virtue ourselves, we are not either to weary in the correction of others, and this is surely not less the duty of woman than of man.

As to the question of decorum, your Excellency is evidently not aware, in the first place, that during service Christian chapels, Protestant and Romanish alike, are open to all, non-Christians as well as Christians, who will conduct themselves so as not to interrupt the service; that there are no doings in either that any outsider is not free to observe; and that in the Romish places of worship in China the sexes, out of deference to Chinese feeling on the subject, are generally, if not always separated. I have seen this with my own eyes at Shanghai, and I believe that it is the rule in their chapels elsewhere.

Article 3 complains of the position arrogated by the missionaries in China in their relations with the authorities of the land, and of various proceedings on their part which irritate both authorities and people, in particular of their interference between the native Christians and the law. The instances given of the offences complained of are not numerous, and the venue is laid in the remote provinces of Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen. The cases brought forward again only affect Roman Catholics. I am assured by the Representative of France that although he considers it most desirable that the Romish Bishops and their missionaries should have such access to the chief authorities of jurisdictions as will enable them to represent any wrong done to their congregations in the matter of religious freedom, the French Legation does not recognize the claim of the same ecclesiastics to interfere between the Chinese Christian and his official in any question in which the free exercise of his religion is not affected.

If, as it is alleged, foreign missionaries are in the habit of interposing in suits, civil or criminal, or of forcing themselves, either in person or correspondence, upon the authorities in a manner disrespectful or offensive, the remedy, it appears to me, is in the hands of the latter. The authority outraged has but to complain to the nearest Consul, or, through the Yamên, to the Legation of the country to which the missionary belongs. I can, of course, answer for no Government but my own, but I am satisfied that Her Majesty's Government would not uphold any British missionary either in an interference in suits, or in the support of a Chinese in his opposition to the laws of China.

In the matter of subscriptions for public purposes, it seems to me that there may be some confusion between the classes of contributions. His conversion to Christianity does not, in the opinion of foreign Governments, in any way affect the Chinese proselyte's subordination to the officers of his Government, or to the laws of the land. It will certainly not be held to exempt him from taxation, But from certain contributions which his fellow-countrymen impose upon themselves he cannot but be exempted, and the Chinese Government is bound to secure his exemption, because, by Treaties with foreign Powers, it has engaged to secure to any person practising or preaching Christianity within its dominions the free exercise of his religion. The Chinese have faith in much that the Christian does not believe in, and when they compel a Christian to take part in ceremonies condemned by his religion, or to subscribe funds in aid of the celebration of such ceremonies, they are interfering with the free exercise of his religion, and against such interference he is entitled to the protection of the Chinese Government.

Take, for instance, the case of prayer for rain, difference of usage in respect of which has been the occasion, as I am informed, of more than one misunderstanding between Chinese Christians and non-Christians. Prayer for rain or for other blessings, or for relief from drought, or for other calamities, is not peculiar to China. But in England, where we have Protestants, Romanists, Jews, and other persuasions, no one denomination is ever allowed to compel another denomination to offer up prayers except in its own way, or to subscribe funds except for the building of its own chapels, or the liquidation of expenses required for the celebration of the ceremonies prescribed by its own ritual. And the same tolerance is stipulated for on behalf of Chinese Christians, whether Greek, Romish, or Protestant in the Treaties with foreign Powers.

Article 4 lays down that, where Chinese and foreigners live together, the law must be impartially administered. This without doubt. But it further seems to imply that, in cases of homicide, popular feeling will not be satisfied unless a life be given for a life.

Under English law this is by no means so possible, as under the law of China.

Experience has shown that, in many cases, the latter will condemn a prisoner to death, where the law of England would be satisfied by a penalty far less severe, if, indeed, it were possible to punish the man at all. It is to be deplored that misunderstandings should arise from a difference in our codes; but I see no remedy for this until China shall see fit to revise the process of investigation now common in her Courts. So long as evidence is wrung from witnesses by torture, it is scarcely possible for the authorities of a foreign Power to associate themselves with those of China in the trial of a criminal case; and unless the authorities of both nationalities are present, there will always be a suspicion of unfairness on one side or the other. This difficulty surmounted, there would be none in the way of providing a code of laws to affect mixed cases; none, certainly, on the part of England; none, in my belief, either, on the part of any other Power.

As to the complicity of persons other than those directly charged with an offence, and by whom it can be shown that the latter were instigated to commit it, I do not see why they should be allowed to escape either punishment or indemnity. But the charge of investigation, again, is very differently understood by the Chinese and the foreigner; and on this point I equally despair of a better understanding until the international code before suggested shall have been agreed to.

The Article closes with the remarkable proposition, that if a missionary protect a Chinese wrong-doer against his authorities, he, the missionary, must be punished as the law would punish the Chinese, or expelled the country.

I am at a loss to understand how any missionary can prevent the arrest of a Chinese charged with an offence against the law. Should a missionary really attempt such intervention, the proper course, as I have before observed, would be an immediate appeal to the Consul or Minister of his nationality.

5. The passport question referred to in this Article, does not seem to me to need any particular remark. The instances cited of exchange of passports, or confusion of the names of persons holding them, are but two or three in all. I cannot think that when mistakes of the kind do occur, the Legation concerned will be unable to furnish satisfactory explanation, or that, if a passport were unduly obtained or transferred by any person, missionary, or other, the authorities of his nation would refuse to take notice of it. I should be glad to think that every question between China and foreign Powers could be as easily disposed of.

In Article 6 it is proposed that no Chinese of bad character should be allowed to embrace Christianity; and instances are given of persons in the far-west provinces, who, after entering the profession, continued to commit the gravest offences. If this be the fact, why were the offenders not seized, and tried by the district authorities? It is vain to lay the blame of their inaction upon the few missionaries in their jurisdictions. They have not hesitated on occasion to lay violent hands upon the missionaries themselves. In Kweichow, only the year before last, three Romish missionaries were seized by the authorities, and one of them died of the ill-treatment he received. I do not understand how the power of the mandarins can be less over their own countrymen.

As to the exclusion of all but good men from the profession, the Christian religion, as every Treaty sets forth, is for the teaching of men to become virtuous. Is it not then the duty of its teachers, like the philosopher Mencius, to turn away none who desire to be converted, "not to scan the past, neither to reject those who tender themselves?"

If Chinese break the law once more, their profession as Christians will not screen them from the penalty of the law; and so with reference to registration, if the Chinese Government chooses to oblige all its subjects professing Christianity to register themselves in any special fashion, it has, no doubt, the power to do this. But I do not see that it can expect the foreign missionary to become its registering officer, and while I do not see either that by registration it would greatly further any legitimate object of good government, it might expose itself to the suspicion that some action against Christians was contemplated that would alarm the foreign Powers in relations with it.

The population of China was estimated before the Tae-ping rebellion at some 400,000,000. It is alleged by some people that this total is now reduced by one-half. Well, of the 200,000,000 that remain, there may be 500,000 of Christians, not more, of whom certainly a large number are as well ordered and as well affected as any other Chinese. I am at a loss to see that the Chinese Government would gain much by insisting on a return which would very probably prove vexatious, and which, if it did, would invite the remonstrance of all the Treaty Powers.

Article 7 prescribes the forms which should regulate intercourse between the missionary and the authorities. Speaking for our own missionaries, I see no objection to these. The British Government draws no distinction between the missionary and any other of its non-official subjects, and by Article XI of the Treaty of Nanking, "ping"

(representation) is the form in which subjects not holding official positions are required to address the Chinese authorities.

Article 8, and last, treats of the restoration of buildings formerly belonging to Christians.

This question, which arises out of the engagement contracted by the Chinese Government in Article VI of the French Convention of the 25th October, 1860, affects none but the Romanists, and it is one, the solution of which would seem to rest so exclusively with the Government of France that I do not feel free to discuss it. I shall only add, therefore, that if in this particular the Chinese Government finds its engagements difficult to discharge, it should avail itself of the presence of its Minister in France to obtain a relaxation of the conditions to which it agreed in 1860.

And this brings me to what I have so frequently pressed upon the Yamên as the one means of securing an escape from difficulty where a misunderstanding has commenced between the Government of China and a foreign Government. It is quite impossible that China should ever attain to a just appreciation of what foreign Powers expect of her, or that she should insure from foreign Powers what she conceives due to her, until she have honestly accepted the conditions of official intercourse which are the sole guarantees against international differences. The chief of these is an interchange of Representatives. I do not say that it is a panacea for all evil; but it is incontestable that without it wars would be of far more frequent recurrence, and till China is represented in the West, I see no hope of our ever having done with the incessant reeriminations and bickerings between the Yamên and foreign Legations, by which the lives of Diplomatic Agents in Peking are made weary. If China is wronged, she must make herself heard; and, on the other hand, if she would abstain from giving offence, she must learn what is passing in the world beyond her.

I shall add to this long commentary but two observations. In the opening of your Excellency's note you remark that, in trade, there is little to object to. If this be so it is matter of regret that so many commercial questions have to be referred from the ports to Peking; and that, even after reference, when settlement is obtained at all, months, if not years, must first be allowed to elapse.

Foreign Governments will be by no means disposed to admit that our commercial relations are all that they could desire.

Again, referring to the Tien-tsin massacre, your Excellency explains that it was the result of the people's exasperation against Romanism; and you express a fear lest, after the severe punishment inflicted, and the ample indemnities awarded, Christians should be emboldened to go greater lengths than heretofore in the direction which is unpopular.

I have communicated to the Prince of Kung the expression of my Government's dissatisfaction at the tardiness and incompleteness with which that fearful crime was disposed of. I am persuaded that no foreign Government has thought otherwise of the action of the Chinese Government; and that, so far from sharing your Excellency's belief in the encouragement of Christians to greater boldness, the evil for which all Powers alike are on the watch, is the molestation of those who, it has been shown, can be molested with so little risk of consequences to the aggressor.

It is vain to attempt to trace the evil deed to its authors; to discover who primarily commenced the agitation against the Romanists; to whom it occurred, while not a child was missing, to revive the horrible calumny that the Romanists were kidnapping children for hateful purposes. It is sufficient for my present purpose to repeat what I had the honour to observe to the Prince of Kung in my despatch of the 9th of July last, that the Government is responsible for that ignorance of the people which alone can render possible their perpetration of an act so barbarous upon a pretext so ridiculous; and the fact that the people's continuance in such darkness is due to a want of enlightenment on the part of the Government, will not be held to excuse the Government when foreign life and property are jeopardized by the simple people whom the Government is not wise enough to teach.

(Compliments.)

(Signed) THOMAS FRANCIS WADE.

No. 7.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 18, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note with which, in obedience to the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch of the 11th instant, I have transmitted to M. de Rémusat a copy of the despatch which your Lordship proposes to

address to Mr. Wade respecting the Circular of the Government of China on the subject of religious missions in that country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Lord Lyons to M. de Rémusat.

(Extract.)

Paris, August 18, 1871.

HER Majesty's Government will always be ready to join the Government of France in any representations which may conduce to the better regulation of the intercourse between China and the Treaty Powers; but, on the present occasion, it appears to them that, from the different nature of the Treaty provisions, as affecting the position of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in China, it would be better that each nation should return a separate reply to the Circular; and they propose to address a despatch to Mr. Wade.

Lord Lyons has the honour to transmit herewith to M. de Rémusat a draft of the proposed despatch to Mr. Wade, and at the same time, &c.

No. 8.

Mr. Petre to Earl Granville.—(Received August 21.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 19, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I communicated yesterday to M. de Thile the draft of the despatch which your Lordship proposes to address to Mr. Wade respecting the Circular of the Chinese Government on the subject of Christian missionaries in China.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE PETRE.

No. 9.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wade.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 21, 1871.

HER Majesty's Government have hitherto abstained from offering any observations upon the Circular of the Chinese Government on the subject of religious missions, of which a translation has been communicated to them by the French Chargé d'Affaires, in the expectation that they might have received some Reports from you regarding it. As, however, they learn from your telegraphic despatches that it will be some time before they will be in possession of your views, they consider that they cannot allow this important paper to remain longer unnoticed, and I have accordingly now to state to you the impression which has been made by it upon Her Majesty's Government.

Her Majesty's Government must, in the first place, protest against the general assertions contained in the Circular and accompanying regulations with regard to missionary enterprise in China, no distinction being made between the proceedings of missionaries over whom Her Majesty's Government have no control, and of the British missionaries, for whose actions alone Great Britain be held responsible. They must, moreover, remark that, of the instances of alleged abuses cited, there is not one which is in any way connected with any British missionary establishment.

Her Majesty's Government might accordingly have contented themselves with replying to the Chinese Government that the Circular did not allege any complaints against British subjects, and that they could not enter into a discussion of matters not directly affecting the relations between Great Britain and China.

Her Majesty's Government do not, however, desire to lay too much stress upon this point. They believe it to be the common interest and desire of all the Governments having Treaties with China to co-operate with the Government of the Empire in maintaining the relations between China and their respective countries on the most friendly footing, and Her Majesty's Government will always be ready to consider any representations which the Government of China may have to offer with that object.

On the particular question to which the Circular relates, the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain have been unmistakable. They have uniformly declared, and now repeat, that they do not claim to afford any species of protection to Chinese Christians which may be construed as withdrawing them from their native allegiance, nor do they desire to secure to British missionaries any privileges or immunities beyond those granted by Treaty to other British subjects.

The Bishop of Victoria was requested to intimate this to the Protestant Missionary Societies in the letter addressed to him by Mr. Hammond by the Earl of Clarendon's direction on the 13th of November, 1869,* and to point out that they would "do well to warn converts that although the Chinese Government may be bound by Treaty not to persecute, on account of their conversion, Chinese subjects who may embrace Christianity, there is no provision in the Treaty by which a claim can be made on behalf of converts for exemption from the obligations of their natural allegiance, and from the jurisdiction of the local authorities. Under the creed of their adoption, as under that of their birth, Chinese converts to Christianity still owe obedience to the law of China, and if they assume to set themselves above those laws, in reliance upon foreign protection, they must take the consequence of their own indiscretion, for no British authority, at all events, can interfere to save them."

On the other hand, Her Majesty's Government cannot forget that the free exercise of the Christian religion in China is stipulated for by the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of the 20th June, 1858, which states that "the Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with." Her Majesty's Government, therefore, although they have given it to be most distinctly understood that conversion to Christianity gives no title to British protection against the operation of the laws of the land, could not be indifferent to the persecution of Christians for professing the Christian faith.

The impracticable nature of the Regulations proposed by the Chinese Government has been so convincingly shown in the note from Mr. Low, the Representative of the United States, to the Yamen, of the 20th of March last, that it is unnecessary for Her Majesty's Government to do more than refer to some of the principal objections to their acceptance.

The 1st Regulation does not apply to the British Missionary Societies, as they do not support any orphanages in China. Her Majesty's Government could not obviously accede to Regulations which they had no power to enforce. If the missionaries of other countries have conducted such institutions in a manner to give just cause of suspicion to the people of China, Her Majesty's Government feel no doubt that, on a proper representation being made of the facts, the cause of complaint will be removed; but they cannot admit that such an atrocious crime as the massacre at Tien-tsin can be excused by ascribing it to the prejudices of the ignorant.

The 2nd Regulation requires that women ought no longer to enter the churches, nor should Sisters of Charity live in China to teach religion. The objection to women frequenting Christian churches has, Her Majesty's Government understand, been met at Fatshan and elsewhere by a screen having been erected to divide the sexes. To prevent women altogether from attending Divine worship would be in violation of the freedom of religion provided in the Treaty, and would be contrary to the fundamental principles of Christianity. As the Chinese Government are most probably aware that there are no Sisters of Charity attached to the British Missionary Societies, but Her Majesty's Government could not countenance any Regulation which would cast a slur upon a sisterhood whose blameless lives and noble acts of devotion in the cause of humanity are known throughout the world.

The 3rd and 4th Articles, as respects Chinese Christians, have already been dealt with in the preceding part of this despatch; but Her Majesty's Government cannot allow the claim that the missionaries residing in China must conform to the laws and customs of China to pass unchallenged.

It is the duty of a missionary, as of every other British subject, to avoid giving offence as far as possible to the Chinese authorities or people, but he does not forfeit the rights to which he is entitled under the Treaty as a British subject because of his missionary character.

The 5th Article seems to be directed against French missionaries. The IXth Article

* Parliamentary Papers, "China, No. 9, 1870," p. 13.

of the British Treaty contains provisions to prevent any abuses of passports borne by British subjects ; and no passports are granted by British Diplomatic or Consular authorities to persons not of British nationality.

In this Regulation, as in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th, mention is made of occurrences in Sze-chuen. Her Majesty's Government have urged upon the Chinese Government the expediency of their opening this province to foreign trade, and establishing a port there in which foreign Consuls should reside. If the statements which have been made to the Government of Peking with regard to the irregular proceedings of foreign missionaries and their converts are well founded, the Chinese Government would do well to consider whether the presence of foreign Consular authorities is not required to control the improper or ill-directed exercise of the Treaty privileges conferred on their countrymen. Her Majesty's Government believe that there are no British Protestant missionary establishments in Sze-chuen, but it is impossible to prevent enterprising persons penetrating through a country. Sooner or later they will find their way ; and the true interest of China is to facilitate rather than to restrict the flow of foreign enterprise, and to direct it in the manner most advantageous to that mutually beneficial commercial intercourse on which the prosperity and happiness of nations so largely depend.

Besides showing, as Mr. Low has pointed out, a complete misconception of the nature of the Christian religion, the 6th Regulation is open to the objection that, by constituting the Christians in China a class separated from the rest of the population, it would lead to the very evil of which it is the desire of the Chinese Government to get rid, as the Christians would inevitably regard that separation as conferring on them privileges, for the maintenance of which they must trust to the protection of the Powers in whose Treaties with China the freedom of the Christian religion is provided for.

The 7th Regulation calls for no special observation.

The 8th Regulation does not apply to British missionaries, who have no ecclesiastical property in China to reclaim, and seems to refer to misunderstandings with regard to the operation of the VIth Article of the Treaty with France of the 25th of October, 1860.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the Chinese Government will not suppose that, in withholding their assent to these Regulations they are actuated by any other motive than the wish to avoid embarrassing a question, already of sufficient difficulty, by cumbrous and impracticable regulations.

The remedy for the alleged assumption by missionaries of a protective jurisdiction over native Christians, which constitutes the gist of the accusations brought forward in the Circular and Regulations, appears to Her Majesty's Government to be sufficiently afforded by the Treaties.

If British missionaries behave improperly, they should "be handed over to the nearest Consul for punishment," like other British subjects, as provided in the IXth Article of the Treaty of Tien-tsin. If the local authorities consider that Her Majesty's Consuls do not in any instance afford redress for their complaints, they can appeal through the Government at Peking to Her Majesty's Minister, in the ordinary course of international usage. Both Her Majesty's Minister and Consuls have extensive powers for maintaining the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects in China ; and if those powers should be proved to be inadequate, Her Majesty's Government would readily increase them ; but until it can be proved that Her Majesty's Minister and Consuls are unable to control Her Majesty's subjects in China by the exercise of the powers confided to them, Her Majesty's Government must decline to supplement the existing Treaties by regulations which, although only intended to deal with a particular class of British subjects, would undoubtedly subject the whole British community in China, to a constant interference in their intercourse with the native population of a most vexatious description.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 10.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Granville.—(Received August 28.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 23, 1871.

IN conformity with your Lordship's instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant, I have communicated to M. de Westmann the draft of an instruction which your Lordship proposed to address to Her Majesty's Minister in China,

in reply to the Circular of the Chinese Government, proposing to establish exceptional rules for regulating the proceedings and conduct of foreign missionaries visiting the Chinese Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 11.

Mr. Petre to Earl Granville.—(Received August 28.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 26, 1871.

M. DE THILE has requested me to thank your Lordship for the communication of the draft of the despatch which you propose to address to Mr. Wade on the subject of religious missions in China, and to inform you that the views of the German Government on this question entirely coincide with those expressed in your Lordship's despatch.

The Prussian Minister at Peking will shortly arrive at Berlin, and the German Government are anxious to hear his report and to consult with him before replying to the Circular of the Chinese Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE PETRE.

No. 12.

Earl Granville to Mr. Wade.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 31, 1871.

HER Majesty's Government approve the note, of which a copy was inclosed in your despatch of the 8th of June, which you proposed to address to the Minister Wên Siang in reply to the Circular of the Chinese Government upon the missionary question.

The draft of my despatch to you of the 21st instant on this subject had been communicated to the French, North German, Russian, and American Governments before your despatch of the 8th of June had been received.

No. 13.

Mr. Wade to Earl Granville.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Peking, June 22, 1871.

IN my despatch of the 8th June I had the honour to forward your Lordship the text of a note which I had prepared in answer to that of the Grand Secretary, Wên Siang, upon the missionary question. When sending it in I added the inclosed postscript, which speaks for itself. I am sorry to think that it should be necessary to recur so frequently to so disagreeable a subject, but I had had a very long conversation with the Grand Secretary while the note was being translated, upon this particular question and upon foreign policy in general; and his tendency throughout was undoubtedly to maintain, not exactly that there was excuse for the massacre, but that foreigners have been far too hard in their judgment of the action of the Chinese Government in relation to the massacre; hence that there is really no need for modification of the Treaties in force, or for a more careful observance of them.

It is fair to add that, notwithstanding the tone assumed in debate, the Yamên does appear to be inculcating more prompt attention to the claims of foreigners at the ports, and, to judge from the reports of the Romish missionaries residing inland, the Government has certainly been more zealous of their security since the massacre than at any time for some years past.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS FRANCIS WADE.

Inclosure in No. 13.

*Mr. Wade to the Minister Wén Siang.**Postscript.**Peking, June 21, 1871.*

THE foregoing paper was written many days since, but it has taken so long to translate that its transmission has been unavoidably postponed.

I avail myself of the delay to insist once more upon an important point in which, I think, the Chinese Government appears likely to deceive itself—I mean the wide difference between the impressions produced on native and foreigner by the Tien-tsin massacre, its antecedent history, the atrocity itself, and the sequel.

No. 14.

Lord Lyons to Earl Granville.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord,

Paris, September 5, 1871.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 11th ultimo, and to my despatch of the 18th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note or memorandum which was sent to me by M. de Rémusat the day before yesterday. It contains observations on the draft of your Lordship's despatch to Mr. Wade respecting the Chinese Circular concerning missionaries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 14.

*M. de Rémusat to Lord Lyons.**Versailles, le 31 Août, 1871.*

LE Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a reçu la note que son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser le 18 de ce mois, et qui était accompagnée d'un projet de dépêche destiné à faire connaître à M. Wade l'opinion du Cabinet de Londres au sujet du memorandum Chinois sur l'exercice de la religion en Chine.

Il était d'un intérêt particulier dans la pensée du Gouvernement Français que les Puissances représentées à Péking fussent unanimes à repousser la tentative du Gouvernement Chinois de s'affranchir des engagements qu'il a contractés, en cherchant dans de prétendus abus la justification de règlements nouveaux. Le Gouvernement Français se félicite à ce titre du sens dans lequel le Cabinet de Londres se propose de répondre au memorandum Chinois, et il comprend parfaitement que la nature différente des clauses insérées dans les Traités concernant la position des missionnaires Catholiques ou Protestants ait porté le Cabinet de Londres à considérer comme préférable à une démarche collective une réponse individuelle de chacune des Puissances au document émanant des Ministres Chinois.

M. de Rémusat a l'honneur de remercier Lord Lyons de la communication qu'il a bien voulu lui faire, et il le prie d'agréer, &c.

(Translation.)

Versailles, August 31, 1871.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has received the note which his Excellency the English Ambassador did him the honour to address to him on the 18th instant, and which was accompanied by a draft destined to inform Mr. Wade of the opinion of the Cabinet of London on the subject of the Chinese Memorandum on the exercise of religion in China.

It was of special interest, in the opinion of the French Government, that the Powers represented at Peking should be unanimous in repelling the attempt of the Chinese Government to free itself from the engagements which it has contracted, by seeking in pretended abuses justification for new regulations. The French Government, in this respect, congratulate themselves at the sense in which the Cabinet of London propose to reply to the Chinese Memorandum, and understand perfectly that the different nature of the clauses inserted in the Treaties, with regard to the position of the Catholic or Protestant missionaries, has led the Cabinet of London to consider a separate answer from

each of the Powers to the document emanating from the Chinese Ministers as preferable to collective action.

M. de Rémusat has the honour to thank Lord Lyons for the communication he has been good enough to make to him, and begs, &c.

No. 15.

General Schenck to Earl Granville.—(Received November 29.)

*Legation of the United States, London,
November 29, 1871.*

My Lord,

UNDER instructions from the Secretary of State of the United States, I have the honour to transmit, herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Government a copy of a correspondence between Mr. Low, the Minister of the United States at Peking, and the Department of State at Washington.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. C. SCHENCK.

Inclosure No. 15.

Correspondence between Mr. Low and the Foreign Department, Washington.

Mr. Low to Mr. Fish.

(No. 56.)
Sir,

*Legation of the United States, Peking,
March 20, 1871.*

IN my No. 52, of February 20, reference was made to a communication I had received from the Foreign Office, in relation to the missionary question. I have now the honour to inclose a translation of that document, together with my reply. The Memorandum was drawn up by Wan Tsiang, one of the oldest and by far the ablest of all the Chinese Ministers. He has had more to do with, and therefore understands better, the actual relations of China with foreign nations, than any of his colleagues, and is, I feel sure, anxious to prevent disturbances that may lead to international troubles. That he is sincere in his professed anxiety about the future, no one well acquainted with the real condition of affairs here will question; although it is not impossible that his fears are overstated for the effect such declarations may exert upon the foreign legations, and thus tend to bring about some kind of a compromise which will be useful in the future management of the missionary matter. My opinion that these apprehensions of future danger are genuine, and that this paper is not put forth at this time simply to try and protect themselves against further demands that the French Government may make in the Treaty revision which is soon to take place, is confirmed by the fact that about two years ago, this same Chinese Minister addressed a private note of a similar character to the British Minister. A copy of that note I have just now obtained, a translation of which I beg to send herewith. The answer of Her Majesty's Minister to the note I am not able to give, as it was made verbally and not in writing. A careful reading of the Memorandum clearly proves that the great, if not only, cause of complaint against the missionaries, comes from the action of the Roman Catholic priests and the native Christians of that faith; although the rules proposed for the government of missionaries apply equally to Protestants and Catholics. What reply to make, in view of the complication of the question, and the circumstances with which it was surrounded, did not seem quite clear. I would have preferred to have taken the President's instructions before sending an answer, could they have been obtained within any reasonable time. To simply acknowledge the receipt of their note, and say that instructions had been asked for which would involve a delay of four or five months, and this delay would perhaps raise a hope which could not be otherwise than illusive, that some at least of their propositions would prove acceptable; to reply and admit what I really believed to be true, that the Chinese have some ground of complaint, without being able to suggest a practicable remedy, would only do harm, and render the situation still more insecure; to simply say that, as their complaints are against the Roman Catholics, it is a matter which concerns the French alone, with which other nations have nothing to do, would have the effect to defeat what the other Treaty Powers have been anxious to bring about, viz., that when the Chinese have difficulties with one foreign nation, which are likely to involve

all in trouble, they should frankly state their case to be judged by all, and in this way bring the force of an enlightened public opinion to bear upon the action of any Government that attempts to oppress or deal unfairly. After carefully considering the whole question in all its bearings, I deemed it my duty to reply, without waiting for specific instructions. This I have done at some length, reviewing somewhat in detail the several points presented, reasserting the intention of the Government of the United States to claim for all its citizens entire exemption from the operation of Chinese law, and disclaiming any intention of screening natives from the obligations which they are under to their own laws and officials, pointing out the impracticability of many of the proposed rules, and suggesting personal discussion of this as well as of all other matters of dispute. Had they stated their complaints in brief, without circumlocution, and stripped of all useless verbiage, they would have charged that the Roman Catholic missionaries, when residing away from the open ports, claim to occupy a semi-official position, which places them on an equality with the provincial officer; that they deny the authority of the Chinese officials over native Christians, which practically removes this class from the jurisdiction of their own rulers; that their action in this regard shields the native Christians from the penalties of the law, and thus holds out inducements for the lawless to join the Catholic Church, which is largely taken advantage of; that orphan asylums are filled with children, by the use of improper means, against the will of the people; and when parents, guardians, and friends visit these institutions for the purpose of reclaiming children, their requests for examination and restitution are denied; and lastly, that the French Government, while it does not claim for its missionaries any rights of this nature by virtue of Treaty, its agents and representatives wink at these unlawful acts, and secretly uphold the missionaries. If the opinions of the Chinese officials could be stated in a direct and courageous way, instead of proposing rules for the governance of missionaries, they would demand a revision of the Treaties by which the right of extraterritoriality would be withdrawn from missionaries when they go beyond the places open to trade where foreign Consuls reside. This is really what they mean, although they do not state it specifically.

I do not believe, and therefore I cannot affirm, that all the complaints made against Catholic missionaries are founded in truth, reason, or justice; at the same time, I believe that there is foundation for some of their charges. My opinions, as expressed in former despatches touching this matter, are confirmed by further investigation. But while I see clearly the difficulties and dangers, candour compels me to say that the remedy seems to lie outside and beyond the scope of affirmative diplomatic action. Neither will sound policy, nor the moral and religious sentiments of Christian nations, sanction any retrogression, although trade and commerce might be promoted thereby; nor will the dictates of humanity permit the renunciation of the right for all foreigners that they shall be governed and punished by their own laws. But, while insisting firmly upon these rights, all foreign Governments should see to it that no claim be made by their officers, agents, or subjects, for the extension of their laws over the Chinese. They should also see that their Treaties are honestly and fairly construed, claiming no rights which come of fraud, and conceding nothing that a just construction will grant. That a strict non-interference between native Christians and their rulers will subject the former to persecutions is possible, and even probable; but whether this course will not in the end subserve the cause the missionaries are labouring to promote better than the opposite one, is the question. I think it will. One has the sanction of Treaty and law; the other is in violation of both. The remedy, so far as it lies in the power of foreign Governments, is with France alone; and it behoves that Power, for the sake of its own interests, as well as for the welfare of all foreign residents, to remove all just causes of complaint of the Chinese. Whether this can reasonably be expected depends upon the form and composition of the new Government of France, and also upon the character of the Representative which that Government may send here.

Trusting that my action as herein detailed may meet with the approval of the President, I have, &c.

(Signed) FREDERICK F. LOW.

(Inclosure 1.)

Wan Tsiang and Shin Kwei-fan to Mr. Low.

February 13, 1871.

(Tungchi, 9th year, 12th moon, 24th day).

Sir,

IN relation to the missionary question, the members of the Foreign Office are apprehensive lest, in their efforts to manage the various points connected with it, they shall interrupt the good relations existing between this and other Governments, and have, therefore, drawn up several rules upon the subject.* These are now inclosed, with an explanatory Minute for your examination, and we hope that you will take them into careful consideration.

With compliments, &c.
(Signed) WAN TSIANG.
SHIN KWEI-FAN.

His Excellency Frederick F. Low,
&c. &c. &c.

(Inclosure 2.)

Legation of the United States, Peking,
March 20, 1871.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 13th ultimo, to which was appended a Memorandum setting forth somewhat in detail the causes of discontent among the people, and their ill-will towards the missionaries, and appealing to the Representatives of all the Treaty Powers to take the subject into consideration, with a view of devising measures which will have a tendency to remove the difficulties and assure a continuance of peace between China and foreign nations. To accomplish this, eight rules are proposed by you for the better regulation of missionary enterprises. These rules have been drawn up by you in consultation with all the members of the Foreign Office, and will, if accepted and adopted by the western nations, in your opinion, remedy the evils complained of. By way of illustrating your position, showing that foreign missionaries are responsible for much of the ill-will of the Chinese, and proving that additional safeguards are necessary to preserve peace, instances are cited of illegal and unwise action on the part of the missionaries.

I have read with attention all the papers you sent, and have given to their contents the most careful consideration.

It is a noticeable fact, that among all the cases cited there does not appear to be one in which Protestant missionaries are charged with violating Treaty, law, or custom. So far as I can ascertain, your complaints are chiefly against the action and attitude of the missionaries of the Roman Catholic faith; and, as these are under the exclusive protection and control of the Government of France, I might with great propriety decline to discuss a matter with which the Government of the United States has no direct interest or concern, for the reason that none of its citizens are charged with violating Treaty or local law, and thus causing trouble. But, fully appreciating the force and gravity of your observations when you affirm that involved in this question are the interests of all foreign residents in China, and upon its proper management and solution depend, in a greater or less degree, the safety and well-being of all, whether merchants or missionaries, without regard to nationality or religion, I feel justified in complying with your expressed desire, that all the Representatives of the Treaty Powers will consult upon these grave questions. I shall, therefore, with entire frankness, give you my opinions upon the several points raised by you.

I cordially reciprocate the sentiment when you say that it is the earnest desire of the Prince and his associates to maintain peace between China and all foreign nations, and entirely concur in the opinion that, when apprehensions of trouble arise, which may, if not averted, impair friendly relations, it is the part of wisdom and prudence to state frankly the disturbing causes, and, together with the foreign Representatives, discuss, with a view to adoption, suitable measures for remedying the evils. Such discussions can do no harm, and may lead to the best results.

Of the truth or justice of the complaints made to you by the provincial officers against the Roman Catholic bishops and priest, the Undersigned cannot presume to judge. It is, however, not impossible or hardly improbable that the local officials, who think that their authority has been improperly resisted and themselves insulted, may have overstated the discontent of the people, and have reported isolated cases of misconduct as the rule of missionary action.

* See *ante*, Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

It is also a noteworthy fact, that substantially all the instances mentioned, where trouble has occurred through the alleged evil practices of the priests and Christians, are confined to the provinces of Szechuen and Kweichau—provinces far remote from the residence of Consuls, merchants, and foreigners generally—which renders it difficult to obtain evidence as to the actual facts, except from the principals and their adherents on either side.

In this view, it is unfortunate that merchants are not allowed to reside there also, and that these places are not open to the residence of foreign Consuls, who could look after and arrange such difficulties as they arise; and I would suggest that you take into careful consideration what has so often been urged upon the attention of the Government, and see whether the opening of these disturbed districts to trade and the residence of foreign Consuls would not be the best means you could adopt to prevent missionary troubles.

But, conceding that the charges you make are substantially correct, and the troubles as great as you represent, the remedy, it appears to me, is quite simple, requiring no extraordinary rules or regulations. You say that the trouble arises chiefly from the illegal acts of the native Christians, and the attempt on the part of the missionaries to shield these people from the just punishment for their crimes. In reply, I have to say that the Government of the United States, while it claims to exercise, under and by virtue of the stipulations of Treaty, the exclusive right of judging of the wrongful acts of its citizens resident in China, and of punishing them when found guilty according to its own laws, does not assume to claim or exercise any authority or control over the natives of China. This rule applies equally to merchants and missionaries, and, so far as I know, all foreign Governments having Treaties with China adhere strictly to this rule. In case, however, missionaries see that native Christians are being persecuted by the local officials on account of their religious opinions, in violation of the letter and spirit of the XXIXth Article of the Treaty between the United States and China, it would be proper, and entirely in accordance with the principles of humanity and the teachings of their religion, to make respectful representation of the facts in such cases to the local authorities direct, or through their Diplomatic Representative to the Foreign Office; for it cannot be presumed that the Imperial Government would sanction any violation of Treaty engagement, or that the local officials would allow persecutions for opinion's sake, when once the facts are made known to them. In doing this the missionaries should conform to Chinese custom and etiquette, so far as it can be done without assuming an attitude that would be humiliating and degrading to themselves.

With reference to Rule 1, as proposed, the Undersigned is not prepared to speak. The American missionaries have no establishments of the kind alluded to, and he cannot assent to or dissent from a proposition which has for its object the regulation and government of asylums of a distinct religious sect, under the special protection of another nation. He would, however, observe in this connection, that there are Roman Catholic orphan asylums in all parts of the United States, over which the Government exercises no surveillance or control; and, instead of arousing suspicion and hatred, these charities are so well and favourably known that they merit praise and commendation, and receive contributions for their support from both Government and people, irrespective of religious creed, wherever they are located. It would, I think, be well for the Government of China to expend its energies in the more weighty concerns of Administration, and allow charities of all kinds, which have for their object the amelioration of the condition of children or adults, the largest freedom compatible with the safety and well-being of the people.

Rule 2 is without apparent reason and unjust. Among all western nations females attend churches in common with the males, and their religious teachings conduce to the highest good. Their attending church in company with parents, husbands, and friends, should in no manner give rise to suspicions. On the contrary, their presence in such places is a guarantee against illegal combinations or plots against the State or individuals. In western lands it is considered of the highest importance that females be educated in literature and religion, so that they may be fitted to rear families who will become useful and honest members of society. So fixed has this principle become in all Christian countries that a proposition of this character will be regarded as an unfriendly interference, to prevent the carrying into effect, in its proper sense, Article XXIX of the Treaty before alluded to. I deeply regret that such a rule should have been proposed. Instead of being accepted by the Treaty Powers, the mere mention of it will, I fear, cause some to doubt the good faith of the Government and people of China in their profession of a desire to observe all Treaty stipulations.

Rules 3 and 4 appear to me entirely unnecessary. Missionaries have no right under the Treaty to do the things complained of; hence any additional regulations to prevent such acts are superfluous.

When native Christians offend, they are subject to, and under the control of, the laws

and officials of their own country; nor do I see how it is possible for the missionaries to oppress the people in any way. In the United States every person is allowed the largest liberty in the discussion of all subjects pertaining to government or religion. In this way the people hear all sides, and are the better able to judge between the true and the false. If the Buddhist, Taoish, Confucian, and Christian faiths could all be explained without hindrance, the people will judge of the merits of each, and adhere to the one that seems to be the most reasonable and true. Each sect will find adherents and followers, but there need not on this account arise ill-will, jealousy, or hatred between the followers of these sects. It would be well, I think, for the Government to make further inquiries into the customs of foreign nations, and see whether it would not promote a better understanding between natives and foreigners, without weakening the Government or lessening the respect of the people for their rulers, if greater freedom were allowed in the worship of all religions, and the adherence to any sect the people choose without interference on the part of the Government.

If native Christians are exempted from the payment of contributions for theatrical plays and processions it shows a spirit of justice on the part of their rulers, and should in no way cause them to evade the payment of their proportion of other proper taxes and assessments, nor should missionaries uphold them in such acts. But foreign missionaries, while it is their duty to refrain from any interference between natives and the officials, except to explain cases when explanations will be of service to enable justice to be done, and which the officials will, without doubt, always be glad to have if they are honest, cannot be held subject to Chinese law, except in the way of arrest and delivery to the Consular officers of their own country, according to the rule laid down in the Treaties. In the cases cited which occurred in Szchuen, where it is charged that the Christian culprit ran away and evaded justice, the proper officers are, it seems to me, alone responsible for all this. The missionaries had no right to shield, screen, or secrete these people, nor should they be censured if they refuse to act the part of police officers in the arrest of Christians. This all belongs to the local officials to do. If the men were guilty, I fail to see any good reason why they were not arrested and punished the same as Ho Tsai and Lih Fuh, if the officers had done their duty.

Rule 5 seems to me proper enough, except that portion authorizing a refusal of passports for provinces where rebellion may exist. If consented to, this might practically nullify the whole passport system provided for in the Treaties. Missionaries will hardly take the risk of going into districts where rebellion is rife; and if they do, on them will fall the penalty of such rash acts. In the last ten years, during which passports have been granted, no cases have been reported in which the holders have gone among rebels to aid them in any way.

Rule 6. I fail to see what practical good would come from a registry of the members of each church, were it assented to. It is not to be supposed that all enrolled as members of the Buddhist, Taoish, Confucian, or Christian sects are pure and honest men; nor should the fact of their being so enrolled exempt them from arrest and punishment in case they commit offences against the laws.

In the cases mentioned that happened in Kweichau in 1866 and 1869, instead of making these a ground of general complaint to the Foreign Office, why did not the Governor cause the arrest and punishment of the brigands? Their profession of Christianity certainly did not exempt them from the just consequences of their evil deeds. It would seem that the officers, instead of attending to their own proper duties in the administration and due execution of the laws, chose to allow these people to escape for the purpose of reporting these cases, and on them founding a general charge against Christianity and the missionaries. If lawless people, whether Christians or non-Christians, are allowed to oppress the orphans and the helpless, deceive and exact from the villagers, and assume improper positions in the Courts, instead of listening to such complaints from those whose duty it is to prevent and punish such outrages, the officials should, it seems to me, be summarily deprived of their rank, and severely punished for allowing these things to go on.

Rules 7 and 8. If the missionaries assume to exercise powers unauthorized by Treaty and regulations, use seals, or adopt a style in addressing the officials in any way unbecoming, the Representative of the Government to which they belong, upon a proper statement of the facts, would issue such orders as would prevent a repetition of such improprieties. In case of any gross breach of etiquette by an American missionary, I should, upon the fact being made known to me, take steps to prevent such occurrences in the future. It is the custom of the American missionaries to use caution when they go to a new place to rent rooms or houses, and they endeavour by all means to so manage as to gain the goodwill of the people.

Instances have occurred where they have been prevented from renting or buying property for no other reason, apparently, than a disposition to embarrass and hinder them in their preaching. Many cases of this kind have occurred which would have formed just grounds for complaint to the Foreign Office. I have, however, refrained from making complaints of this character, as I felt sure that, as soon as the real purposes of the missionaries became better understood, there would be less and less opposition to them on the part of the people. With reference to the restoration of property which was confiscated many years ago, and of the use of which its proper owners have been deprived, that is a matter which concerns the missionaries of the Roman Catholic faith alone, and must be arranged with the Representative of France. It is, perhaps, but natural that disputes and difficulties should occur in the settlement of such a question. No fixed rule is possible which will apply in all cases of this nature. Nothing but mutual forbearance, and a desire to settle amicably, in a spirit of justice, these questions, will be likely to accomplish a satisfactory result. The experience gained in the solution of these questions will, undoubtedly, prove a useful lesson to both officials and people. It will clearly demonstrate that unjust and unlawful persecutions and confiscations will require reparation sooner or later, and prove that the best way to avoid the difficulties that have caused so much anxiety and trouble during the past ten years is to act justly towards all people and all religious sects; then foreign nations will have no claims of this nature to urge.

To assure peace in the future, the people must be better informed of the purposes of foreigners. They must be taught that merchants are engaged in trade which cannot but be beneficial to both native and foreigner, and that missionaries seek only the welfare of the people, and are engaged in no political plots or intrigues against the Government. Whenever cases occur in which the missionaries overstep the bounds of decorum, or interfere in matters with which they have no proper concern, let each case be reported promptly to the Minister of the country to which it belongs. Such isolated instances should not produce prejudice or engender hatred against those who observe their obligations, nor should sweeping complaints be made against all on this account. Those from the United States sincerely desire the reformation of those whom they teach, and to do this they urge the examination of the Holy Scriptures, wherein the great doctrines of the present and a future state, and also the resurrection of the soul, are set forth, with the obligation of repentance, belief in the Saviour, and the duties of man to himself and others. It is owing, in a great degree, to the prevalence of a belief in the truth of the Scriptures that Western nations have attained their power and prosperity. To enlighten the people is a duty which the officials owe to the people, to foreigners, and themselves; for if, in consequence of ignorance, the people grow discontented, and insurrection and riots occur, and the lives and property of foreigners are destroyed or imperilled, the Government cannot escape its responsibility for these unlawful acts.

If the danger is as great as the contents of your communication would appear to indicate, and that, owing to the ignorance of the common people, all will be likely to suffer, irrespective of nationality or religious belief, then it certainly is a matter of great concern to all foreign Governments, which should lead them to consult and seek means to prevent, if possible, such a catastrophe, and also adopt measures for defending their rights under the several Treaties.

If I have failed to comprehend fully the difficulties and dangers which surround the situation which you have endeavoured to point out, or if I have omitted noticing any point of importance, I am quite ready and willing to meet you and the other members of the Foreign Office, and discuss these as well as other questions of difference between your country and foreign nations, in a spirit of forbearance, with an earnest desire to arrange and settle all questions that peace and mutual confidence may long continue.

With renewed assurance of regard and consideration, I have, &c.,

(Signed) **FREDERICK F. LOW.**

Their Excellencies Shin Kwei-fan and Wan Tsiang.

(Inclosure 3.)

Note from Wan Tsiang to Sir R. Alcock, June 26, 1869.

[See *ante*, Inclosure 3 in No. 6.]

Mr. Davis to Mr. Low.

(No. 57.)

Sir,

Department of State, Washington, October 19, 1871.

THE delay in answering your No. 56 has not been caused by a disposition to disapprove of your reply to the Foreign Office note on the subject of missions. On the contrary, the President regards it as wise and judicious.

Two versions of these regulations have found their way to the Department—the translation inclosed in your No. 56, and a translation, apparently made from a French version, presented to the houses of Parliament in Great Britain, in June or July last, and printed in British Blue Book entitled “China, No. 3, 1871.” These versions differ widely in form and expression, and, to some extent, in sense.

The version presented to Parliament has been or will be made the subject of instructions by Her Majesty’s Government to Mr. Wade.* A copy of these proposed instructions was communicated to this Department by Her Majesty’s Chargé at Washington in August last. A copy is herewith inclosed, and also a copy of the version to which they relate.

The most material variance between the two versions is in the designation of the missionaries against whom the Chinese Foreign Office complain. Your version limits the complaints to missionaries of the Roman Church. The British translation, following the French version, represents the complaints against “Christians.” For instance, the British version renders the beginning of the first Article or Rule as follows: “The Christians, when they found an Orphanage, give no notice to the authorities, and appear to act with mystery.” Your translation of the same sentence reads, “The establishment of asylums for training up children by the Romanists has hitherto not been reported to the authorities, and, as these institutions are carefully kept private,” &c., &c. From the English version of the accompanying note from the Yamên, it is evident that the Chinese Foreign Office recognizes that there are in China Christian missionaries of different faiths; for they say that “the people in general, unaware of the difference which exists between Protestantism and Catholicism, confound these two religions under this latter denomination.” Your version is to the same effect.

Under these circumstances it may be well to re-examine the original, and ascertain which version is correct. Both, however, agree in the statement that the Government of China is apprehensive of a popular outbreak which may endanger the peace of the country and its relations with the United States and the European Powers, and that therefore it has determined to submit to the Representatives of the foreign Powers a plan for regulating the condition of Christians in China. Your prompt and able answer to these propositions leaves little to be said by the Department.

The rights of citizens of the United States in China are well defined by Treaty. So long as they attend peaceably to their affairs they are to be placed on a common footing of amity and good-will with subjects of China, and are to receive and enjoy for themselves, and everything appertaining to them, protection and defence from all insults and injuries. They have the right to reside at any of the ports open to foreign commerce, to rent houses and places of business, or to build such upon sites which they have the right to hire. They have secured to them the right to build churches and cemeteries, and they may teach or worship in those churches without being harassed, persecuted, interfered with, or molested. These are some of the rights which are expressly and in terms granted to the United States, for their citizens, by the Treaty of 1858. If I rightly apprehend the spirit of the note of the Foreign Office, and of the regulations which accompany it, there is, to state it in the least objectionable form, an apprehension in the Yamên that it may become necessary to curtail some of these rights, in consequence of the alleged conduct of French missionaries. This idea cannot be entertained for one moment by the United States.

The President will see with deep regret any attempt to place a foreign ecclesiastic, as such, on a different footing from other foreigners residing in China. It is a fundamental principle in the United States that all persons, of every sect, faith, or race, are equal before the law. They make no distinction in favour of any ecclesiastical organization. Prelates, priests, and ministers can claim equal protection here, and enjoy equal rank in the eye of the civil law. The United States ask no more in China than they confer at home. Should the peace of the Empire be disturbed by efforts from any quarter to induce or compel the Government to confer unusual civil rights on foreign ecclesiastics, you will make it plain that the United States have no sympathy with such a movement, and regard it as outside of the Treaty rights which have been conferred upon the western nations. Should these demands, however, be complied with, this Government will then consider whether, under the Thirtieth Article of the Treaty of 1858, a similar right will not at once inure to the benefit of all the public officers, merchants, and citizens of the United States.

* See *ante*, No. 9.

The President would look with equal regret upon any attempt to withdraw the native Christians from the jurisdiction of the Emperor without his free consent, or to convert the churches founded by the missionaries into asylums. He can well conceive that the enjoyment of such a right might, as intimated by the Yamên, operate for the nominal and apparent conversion of desperadoes and criminals, who need a place of refuge to escape from punishment. On the other hand, he is mindful that the faith of the Empire is pledged to the United States that not only citizens of the United States, but Chinese converts, who peaceably teach and practise the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested. He feels confident, therefore, and expects that whatever may be the disposition of the turbulent and evil-disposed among the subjects of the Emperor, the native converts to Christianity will enjoy the full measure of protection guaranteed to them by the Treaty of 1858. Except so far as the guarantee of that Treaty extends, the President cannot permit the officials of the United States to participate in any attempt to disturb the natural relations between the Emperor and his Christian subjects. He particularly desires it to be understood that the profession of the Christian faith is not regarded by the officers of the United States as a protection against punishment for crime. Ecclesiastical asylums for criminals have never existed in this country, nor will they be planted elsewhere through its agency.

This Government has studiously and steadfastly observed its Treaty engagements with China. The policy of the President and of his Administration was elaborately set forth in the despatch of August 31, 1869, to Mr. Bancroft, a copy of which was inclosed in Mr. Fish's No. 2 to you. The President has no reason to change that policy. On the contrary, the events which have occurred since that despatch was written have the more convinced him of its justice. We stand upon our Treaty rights; we ask no more, we expect no less. If other nations demand more, if they advance pretensions inconsistent with the dignity of China as an independent Power, we are no parties to such acts. Our influence, so far as it may be legitimately and peacefully exerted, will be used to prevent such demands or pretensions, should there be serious reason to apprehend that they will be put forth. We feel that the Government of the Emperor is actuated by friendly feelings towards the United States. We recognize the existence, to a limited extent, of the popular feeling and danger of outbreak which are set forth in the note of the Foreign Office. As far as we can, consistently with the duty which the Government owes to those who have the right to claim its protection, we desire to aid the Government of the Emperor in calming that feeling and in preventing such outbreak.

Should other nations seek our advice, or counsel with us on this subject, we shall not fail to urge these views. But, in order to urge them with success, we must be in a position to say that the Chinese Government is able and anxious to perform all its international duties, whether founded upon Treaty or on well-settled principles of public law. We could speak with still greater force if we could give an assurance that it is disposed to enlarge its intercourse with the West, and to revise its Treaties in that spirit. The guarantees for peace lie in this direction rather than in the revival of a restrictive policy.

With these general principles stated, it is not necessary to refer in detail to the note of the Foreign Office, or to the rules. Your reply to them has anticipated much that I should have otherwise said. I content myself with saying that as no complaint is made against the American missionaries, so there is no necessity to make such rules for their observance.

A copy of these instructions will be sent to the various Treaty Powers. You will communicate the substance of them to Prince Kung.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. C. B. DAVIS, *Acting Secretary*.

Frederick F. Low, Esq.

Mr. Pakenham to Mr. Fish.

Sir,

Washington, August 24, 1871.

IN compliance with instructions which I have received from Earl Granville, I have the honour to transmit a copy of a draft of a despatch which Her Majesty's Government propose to address to Mr. Wade, Her Majesty's Minister in China,* respecting the Circular of the Chinese Government on the subject of religious missions in that empire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. J. PAKENHAM.

* See *ante*, No. 9.

CHINA. No. 1 (1872).

CORRESPONDENCE respecting the Circular of the
Chinese Government of February 9, 1871, relating
to Missionaries.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. 1872.*

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News in Brief

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Germany and the British Policy of Encirclement

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News in Brief

REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS ON CONTEMPORARY GERMANY

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Germany and the British Policy of Encirclement

After the German solution of the Czech crisis in March 1939, a European situation has arisen which, in the month past, has proved to be particularly dangerous. The reason for the change in the European outlook is not so much the creation of the Reich Protectorate in Bohemia and Moravia, but rather the growing rigidity of the British attitude as first heralded by the British Prime Minister's speech in Birmingham.

The documents which are reprinted in this issue of the *News in Brief* give only a half-way clue to the situation, inasmuch as they present to the reader only some of the immediate diplomatic outcomes of the feverish activity initiated at the end of March. In order to obtain a better insight into the actual situation, one should also take into account the general feelings aroused in the two camps which have been forced upon Europe.

When the British cabinet ministers in their recent speeches in June maintain that the present British policy does not in any way intend to "encircle" Germany or to cut her off from her natural trade development in Central and South East Europe, these statements do not meet with any credulity in Germany. Basing their judgement on the very harsh experiences they have had with British policy before and after the War, the Germans are well capable now of distinguishing between words and deeds. The German step in the former state of Czechoslovakia was necessary in order to remove one of the sorest danger spots in Europe. The details affording a complete explanation for that German step are given in the Führer's speech on April 28 (cf. page 48—50). The British answer was first to mobilise Poland, Rumania and Turkey in a common front, according to its British name "The Peace Front", and to give it its German name, that which it actually is, "Encirclement". The distinction lies in that which is being regarded as "peace" on this and on that side of the channel. Ger-

many cannot regard the latest European developments, as produced by the new course of British diplomacy, as anything but a twelfth hour attempt to stabilise and perpetuate the last remnants of the Versailles *status quo*: thereby precluding a sensible and just solution of the Polish-German problems in Danzig and the Corridor as proffered in the above-mentioned speech, and moreover cutting Germany off from her natural economic development in Europe.

The maintenance of close economic relations between the Reich and Central and South East European States, however, does by no means signify a state of "dependence" on the part of the smaller nations. The extension of close trade and economic relations between smaller European states and Germany will serve the good of all participating states in view of the reciprocal nature of the natural exchange between one great and powerful, highly-industrial state and a number of agricultural and raw-material producing states. Nobody serving the cause of peace should attempt to block such a development.

How dangerous, moreover, the new British course is, can be seen in the great difficulties which Great Britain now, at the moment this paper goes to press, encounters after her prolonged negotiations with Soviet Russia towards securing Soviet aid for making her Polish and Rumanian guarantees effective.

The documents contained in this issue will one day testify to a very decisive period in the course of European history. If Britain and France and also the United States (by way of the President's message and the continuous public instigation of mass hatred) take pains to construct already a future "war-guilt clause", then the following documents may serve the unprejudiced reader as a guide to the German standpoint, which, with utmost vigour, rejects such a falsification of historic events.

Text of the Speech

Members of the German Reichstag!

The President of the United States of America has addressed a telegram to me, with the curious contents of which you are already familiar. Before I, the addressee, actually received this document, the rest of the world had already been informed of it by radio and newspaper reports; and numerous commentaries in the organs of the democratic world press had already generously enlightened us as to the fact that this telegram was a very skilful, tactical document, destined to impose upon the states in which the people govern the responsibility for the warlike measures adopted by the plutocratic countries; in view of these facts I decided to summon the German Reichstag so that you, Gentlemen, might have an opportunity of hearing my answer first and of either confirming that answer or rejecting it.

But in addition I considered it desirable to keep to the method of procedure initiated by President Roosevelt and to inform the rest of the world, on my part and by our own means, of my answer.

The Events of last March

But I should like also to take this opportunity of giving expression to the feelings with which the tremendous historical happenings of the month of March inspire me. I can give vent to my deepest feelings only in the form of humble thanks to Providence, which called upon me and vouchsafed it to me, once an unknown soldier of the Great War, to rise to be the leader of my so dearly-loved people. Providence caused me to find the way to free our people from its deepest misery without any shedding of blood, and to lead it upwards once more. Providence has granted that I might fulfil my life's task—to raise my German people up out of the depth of defeat and to liberate it from the bonds of the most infamous dictate of all times.

For this alone has been the aim of my actions. Since the day on which I entered politics I have been moved by no other idea than that of winning back the freedom of the German nation, restoring the power and strength of the Reich, overcoming the internal disruption of the nation, remedying its isolation from the rest of the world, and safeguarding the maintenance of its independent economic and political existence.

I have worked only to restore that which others once broke by force, I have desired only to make good that which Satanic malice or human unreason destroyed or demolished. I have therefore taken no step which violated the rights of others, but have only restored that justice which was violated twenty years ago. The present Greater German Reich contains no territory which was not from the earliest times a part of this Reich, not bound up with it or subject to its sovereignty. Long before an American Continent had been discovered—to say nothing of settled—by white people, this Reich existed, not merely in its present extent, but with the addition of many regions and provinces which have since been lost.

Frustrated Hopes in 1919

Twenty-one years ago, when the bloodshed of the War came to an end, millions of minds were filled with the ardent hope that a peace of reason and justice would reward and bless the nations which had been visited by the fearful scourge of the Great War. I say "reward", for all these men and women—whatever the conclusions arrived at by the historians—bore no responsibility for these fearful happenings. And if in some countries there are still politicians who even at that time could be charged with the responsibility for this, the most atrocious massacre of all time, yet the vast numbers of the combatant soldiers of every country and nation were at the most deserving

of pity, but by no means guilty. I myself—as you know—had never played a part in politics before the War, and only, like millions of others, performed such duties as I was called upon to fulfill as a decent citizen and soldier. It was therefore with an absolutely clear conscience that I was able to take up the cause of the freedom and future of my people, both during and after the War. And I can therefore speak in the name of millions and millions of others equally blameless when I declare that all those who had only fought for their nation in the loyal fulfilment of their duty were entitled to a peace of reason and justice, so that mankind might at last set to work to make good by joint effort the losses which all had suffered.

But the millions were cheated of this peace; for not only did the German people or the other people fighting on our side suffer through the Peace Treaties, these treaties also had an annihilating effect on the victor countries.

The Folly of Versailles

For the first time it appeared as a misfortune that politics should be controlled by men who had not fought in the war. The feeling of hatred was unknown to the soldiers, but not to those elderly politicians who had carefully preserved their own precious lives from the horror of war, and who now descended upon humanity in the guise of insane spirits of revenge. Hatred, malice and unreason were the intellectual forbears of the Treaty of Versailles. Living space and states with a history going back a thousand years were arbitrarily broken up and dissolved. Since time immemorial men who belong together have been torn asunder, economic conditions of life have been ignored, while the peoples themselves have been converted into victors and vanquished, into masters possessing all rights and slaves possessing none. This document of Versailles has fortunately been set down in black and white for later generations. For otherwise it would be later regarded as a fabulous product of a wild, corrupt fantasy.

Nearly 115 million people have been robbed of their right of self determination, not by the victorious soldiers, but by mad politicians, and have been arbitrarily removed from old communities and made part of new ones without any consideration of blood, origin, reason and the economic conditions of life.

The results were dreadful.

Though at that time the statesmen were able to destroy a great many things, there was one factor that could not be eliminated: — the gigantic mass of people living in Central Europe, crowded together in a confined space can only ensure its daily bread by the highest intensity of work and consequently of order. But what did these statesmen of so-called democratic empires know of these problems? A crowd of the most stupid and ignorant people was let loose on humanity. In districts in which about 140 people have to gain a livelihood per square kilometre, they merely destroyed the order, which had been built up in nearly 2000 years of historical development, and created disorder without themselves being able or desirous to solve the problems confronting the communal life of these people—for which, moreover, as dictators of the new world order, they had at that time undertaken responsibility.

However, when this new world order turned out to be a catastrophe, the democratic peace dictators of American and European origin were so cowardly that none of them centured to take the responsibility for what occurred. Each put the blame on the others, thus endeavouring to save himself from the judgement of history. However the people who were maltreated by their hatred and unreason were, unfortunately, not in a position to share with those who had injured them in this escape.

The Suffering of the German Nation

It is impossible to enumerate the stages of the suffering of our own people. Robbed of the whole of its colonial possessions, deprived of all its financial resources, plundered by so-called reparations, and thus impoverished, our nation was driven into the blackest period of its national misfor-

tune. And let it be noted that this was not National-Socialist Germany, but democratic Germany —, the Germany which was weak enough to trust for a single moment the promises of democratic statesmen.

The misery resulting therefrom and the continuous want began to bring our nation politically to despair. The decent and industrious people of Central Europe thought that they could see the possibility of deliverance in the complete destruction of the order which appeared to have become a curse. Jewish parasites on the one hand plundered the nation ruthlessly and on the other hand incited the people when it had been reduced to misery. As the misfortune of our nation became the only aim and object of this race, it was possible to breed among the growing army of unemployed suitable elements for the bolshevik revolution. The decay of political order and the confusion of public opinion by the irresponsible Jewish press, led to ever stronger shocks to economic life and consequently to increasing misery and to greater readiness to absorb subversive bolshevik ideas. The army of the Jewish world revolution, as the army of unemployed was called, finally increased to almost seven million. Germany had never known this state of affairs before. In the living space of the great German people and of the old Habsburg states belonging thereto, despite all the difficulties of the struggle for existence involved by the excessive density of population, economic life had not become more uncertain in the course of time, but on the contrary more and more secure. Industry and diligence, great thrift and the love of scrupulous order, though they did not enable the people in this territory to accumulate excessive riches, did at any rate insure them against abject misery. The results of the wretched peace forced upon them by the democratic dictators were thus all the more terrible for these people who were damned at Versailles. Today we know the reason for this frightful outcome of the Great War. Firstly it was the greed for spoils. That which is seldom of value in the life of the individual, could, they believed, be enlarged a millionfold and he represented to mankind as a useful experiment. If large nations are plundered and the utmost squeezed out of them, it will then be possible to live a life of carefree idleness. Such was the opinion of these economic dilettantes. To that end:

1. the States themselves had to be dismembered. Germany had to be deprived of her colonial possessions, although they were without any value to the world-democracies; the most important districts yielding raw-materials had to be invaded and—if necessary—placed under the influence of the democracies, and above all:

2. the unfortunate victims of that democratic ill-treatment of nations and individuals had to be prevented from ever recovering, let alone rising against their oppressors. Thus was concocted the devilish plan to burden generations with the curse of those dictates. For 60, 70 or 100 years Germany was to pay sums so exorbitant that the question how they were actually to be raised could but remain a mystery to all concerned. It would have been absolutely impossible to raise such sums in gold, foreign currency, or by way of regular payments in kind, without the blinded collectors of this tribute perishing as well. As a matter of fact these democratic peace-dictators thoroughly destroyed world-economy with their Versailles madness. Their senseless dismemberment of peoples and states led to the destruction of common production and trade interests which had become well established in the course of hundreds of years, thus once more enforcing an increased development of autarchic tendencies and therewith the extinction of the general conditions of world economy, which had hitherto existed.

When, twenty years ago, I signed my name in the book of political life as the seventh member of the then German Workers' Party at Munich, I noticed the signs of that decay becoming effective all around me. The worst of it—as I have already emphasized—was the utter despair of the masses which resulted therefrom, the disappearance among the educated classes of all confidence in human reason let alone in a sense of justice, and at the same time a predominance of brutal selfishness in all creatures so disposed.

German Political Aims and their Realisation

The extent to which in the course of what is now twenty years, I have been able once more to mould a nation from such chaotic disorganization into an organic whole and to establish a new order, is now part of German history. However, what I intend to propound before you today by way of introduction, is above all the purport of my intentions with regard to foreign policy and their realization.

The Tearing-up of Nations

One of the most shameful acts of oppression ever committed is the dismemberment of the German nation and the political disintegration of her living space—which has, after all, been hers for thousands of years—provided for in the Dictate of Versailles.

I have never left any doubt that in point of fact it is scarcely possible anywhere in Europe to arrive at a harmony of state and national boundaries, which will be satisfactory in every way. On the one hand the migration of peoples which gradually came to a standstill during the last few centuries, and the development of large communities on the other have brought about a situation which, whatever way they look at it, must necessarily be considered unsatisfactory by those concerned.

It was, however, the very way in which these national and political developments were gradually stabilized in the last century which led many to consider themselves justified in cherishing the hope that in the end a compromise would be found between respect for the national life of the various European peoples and the recognition of established political structures—a compromise by which, without destroying the political order in Europe and with it the existing economic basis, nationalities could nevertheless be preserved. This hope was abolished by the Great War. The Peace-Dictate of Versailles did justice neither to the one principle nor to the other. Neither the right of self determination nor yet the political let alone the economic necessities and conditions for the European development were respected. Nevertheless I never left any doubt that—as

Guide to the Führer's Speech

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I have already emphasized—even a revision of the treaty of Versailles would also find its limit somewhere. And I have always said so with the utmost frankness—not for any tactical reasons but from my innermost conviction.

As the national leader of the German people I have never left any doubt that, wherever the higher interests of the European comity were at stake, national interests must, if necessary, be relegated to second place in certain cases. And—as I have already emphasized—this is not for tactical reasons; for I have never left any doubt that I am absolutely earnest in this attitude of mine. For quite a number of territories which might possibly be disputed I have therefore come to final decisions which I have proclaimed not only to the outside world, but also to my own people, and have seen to it that they should abide by them.

I have not, as France did in 1870/71, described the cession of Alsace-Lorraine as intolerable for the future, but I have here drawn a difference between the Saar Territory and these two former imperial provinces. And I have never changed my attitude nor will I ever do so. I have not allowed this attitude to be modified or jeopardized inside the country on any occasion, either in the press or in any other way. The return of the Saar Territory has done away with all territorial problems in Europe between France and Germany. I have, however, always regarded it as regrettable that French statesmen should take this attitude for granted. This is however not the way to look at the matter. It was not for fear of France that I preached this attitude. As a former soldier I see no reason whatever for such fear. Moreover as regards the Saar Territory I made it quite clear that we would not countenance any refusal to return it to Germany. No, I have confirmed this attitude to France as an expression of an appreciation of the necessity to attain peace in Europe instead of sowing the seed of continual uncertainty and even tension by making unlimited demands and continually asking for revision. If this tension has nevertheless now arisen, the responsibility does not lie with Germany but with those international elements which systematically produce such tension in order to serve their capitalist interests.

No Unlimited Revision Claims

I have given binding declarations to a large number of states. None of these states can complain that even a trace of a demand contrary thereto has ever been made to them by Germany. None of the Scandinavian statesmen, for example, can contend that a request has ever been put to them by the German Government or by German public opinion, which was incompatible with the sovereignty and integrity of their state.

I was pleased that a number of European states availed themselves of these declarations by the German Government to express and emphasize their desire too for absolute neutrality. This applies to Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, etc. I have already mentioned France. I need not mention Italy, with whom we are united in the deepest and closest friendship, Hungary and Yugoslavia, with whom we as neighbours have the fortune to be on very friendly terms. On the other hand I have left no doubt from the first moment of my political activity that there existed other circumstances which represent such a mean and gross outrage of the right of self determination of our people that we can never accept or endorse them. I have never written a single line or made a single speech displaying a different attitude towards the above-mentioned states. On the other hand with reference to the other cases I have never written a single line or made a single speech in which I have expressed any attitude contrary to my actions.

Austria — Sudetenland — Bohemia and Moravia

1. Austria

The oldest Eastern March of the German people was once the buttress of the German nation on the south east of the

Reich. The Germans of this country are descended from settlers from all the German tribes, even though the Bavarian tribe did contribute the major portion. Later this Ostmark became the crown lands and the nucleus of a five-century old German Empire, with Vienna as the capital of the German Reich of that period. This German Reich was finally broken up in the course of a gradual dissolution by Napoleon the Corsican but continued to exist as a German Federation, and not so long ago fought and suffered in the greatest war of all time as an entity which was the expression of the national feelings of the people, even if it was no longer one united state. I myself am a child of this Ostmark. Not only was the German Reich destroyed and Austria split up into its component parts by the criminals of Versailles, but Germans were also forbidden to acknowledge that community which they had confessed for more than a thousand years. I have always regarded the elimination of this state of affairs as the highest and most sacred task of my life. I have never failed to proclaim this determination. And I have always been resolved to realize these ideas, which haunted me day and night. I should have sinned against my call by Providence, had I failed by my own endeavour to lead my native country and my German people of the Ostmark back to the Reich and thus to the community of the German people.

In doing so, moreover, I have wiped out the most disgraceful side of the Treaty of Versailles. I have once more established the right of self-determination, and done away with the democratic oppression of seven-and-a-half million Germans. I removed the ban which prevented them from voting on their own fate, and carried out this vote before the whole world. The result was not only what I had expected, but also precisely what had been anticipated by the Versailles democratic oppressors of peoples. For what else did they forbid the plebiscite on the question of Anschluss!

2. Bohemia and Moravia

When in the course of the Migrations of the Peoples Germanic tribes began, for reasons inexplicable for us, to migrate out of the territory which is today Bohemia and Moravia, a foreign Slav people made its way into this territory and made a place for itself between the remaining Germans. Since that time the living space of this Slav people has been enclosed in the form of a horseshoe by Germans. From an economic point of view an independent existence is in the long run impossible for these countries except on the basis of a relationship with the German nation and German economy. But apart from this, nearly four million Germans lived in this territory of Bohemia and Moravia.

A policy of national annihilation which set in particularly after the Treaty of Versailles, under pressure of the Czech majority, combined too with economic conditions and the rising tide of distress, led to the emigration of these German elements, so that the Germans left in the territory were reduced to approximately 3.7 million. The population of the fringe of the territory is uniformly German, but there are also large German linguistic enclaves in the interior. The Czech nation is in its origins foreign to us.

Germany and the Czech People

But in the thousand years in which the two peoples have lived side by side Czech culture has in the main been formed and moulded by German influences. Czech economy owes its existence to the fact of having been part of the great German economic system. The capital of this country was for a time a German Imperial City, and it contains the oldest German University. Numerous cathedrals, town halls, and palaces of the nobility and citizen class bear witness to the influence of German culture. The Czech people itself has in the course of centuries alternated between close and more distant contacts with the German people. Every close contact resulted in a period in which both the German and the Czech nations flourished, every estrangement was calamitous in its consequences.

We are familiar with the merits and values of the German people. But the Czech nation, with the sum total of its

skill and ability, its industry, its diligence, its love of its native soil and of its own national heritage, also deserves our respect. There were in actual fact periods in which this mutual respect for the qualities of the other nation was a matter of course.

The Artificial Construction of Czecho-Slovakia

The democratic peace-makers of Versailles can take the credit for having assigned to this Czech people the special rôle of satellite state, capable of being used against Germany. For this purpose they arbitrarily adjudicated foreign national property to the Czech State, which was utterly incapable of survival on the strength of the Czech national unit alone; that is, they did violence to other nationalities in order to give a firm basis to a state which was to incorporate a latent threat to the German nation in Central Europe. For this state, in which the so-called predominant national element was actually in a minority, could be maintained only by means of a brutal assault on the national units which formed the major part of the population. This assault was possible only in so far as protection and assistance was granted by the European democracies. This assistance could naturally be expected only on condition that this state was prepared loyally to take over and play the rôle which it had been assigned at birth.

But the purpose of this rôle was no other than to prevent the consolidation of Central Europe, to provide a bridge to Europe for bolshevik aggression, and above all to act as a mercenary of the European democracies against Germany. Everything else followed automatically.

The more this state tried to fulfil the task it had been set, the greater was the resistance put up by the national minorities. And the greater the resistance, the more it became necessary to resort to oppression. This inevitable hardening of the internal antitheses led in its turn to an increased dependence on the democratic European founders and benefactors of the state. For they alone were in a position to maintain in the long run the economic existence of this unnatural and artificial creation. Germany was primarily interested in one thing only, and that was to liberate the nearly four million Germans in that country from their unbearable situation, and to make it possible for them to return to their home country and to the thousand-year-old Reich.

Western Europe and the Sudeten Problem

It was only natural that this problem immediately brought up all the other aspects of the nationalities problem. But it was also natural that the removal of the different national groups should deprive what was left of the state of all capacity to survive—a fact of which the founders of the state had been well aware when they planned it at Versailles, since it was for this very reason that they decided on the assault on the other minorities and had forced these against their will to become part of this amateurishly constructed state.

I have likewise never left any doubt about my opinion and attitude. It is true that, as long as Germany herself was powerless and defenceless, this oppression of almost four million Germans could be carried out without the Reich offering any practical resistance. However only a child in politics could have believed that the German nation would remain for ever in the state it was in in 1919. Only as long as the international traitors supported from abroad held the direction of the German State could people rely on these disgraceful conditions being patiently put up with. From the moment when after the victory of National Socialism these traitors had to transfer their domicile to the place whence they had received their subsidies, the solution of this problem was only a question of time. Moreover it was exclusively a question affecting the nationalities concerned not one concerning Western Europe. It was certainly understandable that Western Europe was interested in the artificial state brought into being in its interest. But that the nationalities surrounding this state should regard this interest as a determining factor for them was a false conclusion which was perhaps regrettable for many. In as far as this interest was only directed to the financial establish-

ment of this state, Germany could have had nothing to say if this financial interest had not been subjected exclusively to the political aims of the democracies. The financial requirements of this state followed but one guiding idea, namely, the creation of a military state armed to the teeth with a view to forming a bastion extending into the German Reich, which promised to be a starting point for military operations in connection with invasions of the Reich from the West, or at any rate an air base of undoubted value. What was expected from this state is shown most clearly by the observation of the French Air Minister, M. Pierre Cot, who calmly stated that the duty of this state, in the case of any conflict, was to be an aerodrome for the landing and taking off of bombers, from which it would be possible to destroy the most important German industrial centres in a few hours. It is therefore comprehensible that the German Government in their turn decided to destroy this aerodrome for bombing planes. They did not come to this decision because of hatred of the Czech people. Quite the contrary. For in the course of the thousand years during which the German and Czech people had lived together there had often been periods of close cooperation lasting hundreds of years, and between these, it is true, only short periods of tension. In such periods of tension the passions of the people struggling together in the front trenches of the national position can very easily dim the feeling of justice and thus lead to a wrong total impression. This is a feature of every war. It was solely in the long epochs of living together in harmony that the two peoples agreed that they were both entitled to advance a sacred claim to deference for, and respect of, their nationality. But in these years of struggle my own attitude towards the Czech people was never anything else than that of the guardian of unilateral national and Reich interest combined with feelings of respect for the Czech people. One thing is certain: if the democratic midwives of this state had succeeded in attaining their ultimate goal, the German Reich would certainly not have been destroyed, although we might have sustained heavy losses. No! The Czech people, by reason of its size and position, would presumably have had to put up with much more dreadful and—I am convinced—catastrophic consequences. I feel happy that it has proved possible, even to the annoyance of democratic interests, to avoid this catastrophe in Central Europe thanks to our own moderation and also to the good judgement of the Czech people.

That which the best and wisest Czechs have struggled for decades to attain, is as a matter of course granted to this people in the National-Socialist German Reich, namely, the right to their own nationality and the right to foster this nationality and to revive it.

National-Socialist Germany has no notion of ever betraying the racial principles of which we are proud. They will be beneficial not only to the German nation, but to the Czech people as well. But we do demand the recognition of a historical necessity and of an economic exigency in which we all find ourselves.

When I announced the solution of this problem in the Reichstag on 22 February, 1938, I was convinced that I was obeying the necessity of a Central European situation. As late as March 1938 I believed that by means of a gradual evolution it might prove possible to solve the problem of minorities in this state and at one time or another by means of mutual cooperation to achieve a common platform which would be advantageous to all interests concerned, politically as well as economically.

The Mobilisation Lie of May 21, 1938

It was not until M. Benesh, who was completely in the hands of his democratic-international financiers, turned the problem into a military one and unleashed a wave of suppression over the Germans, at the same time attempting by that mobilization of which you all know to inflict an international defeat upon the German state and to damage its prestige, that I became clear to me that a solution by these means was no longer possible. For the false report of a German mobilization was quite obviously inspired from

abroad and suggested to the Czechs in order to cause the German Reich such a loss of prestige.

I do not need to repeat once more that in May of the past year Germany had not mobilized one single man, although we were all of the opinion that the very fate of Herr Schuschnigg should have shown all others the advisability of working for mutual understanding by means of a more just treatment of national minorities. I for my part was at any rate prepared to attempt this kind of peaceful development with patience and, if need be, in a process lasting some years. However, it was exactly this peaceful solution which was a thorn in the flesh of the agitators in the democracies. They hate us Germans, and would prefer to eradicate us completely. What are the Czechs to them? They regard them merely as a means to an end. And what do they care for the fate of a small and valiant nation, why should they worry about the lives of hundreds of thousands of brave soldiers who would have been sacrificed for their policy? These Western European peacemongers were not concerned to work for peace but to cause bloodshed, so as in this way to set the nations against one another and thus cause still more blood to flow. For this reason they invented the story of German mobilization and humbugged Prague public opinion with it. It was intended to provide an excuse for the Czech mobilization. And then by this means they hoped to be able to exert the desired military pressure on the elections in Sudeten Germany, which could no longer be avoided.

According to their view there remained only two alternatives for Germany: either to accept this Czech mobilization and with it a disgraceful blow to her prestige, or the settling of accounts with Czecho-Slovakia, a bloody war—and thus perhaps the possibility of mobilizing the nations of Western Europe, who had no interest in these matters, thereby involving them in the inevitable bloodlust so as to immerse humanity in a new catastrophe in which some would have the honour of losing their lives, and others the pleasure of making war profits.

You are acquainted, Gentlemen, with the decisions I made at the time:—

1. The solution of this question, and what is more by 2 October, 1938, at the latest;
2. The preparation of this solution which all the means necessary to leave no doubt that any attempt at intervention would be met by the united force of the whole nation.

It was at this juncture that I decreed and ordered the construction of the Western fortifications. On 25 September, 1938, they were already in such a condition that their power of resistance was 30 to 40 times as great as that of the old Siegfried Line in the Great War. They have now been practically completed and are at the present moment being enlarged by the new lines outside Aachen and Saarbrücken which I ordered later. These too are very largely ready for defence. In view of the condition of these, the greatest fortifications ever constructed, the German nation may feel perfectly assured that no power in this world will ever succeed in breaking through this front.

When the first provocative attempt utilizing the Czech mobilization had failed to lead to the desired result, there then set in the second phase, in which the tendency of this affair, which really concerned Central Europe alone, became all the more obvious.

If the cry of "Never another Munich!" is raised in the world today, this simply confirms the fact that the peaceful solution of the problem appeared to be the most fatal thing that ever happened in the eyes of those warmongers. They are sorry no blood was shed — not their blood, of course: for these agitators are, of course, never to be found where shots are being fired, but only where money is being made! No, it is the blood of many nameless soldiers. Moreover there would have been no necessity for the Munich Conference, for that Conference was only made possible by the fact that the countries which had a first incited those concerned to resist at all costs, later on, when the situation pressed for a solution in one way or another, were compelled to try and secure for themselves a more or less respectable retreat; for without Munich, that is to say

without the interference of the countries of Western Europe, a solution of the entire problem — if it had ever grown so acute — would very likely have been the easiest thing in the world.

Four Questions were left open in Munich

The decision of Munich led to the following result:—

1. The return of the most essential parts of the German border settlements in Bohemia and Moravia to the Reich.
2. The keeping open of the possibility of a solution of the other problems of that state, i. e., a return or separation of the existing Hungarian and Slovak minorities.
3. There still remained the question of guarantees. As far as Germany and Italy were concerned, the guarantee of this state had from the first been made dependent upon the consent of all interested parties bordering on Czecho-Slovakia, that is to say the guarantee was coupled with the actual solution of problems concerning the parties mentioned, which were still unsolved. The following problems were still left open:—

1. The return of the Magyar districts to Hungary;
2. The return of the Polish districts to Poland;
3. The solution of the Slovak question;
4. The solution of the Ukrainian question.

As you know, the negotiations between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia had scarcely begun, when both the Czecho-Slovak and the Hungarian negotiators requested Germany and Italy, the country which stands side by side with Germany, to act as arbitrators in defining the new frontiers between Slovakia, the Carpatho-Ukraine and Hungaria. The countries concerned made no use themselves of the possibility of appealing to the four Powers; on the contrary they expressly renounced this possibility, that is, they declined it.

And this was only natural. All the people living in this territory desired peace and quiet. Italy and Germany were prepared to answer the call. Neither England nor France raised any objection to this arrangement, which actually constituted a formal departure from the Munich Agreement, nor was it possible for them to do so; it would have been madness for Paris or London to have protested against an action on the part of Germany or Italy, which had been undertaken solely at the request of the countries concerned.

Hungarian and Polish Claims — Rumania's Attitude

The decision arrived at by Germany and Italy proved—as always in such cases—not entirely satisfactory to either party. From the very beginning the difficulty was that it had to be coluntarily accepted by both parties. Thus when the decision came to be put into effect, violent protests were raised immediately following on the acceptance by two states. Hungary, prompted by general and particular interests, demanded the Carpatho-Ukraine, while Poland demanded a direct means of communication with Hungary. It was clear that in such circumstances even the remnant of the state which Versailles has brought into being was predestined to extinction. It was a fact that perhaps only one single state was interested in the preservation of the status quo, and that was Rumania; the man best authorized to speak on behalf of that country told me personally how desirable it would be to have a direct line of communication with Germany perhaps via the Ukraine and Slovakia. I mention this as an illustration of the feeling of being menaced by Germany from which the Rumanian Government—according to the American clairvoyants—are supposed to be suffering. But it was now clear that it could not be Germany's task permanently to oppose a development or actually to fight for the maintenance of a state of affairs for which we could never have made ourselves responsible. The stage was thus reached at which in the name of the German Government I decided to make a declaration to the effect that we had no intention of any longer incurring the reprobation of opposing the common wishes of Poland and Hungary as regards their frontiers, simply in order to keep open a road of approach for Germany to Rumania. Since moreover the Czech Government resorted once more to its old methods, and Slovakia also gave expression to its desire for independence, the further existence of the state was out of the question.

The End of Czecho-Slovakia

The construction of Czecho-Slovakia worked out at Versailles had had its day. It broke up, not because Germany desired its break-up, but because in the long run it is impossible to construct and uphold around the conference table artificial states which are incapable of survival.

Consequently, in reply to a question regarding the guarantee, which was submitted by England and France a few days before the dissolution of this state, Germany refused this guarantee, since all the conditions for it laid down at Munich were lacking. On the contrary when the whole structure of the state had begun to break up and practically speaking had already dissolved itself—the German Government finally decided also to intervene, it did this only in fulfilment of an obvious duty. For the following point should be noted: on the occasion of the first visit of the Czech Foreign Minister, M. Chvalkovsky, in Munich, the German Government plainly expressed their views on the future of Czecho-Slovakia. I myself assured M. Chvalkovsky on that occasion that provided loyal treatment was meted out to the large German minorities remaining in the Czech territory, and provided a general appeasement of the whole state was attained, we would guarantee a loyal attitude on the part of Germany, and would for our part place no obstacles in the way of the state. But I also made it clear beyond all doubt that if the Czechs were to undertake any steps in line with the political tendencies of Dr. Benesh, the former President, Germany would not put up with any development along such lines, but would stifle it in its earliest stages. I also pointed out at that time that the maintenance of such a tremendous military arsenal in Central Europe for no reason or purpose could only be regarded as a focus of danger. Later developments proved how justified my warning had been. A continuous and rising tide of underground propaganda, and a gradual tendency on the part of Czech newspapers to relapse into the old style of writing made it finally clear even to the greatest simpleton that the old state of affairs would soon be restored. The danger of a military conflict was all the greater as there was always the possibility that some madman or other might get control of the vast stores of munitions. This involved the danger of immense explosions. As a proof of this I cannot refrain, Gentlemen, from giving you an idea of the truly gigantic amounts of this international store of explosives in Central Europe. Since the occupation of this territory the following have been confiscated and placed in safe keeping:

A. Air Force	
1. Aeroplanes	1,582
2. Anti-Aircraft Guns	501
B. Army	
1. Guns (light and heavy)	2,175
2. Trench Mortars	785
3. Tanks	469
4. Machine Guns	43,876
5. Automatic pistols	114,000
6. Rifles	1,090,000
C. Ammunition	
1. Infantry ammunition over 1,000,000,000 rounds	
2. Shells over 3,000,000 rounds	
D. Other implements of war of all kinds, e. g.:	
Bridge-building equipment,	
Aircraft detectors,	
Searchlights,	
Measuring instruments,	
Motor vehicles and	
Special motor vehicles—in vast quantities.	

I believe that it is a good thing for millions and millions of people that I, thanks to the last minute insight of responsible men on the other side, succeeded in averting such a catastrophe, and found a solution which I am convinced has finally abolished this problem of a source of danger in Central Europe.

Munich and the Formation of the Protectorate

The contention that this solution is contrary to the Munich Agreement can neither be supported nor confirmed. This Agreement could under no circumstances be regarded as

final, because it admitted that other problems required and remained to be solved. We cannot really be reproached for the fact that the parties concerned—and this is the deciding factor — did not turn to the four Powers but only to Italy and Germany; nor yet for the fact that the state as such finally split up of its own accord and there was consequently no longer any Czecho-Slovakia. It was, however, understandable that long after the ethnographic principle had been made invalid. Germany should take under her protection her interests dating back a thousand years, which are not only of a political but also of an economic nature.

The future will show whether the solution which Germany has found is right or wrong. However, it is certain that the solution is not subject to English supervision or criticism. For Bohemia and Moravia as the remnants of former Czecho-Slovakia have nothing more whatever to do with the Munich Agreement. Just as English measures in say Northern Ireland, whether they be right or wrong, are not subject to German supervision or criticism this is also the case with these old German Electorates.

However, I entirely fail to understand how the Agreement reached between Mr. Chamberlain and myself at Munich can refer to this case, for the case of Czecho-Slovakia was settled in the Munich protocol of the four Powers as far as it could be settled at all at that time. Apart from this provision was merely made that if the interested parties should fail to come to an agreement they should be entitled to appeal to the four Powers, who had agreed in such a case to meet for further consultation after the expiration of three months. However, these interested parties did not appeal to the four Powers at all, but only to Germany and Italy. That this was fully justified moreover is proved by the fact that neither England nor France have raised any objections thereto, but have themselves accepted the decision given by Germany and Italy. No, the agreement reached between Mr. Chamberlain and myself did not relate to this problem but exclusively to questions which refer to the mutual relationship between England and Germany. This is clearly shown by the fact that such questions are to be treated in future in the spirit of the Munich Agreement and of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, that is in a friendly spirit by way of consultation. If, however, this agreement were to be applied to every future German activity of a political nature, England too should not take any step, whether in Palestine or elsewhere, without first consulting Germany. It is obvious that we do not expect this; likewise we refuse to gratify any similar expectation of us.

Now if Mr. Chamberlain concludes from this, that the Munich agreement is for this reason annulled, as if we had broken it, then I shall take cognizance of the fact and proceed accordingly.

Anglo-German Relations

During the whole of my political activity I have always expounded the idea of a close friendship and collaboration between Germany and England. In my Movement I found innumerable others of like mind. Perhaps they joined me because of my attitude in this matter. This desire for Anglo-German friendship and cooperation conforms not merely with sentiments which result from the racial origins of our two peoples, but also to my realization of the importance for the whole of mankind of the existence of the British Empire.

The Value of the British Empire for World Culture

I have never left room for any doubt of my belief that the existence of this Empire is an inestimable factor of value for the whole of human cultural and economic life. By whatever means Great Britain has acquired her colonial territories—and I know that they were those of force and often brutality—nevertheless I know full well that no other Empire has ever come

into being in any other way, and that in the final resort it is not so much the methods that are taken into account in history as success, and not the success of the methods as such, but rather the general good which the methods yield. Now there is no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon people have accomplished immeasurable colonizing work in the world.

For this work I have a sincere admiration. The thought of destroying this labour appeared and still appears to me, seen from a higher human point of view, as nothing but the effluence of human wanton destructiveness. However, this sincere respect of mine for this achievement does not mean foregoing the securing of the life of my own people. I regard it as impossible to achieve a lasting friendship between the German and Anglo-Saxon peoples of the other side does not recognize that there are German as well as British interests, that not only is the preservation of the British Empire the meaning and purpose of the lives of Britishers, but also that for Germans the freedom and preservation of the German Reich is their life purpose.

A genuine, lasting friendship between these two nations is only conceivable on the basis of mutual regard. The English rule a great Empire. They built up this Empire at a time when the German people were internally weak. Previously Germany had been a great Empire. At one time she ruled the Occident. In bloody struggles and religious dissensions, and as a result of internal political disintegration, this empire declined in power and greatness and finally fell into a deep sleep. But as this old empire appeared to have reached its end, the seeds of its rebirth were springing up. From Brandenburg and Prussia there arose a new Germany, the second Reich, and out of it has grown at last the German People's Reich. And I hope that all English people understand that we do not possess the slightest feeling of inferiority to Britishers. Our historical past is far too great for that!

England has given the world many great men, and Germany no fewer. The severe struggle for the maintenance of the life of our people has in the course of three centuries cost a sacrifice in lives, which, far exceeds that which other peoples have had to make in asserting their existence.

If Germany, a country that was for ever being attacked, was not able to retain her possessions, but was compelled to sacrifice many of her provinces, this was due only to her political misdevelopment and her impotence as a result thereof. That condition has now been overcome. Therefore we Germans do not feel in the least inferior to the British Nation. Our self esteem is just as great as that of an Englishman for England. In the history of our people, now of approximately two thousand years standing, there are occasions and actions enough to fill us with sincere pride.

Basis for the Anglo-German Naval Agreement does not exist any more

Now if England cannot understand our point of view, thinking perchance she may look upon Germany as a vassal state, then our love and friendly feelings have indeed been wasted on her. We shall not despair or lose heart on that account, but—relying on the consciousness of our own strength and on the strength of our friends—we shall then find ways and means to secure our independence without impairing our dignity.

I have heard the statement of the British Prime Minister to the effect that he is not able to put any

trust in German assurances. Under the circumstances I consider it a matter of course that we no longer wish to expect him or the British people to bear the burden of a situation which is only conceivable in an atmosphere of mutual confidence.

When Germany became National Socialist and thus paved the way for her national resurrection, in pursuance of my unswerving policy of friendship with England, of my own accord I made the proposal for a voluntary restriction of German naval armaments. That restriction was, however, based on one condition, namely, the will and the conviction that a war between England and Germany would never again be possible. This wish and this conviction is alive in me today.

I am, however, now compelled to state that the policy of England is both unofficially and officially leaving no doubt about the fact that such a conviction is no longer shared in London, and that, on the contrary, the opinion prevails there that no matter in what conflict Germany should some day be entangled, Great Britain would always have to take her stand against Germany. Thus a war against Germany is taken for granted in that country.

I most profoundly regret such a development, for the only claim I have ever made, and shall continue to make, on England is that for a return of our colonies. But I always made it very clear that this would never become the cause of a military conflict. I have always held that the English, to whom those colonies are of no value, would one day understand the German situation and would then value German friendship higher than the possession of territories which, while yielding no real profit whatever to them, are of vital importance to Germany.

Apart from this, however, I have never advanced a claim which might in any way have interfered with British interests or have become a danger to the Empire and thus have meant any kind of damage to England. I have always kept within the limit of such demands as are intimately connected with Germany's living space and thus the eternal property of the German nation.

Since England today, both through the press and officially, upholds the view that Germany should be opposed under all circumstances, and confirms this by the policy of encirclement known to us, the basis for the Naval Treaty has been removed. I have therefore resolved to send today a communication to this effect to the British Government.

Ready for New Negotiations

This is to us not a matter of practical material importance—for I still hope that we shall be able to avoid an armaments race with England—but an action of self-respect. Should the British Government however wish to enter once more into negotiations with Germany on this problem, no one would be happier than I at the prospect of still being able to come to a clear and straightforward understanding.

Lithuania and the Solution of the Memel Question

Moreover, I know my people — and I rely on them. We do not want anything that did not formerly belong to us, and no state will ever be robbed by us of its property; but whoever believes that he is able to attack Germany will find himself confronted with a measure of power and resistance compared with which that of 1914 was negligible. In con-

nection with this I wish to speak at once of that matter which was chosen by the same circles who caused the mobilization of Czecho-Slovakia, as starting point for the new campaign against the Reich.

I have already assured you, Gentlemen, at the beginning of my speech that never, either in the case of Austria or in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, have I adopted in my political life any attitude which is not compatible with the events which have now happened. I therefore pointed out in connection with the problem of the Memel Germans, that this question, if it was not solved by Lithuania herself in a dignified and generous manner, would one day have to be raised by Germany herself. You know that the Memel territory was also once torn from the Reich quite arbitrarily by the Dictate of Versailles and that finally in the year 1923, that is already in the midst of a period of complete peace, this territory was occupied by Lithuania and thus more or less confiscated. The fate of the Germans has since then been a real martyrdom.

In the course of the reincorporation of Bohemia and Moravia within the framework of the German Reich, it was also possible for me to come to an agreement with the Lithuanian Government which allowed the return of this territory to Germany without any act of violence and without shedding blood. Also in this instance I have not demanded one square mile more than we formerly possessed and which was stolen from us.

The Significance of Trade Relations with Germany

This means therefore that only that territory has returned to the German Reich which had been torn from us by the madmen who dictated peace at Versailles. But this solution, I am convinced, will only prove advantageous to the relations between Germany and Lithuania, seeing that Germany, as our behaviour has proved, has no other interest than to live in peace and friendship with this State and to establish and foster economic relations with it. In this connection I wish to make one point perfectly clear: The significance of economic agreements with Germany lies not only in the fact that Germany is able as exporter to meet almost all industrial requirements, but that she, being a very large consumer, is at the same time also a purchaser of numerous products which alone enable other countries to participate in international trade at all. We are interested not only in retaining these economic markets, but especially in promoting good relations with them, because the existence of our people is based to a large extent thereon. So-called democratic statesmen look upon it as one of their greatest political achievements to exclude a nation from its markets, for example by boycott, so as, I presume, to starve it out. I need not assure you that I am convinced that a nation would fight rather than starve under such circumstances.

As far as Germany is concerned, she is in any case determined not to allow certain economically important markets to be stolen from her by terroristic intervention or threats. This, however, is not only in our own interest but also in the interest of our trade partner. Here, as in every business, it is not a onesided but a mutual dependency.

How often do we have the pleasure of reading in the amateurish economic articles of our democratic newspapers that Germany, because she maintains close economic relations with a country, makes that country dependent upon her. This is sheer hair-raising Jewish nonsense. For if Germany supplies an agrarian country today with machinery and receives foodstuffs in payment, the Reich, as consumer of foodstuffs, is at least as dependent, if not more dependent, on the agrarian country as the latter is dependent on us, from whom it receives industrial products in payment.

Germany regards the Baltic states as one of its most important trade partners. And for this reason it is in our interest that these countries should lead an independent, ordered national life of their own. This is in our opinion the necessary condition for that internal economic development which is again the condition upon which the exchange of goods depends.

I am therefore happy that we have been able to dispose also of the point of dispute between Lithuania and Germany. For this does away with the only obstacle in the way of a

policy of friendship which can prove its worth—as I am convinced it will—not in political compliments, but in practical economic measures. The democratic world was, it is true, once more extremely sorry that there was no bloodshed,—that 175 000 Germans were able to return to the homeland which they loved above everything else, without a few hundred thousands others having to be shot for it! This grieved the apostles of humanitarianism deeply. It was therefore no wonder that they immediately began to look out for new possibilities of bringing about a thorough disturbance of the European atmosphere after all. And so, as in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, they again resorted to the assertion that Germany was taking military steps, that is, was supposedly mobilizing. This mobilization was said to be directed against Poland.

Germany and Poland

There is little to be said as regards German-Polish relations. Here too the Peace Treaty of Versailles—of course intentionally—inflicted a most severe wound on Germany. The strange way in which the Corridor giving Poland access to the sea, was marked out was meant above all to prevent for all time the establishment of an understanding between Poland and Germany. This problem is—as I have already stressed—perhaps the most painful of all problems for Germany.

Poland's Access to the Sea

Nevertheless I have never ceased to uphold the view that the necessity of a free access to the sea for the Polish State cannot be ignored, and that as a general principal, valid for this case too, nations which Providence has destined or, if you like, condemned to live side by side would be well advised not to make life still harder for each other artificially and unnecessarily.

The Agreement of 1934

The late Marshal Pilsudski, who was of the same opinion, was therefore prepared to go into the question of clarifying the atmosphere of German-Polish relations, and finally to conclude an Agreement whereby Germany and Poland expressed their intention of renouncing war altogether as a means of settling the questions which concerned them both. This Agreement contained one single exception which was in practice conceded to Poland. It was laid down that the pacts of mutual assistance already entered into by Poland—this applied to the pact with France—should not be affected by the Agreement. But it was obvious that this could apply only to the pact of mutual assistance already concluded beforehand, and not to whatever new pacts might be concluded in the future.

Danzig

It is a fact that the German-Polish Agreement resulted in a remarkable lessening of the European tension. Nevertheless there remained one open question between Germany and Poland, which sooner or later quite naturally had to be solved—the question of the German city of Danzig. Danzig is a German city and wishes to belong to Germany. On the other hand, this city has contracts with Poland, which were admittedly forced upon it by the dictators of the Peace of Versailles. But since moreover the League of Nations, formerly the greatest stirrer-up of trouble, is now represented by a High Commissioner—incidentally a man of extraordinary tact—the problem of Danzig must in any case come up for discussion, at the latest with the gradual extinction of this calamitous institution. I regarded the peaceful settlement

of this problem as a further contribution to a final loosening of the European tension. For this loosening of the tension is assuredly not to be achieved through the agitations of insane war-mongers, but through the removal of the real elements of danger.

A Concrete German offer to Poland

After the problem of Danzig had already been discussed several times some months ago, I made a concrete offer to the Polish Government. I now make this offer known to you, Gentlemen, and you yourselves will judge whether this offer did not represent the greatest imaginable concession in the interests of European peace.

As I have already pointed out, I have always seen the necessity of an access to the sea for this country and have consequently taken this necessity into consideration. I am no democratic statesman, but a National-Socialist and a realist. I considered it however necessary to make it clear to the Government in Warsaw that just as they desire access to the sea, so Germany needs access to her province in the East. Now these are all difficult problems. It is not Germany who is responsible for them however, but rather the jugglers of Versailles, who either in their maliciousness or their thoughtlessness placed a hundred powder barrels round about in Europe, all equipped with hardly extinguishable lighted fuses. These problems cannot be solved according to old-fashioned ideas; I think, rather, that we should adopt new methods. Poland's access to the sea by way of the Corridor, and on the other hand a German route through the Corridor have no kind of military importance whatsoever. Their importance is exclusively psychological and economic. To accord military importance to a traffic route of this kind, would be to show oneself completely ignorant of military affairs.

Consequently I have had the following proposal submitted to the Polish Government:

1. Danzig returns as a Free State into the framework of the German Reich.

2. Germany receives a route through the Corridor and a railway line at her own disposal possessing the same extraterritorial status for Germany as the Corridor itself has for Poland. In return Germany is prepared:

1. to recognize all Polish economic rights in Danzig.
2. to ensure for Poland a Free Harbour in Danzig of any size desired which would have complete free access to the sea.

3. to accept at the same time the present boundaries between Germany and Poland and to regard them as final.

4. to conclude a 25 years non-aggression treaty with Poland, a treaty therefore which would extend far beyond the duration of my own life, and

5. to guarantee the independence of the Slovak State by Germany, Poland and Hungary jointly—which means in practice the renunciation of any unilateral German hegemony in this territory.

Poland Rejects

The Polish Government has rejected my offer and has only declared that it is prepared to: —

1. negotiate concerning the question of a substitute for the Commissioner of the League of Nations and: —

2. to consider facilities for the transit traffic through the Corridor.

I have regretted greatly this incomprehensible attitude of the Polish Government but that alone is not

the decisive fact; the worst is that now Poland, like Czecho-Slovakia a year ago, believes, under the pressure of a lying international campaign, that it must call up troops although Germany on her part has not called up a single man and had not thought of proceeding in any way against Poland. As I have said, this is in itself very regrettable and posterity will one day decide whether it was really right to refuse this suggestion made this once by me. This—as I have said—was an endeavour on my part to solve a question which intimately affects the German people by a truly unique compromise, and to solve it to the advantage of both countries.

According to my conviction Poland was not a giving party in this solution at all but only a receiving party, — because it should be beyond all doubt that Danzig will never become Polish.

The Anglo-Polish Pact of Mutual Assistance Destroyed the Basis of the German-Polish Agreement

The intention to attack on the part of Germany which was merely invented by the international press, led, as you know, to the so-called guarantee offer and to an obligation on the part of the Polish Government for mutual assistance, which would also, under certain circumstances, compel Poland to take military action against Germany in the event of a conflict between Germany and any other power and in which England, in her turn, would be involved. This obligation is contradictory to the agreement which I made with Marshal Pilsudski some time ago, seeing that in this agreement reference is made exclusively to existing obligations, that is to those at that time, namely to the obligations of Poland towards France of which we were aware. To extend these obligations subsequently is contrary to the terms of the German-Polish non-aggression pact. Under these circumstances I should not have entered into this pact at that time, because what sense can non-aggression pacts have if one partner in practice leaves open an enormous number of exceptions.

Either we have collective security, that is collective insecurity and continuous danger of war, or clear agreements which, however, exclude fundamentally any use of arms between the contracting parties.

I therefore look upon the agreement which Marshal Pilsudski and I concluded at the time as having been unilaterally infringed by Poland and thereby no longer in existence.

I have sent a communication to this effect to the Polish Government. However, I can only repeat at this point that my decision does not constitute a modification of my attitude in principle with regard to the problems mentioned above. Should the Polish Government wish to come to fresh contractual arrangements governing its relations with Germany, I can but welcome such an idea, provided, of course, that these arrangements are based on an absolutely clear obligation binding both parties in equal measure. Germany is perfectly willing at any time to undertake such obligations and also to fulfil them.

Germany and the Powers of the Anti-Comintern Pact

If for these reasons fresh unrest has broken out in Europe during the last few weeks the responsibility there-

fore lies solely in the propaganda in the service of the international war-mongers, which we know well and which, conducted by numerous organs of the democratic states, endeavours, by continually increasing nervousness and inventing continual rumours, to make Europe ripe for a catastrophe, that catastrophe from which it is hoped to achieve what has not yet been brought about, namely the bolshevik destruction of European civilization! The hate of these mischief-makers is the more readily to be understood as they were deprived of one of the greatest danger-spots of the European crisis, thanks to the heroism of one man, his nation and—I may say—also thanks to the Italian and German volunteers. In the past weeks Germany has experienced and celebrated the victory of Nationalist Spain with the most fervent sympathy. As I resolved to answer the plea of General Franco to give him the assistance of National Socialist Germany in countering the international support of the bolshevik incendiaries, this step of Germany's was misinterpreted and abused in the most infamous way by these same international agitators. They declared at the time that Germany intended to establish herself in Spain, and proposed taking Spanish colonies, indeed the landing of 20,000 soldiers in Morocco was invented as an infamous lie, in short nothing was omitted that could cast suspicion on the idealism of our and the Italian support, in order to find the material for fresh war-mongering. In a few weeks now the victorious hero of Nationalist Spain will celebrate his festive entry into the capital of his country. The Spanish people will acclaim him as their deliverer from unspeakable horrors, and as the liberator from hands of incendiaries who are estimated to have more than 775,000 human lives on their conscience through executions and murders alone. The inhabitants of whole villages and towns were literally huddled under the silent benevolent patronage of West European and American democratic humanitarian apostles. In this his triumphal procession the volunteers of our German Legion will march, together with their Italian comrades, in the ranks of the valiant Spanish soldiers. We hope to be able to welcome them home soon afterwards. The German nation will then know how bravely its sons have played their part on that soil too in the struggle for the liberty of a noble people and therewith for the salvation of European civilization; for if the sub-human forces of Bolshevism had proved victorious in Spain, they might easily have spread across the whole of Europe. Hence the hatred of those who are disappointed that Europe did not once more go up in fire and flames. And for this reason they are doubly anxious to miss no opportunity of sowing the seeds of mistrust among the nations and of stirring up somewhere else the war atmosphere which they so much desire.

International War Agitation

The things which these international war-mongers have in the past few weeks fabricated in lying assertion and published in numerous newspapers are in part just as childish as they are malicious. The first result—in as far as this is

not intended to save the internal political purposes of the democratic governments—is the spreading of a nervous hysteria which already considers the landing of inhabitants of Mars in the land of unlimited possibilities. The real purpose, however, is to prepare public opinion to regard the English policy of encirclement as necessary, and consequently to support it should the worst come to the worst.

The German people on the other hand can go about their business with perfect tranquility. Their frontiers are guarded by the best army in the history of Germany, the air above is protected by the most powerful air fleet and our coasts are rendered unassailable by any enemy power. In the west the strongest fortifications of all times have been built. But the deciding factors are the unity of the German nation as a whole, the confidence of all Germans in one another and in their fighting forces and—I may say—the faith of all in their leadership.

Unbreakable Friendship with Italy

But the trust of the leader and the people in our friends is not less. And outstanding is that State which is closest to us in every respect as a result of the common destinies which unite us. This year Fascist Italy has shown again the greatest understanding for vital German interests. No one need be surprised if we for our part have the same feelings towards the Italian necessities for existence. The bond which unites the two peoples is unbreakable.

Any attempt to throw doubt on this fact appears to us ridiculous. In any case it is best illustrated and explained in an article which appeared a few days ago in a leading democratic newspaper, which stated that it should no longer be regarded possible to separate Italy and Germany so as to destroy them separately.

Thus the German Government in full understanding appreciate the right of the action taken by their Italian friend in Albania, and have therefore welcomed it. Yes, it is not only the right but also the duty of Fascism to secure in the living space undoubtedly allotted to Italy by nature and history, the maintenance of an order on which alone a really flourishing human civilization appears to be based and secured. After all there can be just as little doubt in the rest of the world concerning the civilizing work of Fascism as there is about that of National-Socialism. In both instances indisputable facts are testimony against the unfounded brag and unproved statements of the other side.

Japan

To create still closer relations between Germany, Italy and Japan is the constant aim of the German Government. We regard the existence and maintenance of the freedom and independence of these three great powers as the strongest factor in the future making for the preservation of a true human culture, a practical civilization and a just order in the world.

The Answer to President Roosevelt

As mentioned at the beginning, the world on the 15 April, 1939, was informed of the contents of a telegram which I myself did not see until later. It is difficult to classify this document or to arrange it in any known scheme. I will therefore endeavour before you, Gentlemen, and thus before the whole German people, to analyse the necessary answers in your name and in that of the German people.

I. Fear of War

Mr. Roosevelt is of the opinion that I too must realize that throughout the world hundreds of millions of human beings are living in constant fear of a new war or even a series of wars. This, he says, is of concern to the people

of the United States, for whom he speaks, as it must also be to the peoples of the other nations of the entire Western hemisphere.

In reply to this it must be said in the first place that this fear of war has undoubtedly existed among mankind from time immemorial, and justifiably so.

14 Wars and 26 Armed Interventions since 1919

For instance, after the Peace Treaty of Versailles fourteen wars were waged between 1919 and 1938 alone, in none of which Germany was concerned, but in which states of the "Western hemisphere", in whose name President Roosevelt also speaks, were indeed concerned. In addition there were in the same period twenty-six violent interventions and sanctions carried through by means of bloodshed and force.

Germany also played no part whatever in these. The United States alone has carried out military interventions in six cases since 1918. Since 1918 Soviet Russia has engaged in ten wars and military actions involving force and bloodshed. Again, Germany was concerned in none of these, nor was she the cause of any of these events. It would therefore be a mistake in my eyes to assume that the fear of war inspiring European and non-European nations can at this present time be directly traced back to actual wars at all. The reason for this fear lies simply and solely in an unbridled agitation on the part of the Press, an agitation as mendacious at it is base, in the circulation of vile pamphlets about the Heads of foreign states, and in an artificial spreading of panic which in the end goes so far that interventions from another planet are believed possible and cause scenes of desperate alarm. I believe that as soon as the responsible Governments impose upon themselves and their journalistic organs the necessary restraint and truthfulness as regards the relations of the various countries to one another, and in particular as regards internal happenings in other countries, the fear of war will disappear at once, and the tranquillity which we all desire so much will become possible.

II. Effect of Wars

In his telegram Mr. Roosevelt expresses the belief that every major war, even if it were to be confined to other continents, must have serious consequences while it lasts, and also for generations to come.

Answer:

No one knows this better than the German people. For the Peace Treaty of Versailles imposed burdens on the German people which could not have been paid off even in a hundred years, although it has been proved precisely by American teachers of constitutional law, historians and professors of history that Germany was no more to blame for the outbreak of the War than any other nation. But I do not believe that every conflict must have disastrous consequences for the whole surrounding world, that is for the whole globe, provided the whole world is not systematically drawn into such conflicts by means of a network of nebulous pact obligations. For since in past centuries and—as I pointed out at the beginning of my answer — also in the course of the last decades, the world has experienced a continuous series of wars. If Mr. Roosevelt's assumption were correct, humanity would already have a burden, in the sum total of the outcome of all these wars, which it would have to bear for millions of years to come.

III. Press Agitation and Maintenance of Peace

Mr. Roosevelt declared that he had already appealed to me on a former occasion on behalf of a peaceful settlement of political, economic and social problems without resort to arms.

Answer:

I myself have always been an exponent of this view and, as history proves, have settled necessary political, economic and social problems without force of arms, i. e., without resort to arms.

Unfortunately however this peaceful settlement has been made more difficult by the agitation of politicians, statesmen and newspaper representatives who were neither directly concerned nor even affected by the problems in question.

IV. The Threat of Arms

Mr. Roosevelt believes that the "tide of events" is once more bringing the threat of arms with it, and that if this threat continues a large part of the world is condemned to a common ruin.

Answer:

As far as Germany is concerned I know nothing of this kind of threat to other nations, although I read in the democratic newspapers every day lies about such a threat.

Every day I read of German mobilizations, of the landing of troops, of extortions—all this in regard to states with whom we are not only living in deepest peace, but also with whom we are, in many cases, the closest friends.

V. Consequences of War

Mr. Roosevelt believes further that in case of war victorious, vanquished and neutral nations will all suffer.

Answer:

As a politician I have been the exponent of this conviction for twenty years, at a time when unfortunately the responsible statesmen in America could not bring themselves to make the same admission as regards their participation in the Great War and its issue.

VI. Responsibility of Statesmen

Mr. Roosevelt believes lastly that it lies with the leaders of the great nations to preserve their peoples from the impending disaster.

Answer:

If that is true, then it is a punishable neglect, to use no worse word, if the leaders of nations with corresponding powers are not capable of controlling their newspapers which are agitating for war, and so to save the world from the threatening calamity of an armed conflict. I am not able to understand, further, why these responsible leaders instead of cultivating diplomatic relations between nations, make them more difficult and indeed disturb them by recalling ambassadors, etc. without any reason.

VII. "Independent" Nations in Europe and Africa

Mr. Roosevelt declared finally that three nations in Europe and one in Africa have seen their independent existence terminated.

Answer:

I do not know which three nations in Europe are meant. Should it be a question of the provinces reincorporated in the German Reich I must draw the attention of Mr. Roosevelt to a historical error. It is not now that these nations sacrificed their independent existence in Europe, but rather in 1918 when they, contrary to solemn promises, were separated from their communities and made into nations which they never wished to be and never were, and when they had forced upon them an independence which was no independence but at the most could only mean dependence upon an international foreign world which they hated.

As for the fact, however, that one nation in Africa is alleged to have lost its freedom—that too is but an error; for it is not a question of one nation in Africa having lost its freedom—on the contrary practically all the previous inhabitants of this continent have been made subject to the sovereignty of other nations by bloody force, thereby losing their freedom. Moroccans, Berbers, Arab, negroes, etc. have all fallen a victim to foreign might, the swords of which, however, were not inscribed "Made in Germany" but "Made by democracies".

VIII. "Further Acts of Aggression"

Mr. Roosevelt then speaks of the reports which admittedly he does not believe to be correct, but which state that further acts of aggression are contemplated against still other independent nations.

Answer:

I consider every such unfounded insinuation as an offence against the tranquillity and consequently the peace of the world. I also see therein something which tends to frighten smaller nations or at least make them nervous. If Mr. Roosevelt really has any specific instances in mind in this connection I would ask him to name the states who are threatened with aggression and to name the aggressor in question. It will then be possible to refute these monstrous general accusations by brief statements.

IX. Why War?

Mr. Roosevelt states that the world is plainly moving towards the moment when this situation must end in catastrophe unless a rational way of guiding events is found.

He also declares that I have repeatedly asserted that I and the German people have no desire for war and that if this is true there need be no war.

Answer:

I wish to point out firstly that I have not conducted any war, secondly that for years past I have expressed my abhorrence of war and, it is true, also my abhorrence of warmongers, and thirdly that I am not aware for what purpose I should wage a war at all. I should be thankful to Mr. Roosevelt if he would give me some explanation in this connection.

X. Self-Defence?

Mr. Roosevelt is finally of the opinion that the peoples of the earth could not be persuaded that any governing power has any right or need to inflict the consequences of war on its own or any other people save in the cause of self-evident home defence.

Answer:

I should think that every reasonable human being is of this opinion, but it seems to me that in almost every war both sides claim a case of unquestionable home defence, and that there is no institution in this world, including the American President himself, which could clear up this problem unequivocally. There is hardly any possibility of doubt, for example, that America's entry into the Great War was not a case of unquestionable home defence. A research committee set up by President Roosevelt himself has examined the causes of America's entry into the Great War, and reached the conclusion that the entry ensued chiefly for exclusively capitalistic reasons. Nevertheless no practical conclusions have been drawn from this fact. Let us hope then that at least the United States will in the future itself act according to this noble principle, and will not go to war against any country except in the case of unquestionable home defence.

XI. "The Voice of Strength and Friendship for Mankind"

Mr. Roosevelt says further that he does not speak from selfishness nor fear nor weakness, but with the voice of strength and friendship for mankind.

Answer:

If this voice of strength and friendship for mankind had been raised by America at the proper time, and if above all it had possessed some practical value, then at least there could have been prevented that treaty which has become the source of the direst derangement of humanity and history, namely the dictate of Versailles.

XII. The Geneva Conference Table

Mr. Roosevelt declares further that it is clear to him that all international problems can be solved at the council table.

Answer:

Theoretically one ought to believe in this possibility, for common sense would correct demands on the one hand and show the compelling necessity of a compromise on the other.

For example, according to all common sense logic, and the general principles of a higher human justice indeed according to the laws of a Divine will, all peoples ought to have an equal share of the goods of this world. It ought not then to happen that one people needs so much living space that it cannot get along with fifteen inhabitants to the square kilometre, while others are forced to nourish 140, 150 or even 200 on the same area. But in no case should those fortunate peoples curtail the existing living space of those who are, as it is, suffering, by robbing them of their colonies, for instance. I would therefore be very happy if these pro-

blems could really find their solution at the council table. My scepticism, however, is based on the fact that it was America herself who gave sharpest expression to her mistrust in the effectiveness of conferences. For the greatest conference of all time was without any doubt the League of Nations. This authoritative body representing all the peoples of the world created in accordance with the will of an American President, was supposed to solve the problems of humanity at the council table. The first state, however, that shrank from this endeavour was the United States—the reason being that President Wilson himself even then nourished the greatest doubts of the possibility of really being able to solve decisive international problems at the conference table.

We honour your well-meant opinion, Mr. Roosevelt, but opposed to your opinion stands the actual fact that in almost twenty years of the activity of the greatest conference in the world, namely, the League of Nations, it has proved impossible to solve one single decisive international problem. Contrary to Wilson's promise Germany was hindered for many years by the Peace Treaty of Versailles from participating in this great world conference. In spite of the most bitter experience one German Government believed that there was no need to follow the example of the United States, and that they should therefore take their seat at this conference table. It was not till after years of purposeless participation that I resolved to follow the example of America and likewise leave the largest conference in the world. Since then I have solved the problems concerning my people, which like all others were, unfortunately, not solved at the conference table of the League of Nations—and also without recourse to war in any case. Apart from this however, as already mentioned, numerous other problems have been brought before world conferences in recent years without any solution having been found. If however, Mr. Roosevelt, your belief that every problem can be solved at the conference table is true, then all nations, including the United States, have been led in the past 7000 or 8000 years either by blind men or by criminals. For all of them, including the statesmen of the United States and especially her greatest, did not make the chief part of their history at the conference table but with the aid of the strength of their people. The freedom of North America was not achieved at the conference table any more than the conflict between the North and the South was decided there. I will say nothing about the innumerable struggles which finally lead to the subjugation of the North American continent as a whole. I mention all this only in order to show that your view, Mr. Roosevelt, although undoubtedly deserving of all honour, finds no confirmation in the history either of your own country or of the rest of the world.

XIII. Germany Laid down her Arms — and What Happened?

Mr. Roosevelt continues that it is no answer to the plea for peaceful discussion for one side to plead that, unless they receive assurances beforehand that the verdict will be theirs, they will not lay aside their arms.

Answer:

Do you believe, Mr. Roosevelt, that when the final fate of nations is in the balance, a Government or the leaders of a people will lay down their arms or surrender them before a conference, simply in the blind hope that in their wisdom or, if you like, their discernment, the other members of the conference will arrive at the right conclusion? Mr. Roosevelt, there has been only one country and one government which have acted according to the recipe extolled in such glowing terms, and that country was Germany. The German nation once, trusting in the solemn assurances of President Wilson and in the confirmation of these assurances by the Allies, laid down its arms and thus went unarmed to the conference table. It is true that as soon as the German nation had laid down its arms it was not even invited to the conference table but, in violation of all assurances, was made to suffer the worst breaking of a word that had ever been known. Then one day, instead of the greatest confusion

known in history being resolved around the conference table, the cruellest dictated treaty in the world brought about a still more fearful confusion. But the representatives of the German nation, who, trusting to the solemn assurances of an American President, had laid down their arms and therefore appeared unarmed, were not received, even when they came to accept the terms of the dictated treaty, as the representatives of a nation which at all events had held out with infinite heroism against a whole world for four years in the struggle for its liberty and independence; they were subjected to greater degradations than those inflicted on the chieftains of Sioux tribes. The German delegates were insulted by the mob, stones were thrown at them, and they were dragged like prisoners, not to the council table of the world, but before the tribunal of the victors; and there, at the pistol's point, they were forced to undergo the most shameful subjection and plundering that the world had ever known.

I can assure you, Mr. Roosevelt, that I am steadfastly determined to see to it that not only now, but for all future time, no German shall ever enter a conference defenceless, but that at all times and forever every German negotiator should and shall have behind him the united strength of the German nation, so help me God.

XIV. Who is to be the Judge?

The President of the United States believes that in conference rooms as in courts, it is necessary that both sides enter in good faith, assuming that substantial justice will accrue to both.

Answer:

German representatives will never again enter a conference that is for them a tribunal. For who is to be the judge there? At a conference there is no accused and no prosecutor, but only two contending parties. And if their own good sense does not bring about a settlement between the two parties, they will never surrender themselves to the verdict of disinterested foreign powers.

Incidentally the United States itself declined to enter the League of Nations and to become the victim of a Court which was able by a majority vote to give a verdict against individual interests. But I should be grateful to President Roosevelt if he would explain to the world what the new World Court is to be like. Who are the judges here, according to what procedure are they selected, and on what responsibility do they act? And above all, to whom can they be made to account for their decisions?

XV. Open Declaration of Policy

Mr. Roosevelt believes that the cause of world peace would be greatly advanced if the nations of the world were to give a frank statement relating to the present and future policy of their governments.

Answer:

I have already done this, Mr. Roosevelt, in innumerable public speeches. And in the course of this present meeting of the German Reichstag I have again—as far as this is possible in the space of two hours—made a statement of this kind.

I must, however, decline to give such an explanation to anyone else than to the people for whose existence and life I am responsible, and who on the other hand alone have the right to demand that I account to them. However, I give the aims of the German policy so openly that the entire world can hear it in any case. But these explanations are without significance for the outside world as long as it is possible for the press to falsify and suspect every statement, to question it or to cover it with fresh lying replies.

XVI. A Tactless Procedure

Mr. Roosevelt believes that, because the United States as one of the nations of the Western hemisphere is not involved in the immediate controversies which have arisen in Europe, I should therefore be willing to make such a state-

ment of policy to him, as the head of a nation so far removed from Europe.

Answer:

Mr. Roosevelt therefore seriously believes that the cause of international peace would really be furthered if I were to make to the nations of the world a public statement on the present policy of the German Government.

But how does Mr. Roosevelt come to expect of the head of the German State above all to make a statement without the other governments being invited to make such a statement of their policy as well, I certainly believe that it is not feasible to make such a statement to the Head of any foreign state, but rather that such statements should preferably be made to the whole world, in accordance with the demand made at the time by President Wilson, for the abolition of secret diplomacy. Hitherto I was not only always prepared to do this, but, as I have already said, I have done it only too often. Unfortunately the most important statements concerning the aims and intentions of German policy have been in many so-called democratic states either withheld from the people or distorted by the press. If, however, President Roosevelt thinks that he is qualified to address such a request to Germany or Italy of all nations because America is so far removed from Europe, we on our side might with the same right address to the President of the American Republic the question as to what aims American foreign policy has in view in its turn, and on what intentions this policy is based—in the case of the Central and South American States for instance. In this case Mr. Roosevelt would, rightly, I must admit, refer to the Monroe Doctrine—and decline to comply with such a request as interference in the internal affairs of the American Continent. We Germans support a similar doctrine for Europe—and above all for the territory and the interests of the Greater German Reich.

Moreover I would obviously never presume to address such a request to the President of the United States of America, because I assume that he would probably rightly consider such a presumption tactless.

XVII. Who Is Afraid?

The American President further declares that he would then communicate information received by him concerning the political aims of Germany to other nations now apprehensive as to the course of our policy.

Answer:

How has Mr. Roosevelt learned which nations consider themselves threatened by German policy and which do not?

Or is Mr. Roosevelt in a position, in spite of the enormous amount of work which must rest upon him in his own country, to recognize of his own accord all these inner spiritual and mental impressions of other peoples and their governments?

XVIII. Thirty "Independent" Nations

Finally Mr. Roosevelt asks that assurances be given him that the German Armed Forces will not attack, and above all not invade, the territory or possessions of the following independent nations. He then names those as most likely: Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Iraq, the Arabias, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iran.

Answer:

I have first of all, taken the trouble to ascertain from the states mentioned whether they feel themselves threatened, and secondly and above all, whether this enquiry by the American President was addressed to us at their suggestion or at any rate with their consent.

The reply was in all cases negative, in some instances strongly so. It is true that I could not cause inquiries to be made of certain of the states and nations mentioned because they themselves—as for example Syria—are at present not in possession of their freedom, but are occupied and conse-

quently deprived of their rights by the military agents of democratic states.

Thirdly, apart from this fact, all states bordering on Germany have received much more binding assurances and above all suggestions than Mr. Roosevelt asked from me in his curious telegram.

Fourthly, should there be any doubt as to the value of these general and direct statements which I have so often made, then any further statement of this kind, even if addressed to the American President, would be equally worthless. For ultimately it is not the value which Mr. Roosevelt attaches to such statements which is decisive, but the value attached to these statements by the countries in question.

Historical Errors

Fifthly, I must also draw Mr. Roosevelt's attention to one or two historical errors. He mentions Ireland, for instance, and asks for a statement to the effect that Germany will not attack Ireland. Now I have just read a speech delivered by Mr. De Valera, the Prime Minister of Eire, in which strangely enough, and contrary to Mr. Roosevelt's opinion, he does not charge Germany with oppressing Ireland, but reproaches England with subjecting Ireland to continuous aggression at her hands. With all due respect to Mr. Roosevelt's insight into the needs and cares of other countries, it may nevertheless be assumed that the Eire Prime Minister will be more familiar with the dangers which threaten his country than the President of the United States.

In the same way the fact has obviously escaped Mr. Roosevelt's notice that Palestine is at present occupied not by German troops but by the English; and that the country is having its liberty restricted by the most brutal resort to force, is being robbed of its independence and is suffering the cruellest maltreatment for the benefit of Jewish interlopers. The Arabs living in that country will therefore certainly not have complained to Mr. Roosevelt of German aggression, but they do voice a continuous appeal to the world, deploring the barbarous methods with which England is attempting to suppress a people which loves its freedom and is but defending it.

This too is perhaps a problem which according to the American President would have to be solved at the conference table, that is, in the presence of a just judge, and not by physical force, military means, mass executions, burning down villages, blowing up houses and so on. For one fact is undoubtedly certain: in this case England is not defending herself against a threatened Arab attack, but as an interloper, and, without being called upon to do so, is endeavouring to establish her power in a foreign territory which does not belong to her. A whole series of similar errors which Mr. Roosevelt has made might be pointed out, quite apart from the difficulty of military operations on the part of Germany in states and countries, some of which are 2,000 and 5,000 kilometres away from us.

German offer of New Guarantees

In conclusion, however, I have the following statement to make:

The German Government is nevertheless prepared to give each of the states named an assurance of the kind desired by Mr. Roosevelt on the condition of absolute reciprocity, provided that the state wishes it and itself addresses to Germany a request for such an assurance together with appropriate proposals.

Regarding a number of the states included in Mr. Roosevelt's list, this question can probably be accepted as settled from the very start, since we are already either allied with them or at least united by close ties of friendship. As for the duration of these agreements, Germany is willing to make terms with each individual state in accordance with the wishes of that state.

But I should not like to let this opportunity pass without giving above all to the President of the United States an assurance regarding those territories which would, after all, give him most cause for apprehension, namely the United States itself and the other states of the American continent.

And I here solemnly declare that all the assertions which have been circulated in any way concerning an intended German attack or invasion on or in American territory are rank frauds and gross untruths. Quite apart from the fact that such assertions, as far as the military possibilities are concerned, could have their origin only in a stupid imagination.

XIX. Limitation of Armament

The American President then goes on to declare in this connection that he regards the discussion of the most effective and immediate manner in which the peoples of the world can obtain relief from the crushing burden of armaments, as the most important factor of all.

Answer:

Mr. Roosevelt perhaps does not know that this problem, in so far as it concerns Germany, has already been completely solved on one occasion. Between 1919 and 1923 Germany had already completely disarmed—as was expressly confirmed by the Allied Commissions,—the extent of this disarmament being as follows:

The Scope of German Disarmament in 1919

The following military equipment was destroyed:

- 59,000 guns and barrels
- 130,000 machine guns
- 31,000 trench mortars and barrels
- 6,007,000 rifles and carbines
- 243,000 machine gun barrels
- 28,000 gun carriages
- 4,390 trench mortars carriages
- 38,750,000 shells
- 16,550,000 hand and rifle bombs
- 60,400,000 rounds live ammunition
- 491,000,000 rounds small bore ammunition
- 335,000 metric tons shell jackets
- 23,515 metric tons cartridge cases
- 37,600 metric tons powder
- 79,000 standard gauges for ammunition
- 212,000 sets telephone apparatus
- 1,072 flame throwers etc., etc.

There were further destroyed: sleighs, transportable workshops, anti-aircraft carriages, gun carriages, steel helmets, gasmasks, industrial war machinery, rifle barrels.

The following air force equipment was destroyed:

- 15,714 fighters and bombers
- 27,757 aeroplane engines

While in the Navy, the following were destroyed:

- 26 capital ships
- 4 coastal defence vessels
- 4 armoured cruisers
- 19 small cruisers
- 21 training and other special ships
- 83 torpedo boats
- 315 submarines

In addition the following were destroyed:

- vehicles of all kinds
- poison gas and (partly) anti-gas apparatus
- fuel and explosives
- searchlights
- sighting apparatus
- distance and sound measuring apparatus
- optical instruments of all kinds
- harness, etc., etc.
- all aerodromes and airship hangars, etc.

According to the solemn pledges once given Germany, pledges which found their confirmation even in the Peace Treaty of Versailles, all this was supposed to be an advance contribution which would then make it possible for the rest of the world to disarm without danger. In this point as in all others where Germany believed that a promise would be kept, she was disgracefully deceived. All attempts to induce the other states to disarm, pursued in negotiations at the conference table over many years, came, as is well known, to nothing. This disarmament would have been but

the execution of pledges already given, and at the same time just and prudent.

German Disarmament Proposals since 1933

I myself, Mr. Roosevelt, have made any number of practical proposals for consultation and tried to bring about a discussion of them in order to make possible a general limitation of armaments to the lowest possible level. I proposed a maximum strength for all armies of 200,000, similarly the abolition of all offensive weapons, of bombing planes, of poison gas, etc. etc. It was not possible, however, to carry out these plans in the face of the rest of the world, although Germany herself was at the time completely disarmed. I then proposed a maximum of 300,000 for armies. The proposal met with the same negative reception. I then submitted a great number of detailed disarmament proposals—in each case before the forum of the German Reichstag and consequently before the whole world. It never occurred to anyone even to discuss the matter. The rest of the world began instead to increase still further their already enormous armaments. And not until 1934, when the last of my comprehensive proposals—that concerning 300,000 as the maximum size of the army—was ultimately turned down, did I give the order for German rearmament, which was now to be very thorough. Nevertheless I do not want to be an obstacle in the way of disarmament discussions, at which you, Mr. Roosevelt, intend to be present. I would ask you, however, not to appeal first to me and to Germany, but rather to the others; I have a long line of practical experience behind me, and shall remain sceptically inclined until reality has taught me to know better.

XX. International Trade

Mr. Roosevelt gives us his pledge, finally, that he is prepared to take part in discussions to establish the most practical manner of opening up avenues of international trade so that every nation of the world may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world's market, as well as to possess assurances of obtaining the raw materials and products of peaceful economic life.

Answer:

It is my belief, Mr. Roosevelt, that it is not so much a question of discussing these problems theoretically, as of removing in practice the barriers which exist in international trade. The worst barriers, however, lie in the individual states themselves. Experience so far shows at any rate that the greatest world economic conferences have come to nothing simply because the various countries were not able to maintain order in their domestic economic systems; or else because they infected the international capital market with uncertainty by currency manipulation, and above all by causing continual fluctuations in the value of their currencies to one another. It is likewise an unbearable burden for world economic relations that it should be possible in some countries for some ideological reason or other to let loose a wild boycott agitation against other countries and their goods and so practically to eliminate them from the market. It is my belief, Mr. Roosevelt, that it would be a great service if you with your great influence would remove these barriers to a genuinely free world trade beginning with the United States. For it is my conviction that if the leaders of nations are not even capable of regulating production in their own countries or of removing boycotts pursued for ideological reasons which can damage trade relations between countries to so great an extent, there is much less prospect of achieving by means of international agreements any really fruitful step towards the improvement of economic relations. The equal right for all of buying and selling in the world's market can only be guaranteed in this way. Further, the German people have made in this regard very concrete claims, and I would appreciate it very much if you, Mr. Roosevelt, as one of the successors to the late President Wilson were to devote yourself to seeing that the promises be at last redeemed, on the basis of which Germany once laid down her arms and gave herself up to the so-called victors. I am

thinking less of the innumerable millions extorted from Germany as so-called reparations, than of the territories stolen from Germany. In and outside Europe Germany lost approximately three million square kilometres of territory, and that in spite of the fact that the whole German Colonial Empire, in contrast to the colonies of other nations, was not acquired by way of war, but solely through treaties or purchase.

President Wilson solemnly pledged his word that the German colonial claims, like all others, would receive the same just examination. Instead of this, however, the German possessions were given to nations who have always had the largest colonial empires, while our people was exposed to a great anxiety, which is now—as it will continue to be in the future—particularly pressing.

It would be a noble act if President Franklin Roosevelt were to redeem the promises made by President Woodrow Wilson. This would in the first place be a practical contribution to the moral consolidation of the world and consequently to the improvement of its economic conditions.

XXI. World-wide Interest and Nation-bound Care

Mr. Roosevelt also stated in conclusion that the Heads of all great Governments are in this hour responsible for the fate of humanity. They cannot fail to hear the prayers of their peoples to be protected from the foreseeable chaos of war. And I too would be held accountable for this.

Mr. Roosevelt! I fully understand that the vastness of your nation and the immense wealth of your country allows you to feel responsible for the history of the whole world and for the history of all nations. I, Sir, am placed in a much more modest and smaller sphere. You have 130 million people on 9,5 million square kilometres. You possess a country with enormous riches in all mineral resources, fertile enough to feed half a billion people and to provide them with all necessities.

I once took over a state which was faced by complete ruin, thanks to its trust in the promises of the rest of the world and to the bad regime of democratic governments. In this state there are roughly 140 people to each square kilometre—not 15 as in America. The fertility of our country cannot be compared with that of yours. We lack numerous minerals which nature has placed at your disposal in unlimited quantities. The billions of German savings accumulated in gold and foreign exchange during many years of peace were squeezed out of us and taken from us. We lost our colonies. In 1933 I had in my country seven million unemployed, a few million workers on half time, millions of peasants sinking into poverty, destroyed trade, ruined commerce; in short, general chaos.

Hitler

Since then, Mr. Roosevelt, I have only been able to fulfil one simple task. I cannot feel myself responsible for the fate of a world, as this world took no interest in the pitiful fate of my own people.

I have regarded myself as called upon by Providence to serve my own people alone and to deliver them from their frightful misery. Consequently, during the past six-and-a-half years I have lived day and night for the single task of awakening the powers of my people in view of our desertion by the whole of the rest of the world, of developing these powers to the utmost, and of utilizing them for the salvation of our community.

I have conquered chaos in Germany, reestablished order, enormously increased production in all branches of our national economy, by strenuous efforts produced substitutes for numerous materials which we lack, smoothed the way for new inventions, developed traffic, caused mighty roads to be built and canals to be dug, called into being gigantic new factories and at the same time endeavoured to further the education and culture of our people.

I have succeeded in finding useful work once more for the whole of the seven million unemployed who so appeal to the hearts of us all, in keeping the German peasant on

his soil in spite of all difficulties and in saving the land itself for him, in once more bringing German trade to a peak and in assisting traffic to the utmost. As a precaution against the threats of another world not only have I united the German people politically, but have also rearmed them; I have also endeavoured to destroy sheet by sheet that treaty which in its 448 articles contains the vilest oppression which peoples and human beings have ever been expected to put up with.

I have brought back to the Reich the provinces stolen from us in 1919, I have led back to their native country millions of Germans who were torn away from us and were in misery, I have reestablished the historic unity of the German living space and, Mr. Roosevelt, have endeavoured to attain all this without spilling blood and without bringing to my people and consequently to others the misery of war.

I, who twenty-one years ago was an unknown worker and soldier of my people, have attained this, Mr. Roosevelt, by my own energy, and can therefore in the face of history claim a place among those men who have done the utmost which can be fairly and justly demanded from a single individual.

Roosevelt

You, Mr. Roosevelt, have a much easier task in comparison. You became President of the United States in 1933 when I became Chancellor of the Reich. In other words, from the very outset you stepped to the head of one of the

largest and wealthiest states in the world. You have the good fortune to have to feed scarcely fifteen people per square kilometre in your country. You have at your disposal the most unlimited mineral resources in the world. As a result of the large area covered by your country and the fertility of your fields, you are enabled to ensure for each individual American ten times the amount of commodities possible in Germany. Nature has in any case enabled you to do this.

In spite of the fact that the population of your country is scarcely one third greater than the number of inhabitants in Greater Germany, you possess more than fifteen times as much living space.

Conditions prevailing in your country are on such a large scale that you can find time and leisure to give your attention to universal problems. Consequently the world is undoubtedly so small for you that you perhaps believe that your intervention and action can be effective everywhere.

In this sense therefore your concerns and suggestions cover a much larger and wider area than mine, because my world, Mr. Roosevelt, in which Providence has placed me and for which I am therefore obliged to work, is unfortunately much smaller, although for me it is more precious than anything else, for it is limited to my people! I believe, however, this is the way in which I can be of most service, to that for which we are all concerned, namely, **the justice, well-being, progress and peace of the whole human community.**

Text of the German Notes to Great Britain and Poland

The Note to Great Britain

End of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement

The German Chargé d'Affaires in London and Warsaw handed over memoranda to the British and Polish Governments on April 28. The text of the memorandum to Great Britain is as follows:—

When, in 1935, the German Government proposed to the British Government to bring, by an agreement, the strength of the German Fleet into a definite relation with the strength of the naval forces of the British Empire, they did so because they were convinced that the repetition of a warlike conflict between Germany and Great Britain was excluded for all time. By offering the proportion of 100 to 35, they voluntarily recognized the supremacy of British sea interests, and believed that by this decision they were taking a step which was unique in the history of the great Powers, and which would lead to a foundation for all the future of friendly relations between the two nations.

Naturally this step of the German Government was made on the assumption that the British Government were also, on their part, determined to maintain a political attitude which guaranteed the friendly development of Anglo-German relations. The Anglo-German Naval Agreement was effected on this basis and under these conditions. That was unanimously expressed on both sides at the conclusion of the Agreement.

Likewise, only last autumn, after the conference at Munich, the German Chancellor and the British Prime Minister solemnly confirmed, in a statement signed by them, that they regarded this agreement as symbolical of the desire of the two nations never again to wage war against one another. The German Government have always kept to this wish and are still to-day inspired by it. They are conscious of having acted in a corresponding manner in their policy, and of having in no case interfered in the sphere of British interest, or of having restricted these interests in any other way.

On the other hand, they must state their regret that the British Government have of late been moving more and

more away from the line of a corresponding policy towards Germany.

As has been clearly shown by the political decisions announced by the British Government in the last few weeks and also by the anti-German attitude of the British Press, prompted by the British Government, the German Government now take the view that Great Britain must always take up an attitude against Germany, regardless of any consideration of the part of Europe in which Germany may be involved in a warlike conflict. Even then, if British interests are in no way affected by this conflict, the British Government regard a war against Germany as no longer impossible, but as a major problem of British foreign policy.

The British Government have unilaterally withdrawn the basis of the Naval Agreement of June 18, 1935, and thereby put out of operation this Agreement as well as the declaration of July 17, 1937, supplementing this. The same applies to Part III of the German-British Agreement of July 17, 1937 [the bilateral agreement by which Germany was brought within the scope of the London Naval Treaty of 1936], in which the obligation for a mutual German-British exchange of information was laid down. The carrying out of this obligation naturally implied that an open relationship of confidence should exist between the two partners. As the German Government, to their regret, can no longer regard such a relationship as existing, they must also regard the condition of the aforementioned Part III as invalid.

The qualitative restrictions of the Anglo-German Agreement of July 17, 1937 [limiting the tonnage of ships and the size of their guns], remain unaffected by these recognitions which have been forced upon the German Government against their will. The German Government will also in the future respect these conditions and in this way contribute their share towards avoiding a general unrestricted race in naval armaments among the nations.

Beyond this, in case the British Government are interested in entering into new negotiations with Germany about the problems in question, Germany is perfectly willing. She would welcome it, if it were then to prove possible to attain on a safe foundation a clear and unambiguous understanding.

The Note to Poland

End of the German-Polish Agreement Magnanimous German Offers Rejected by Poland

The text of the German memorandum to Poland reads as follows:—

The agreement now concluded by the Polish Government with the British Government stands in such obvious contrast to the solemn declaration of a few months ago that the German Government must take notice of such a sudden and radical change of policy only with astonishment and bewilderment.

The new Anglo-Polish Agreement, however its final form may be fixed, is thought of by both partners as a regular treaty of alliance, which, through its generally known antecedents and in accordance with the whole position of political relations, is directed exclusively against Germany.

It follows from the obligations now undertaken by the Polish Government that Poland, in the case of any Anglo-German conflict started by an attack directed against Germany, under certain conditions also intends to intervene even if the conflict does not in any way affect Poland and her interests.

This is a direct and flagrant attack on the renunciation of the use of force agreed upon in the [German-Polish] Declaration of 1934.

The conflict between the German-Polish Declaration and the Anglo-Polish Agreement goes substantially further than this point in its significance.

The Declaration of 1934 was to have been the foundation for the regulating by Berlin and Warsaw, under the protection of a peace guarantee agreed upon, of all questions which might crop up between the two countries. They were to have been regulated by direct arrangement, free from international entanglements and complications, and uninfluenced from outside. Such a foundation naturally implied full mutual confidence on the part of both partners, as well as the loyalty of the political intentions of each partner towards the other.

On the other hand, the Polish Government, through the decision they had now taken to enter into an alliance directed against Germany, have let it be known that Poland prefers the promise of support from a third Power to the immediately assured peace guarantee given her by the German Government.

With this new alliance the Polish Government have acquiesced in a policy, instigated in another quarter, which aims at the encirclement of Germany. The German Government had not given the least cause for such a change of Polish policy. At every conceivable opportunity Germany has given Poland, publicly and in confidential discussion, the clearest assurances that the friendly development of German-Polish relations was an important aim of her foreign policy, and that Germany in her political decisions would at any time respect justified Polish interests.

The carrying out of the action by Germany in March of this year for the pacification of Central Europe has, in the view of the German Government, in no way impaired Polish interests. In the course of the action the Polish-Hungarian frontier was established, which Poland had always regarded as an important political aim. Moreover, the German Government have unmistakably declared that they were ready to come to a friendly discussion with the Polish Government, if the latter felt that new problems had arisen for Poland from the reforming of relations in Central Europe.

In an equally friendly spirit the German Government had tried to initiate a regulation of the only question still pending between Germany and Poland—the Danzig question.

No one who knows the circumstances in Danzig and in the Corridor, with their attendant problems, can, judging impartially, dispute the fact that this proposal contains the minimum that could be demanded from the standpoint of unrenounceable German interests, and that it took account of all Polish essential interests. Yet the Polish Government gave a reply which, it is true, was clothed in the form of counter-proposals, but which showed a lack of any appreciation of the German point of view and amounted to a sheer rejection of the German offer. That the Polish Government themselves did not regard their reply as calculated to lead to a friendly understanding they have shown in a manner as surprising as it is drastic.

Simultaneously with their answer they proceeded to an extensive partial mobilization of their Army. By this quite unjustified measure they showed in advance the aim and purpose of the negotiations which they immediately afterwards entered on with the British Government. The German Government did not judge it necessary to reply to the Polish partial mobilization with military counter-measures. On the other hand, they simply cannot pass silently over other decisions taken by the Polish Government recently. Moreover, to their regret, they see themselves obliged to state forthwith the following:—

1. The Polish Government have not grasped the opportunity offered them by the German Government for a just regulation of the Danzig question, for a definite securing of their frontiers with Germany, and thus for a lasting strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. They have, moreover, rejected the German proposals to this effect.

2. At the same time the Polish Government have let themselves in for political obligations towards another State, which are incompatible with the spirit as well as with the letter of the German-Polish Declaration of January 26, 1934. The Polish Government have, therefore, put this declaration arbitrarily and unilaterally out of force.

Despite this recognition, which has become necessary, the German Government do not intend to change their fundamental attitude towards the question of the future moulding of German-Polish relations. Should the Polish Government regard it as of value to arrive at a new regulation, by treaty, of these relations the German Government are willing to do so, and make only the one condition, that such a settlement must rest on a clear obligation binding both parties.

President Roosevelt's Message and the European Situation

Text of the Message

The full text of President Roosevelt's peace plea to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini is as follows:

"You realise, I am sure, that throughout the world hundreds of millions of human beings are living to-day in constant fear of a new war or even a series of wars.

"The existence of this fear—and the possibility of such a conflict—is of definite concern to the people of the United States for whom I speak, as it must also be to the peoples of the other nations of the entire Western Hemisphere.

"All of them know that any major war, even if it were to be confined to other continents, must bear heavily on them during its continuation, and also for generations to come.

"Because of the fact that after the acute tension in which the world has been living during the past few weeks there would seem to be at least a momentary relaxation—because no troops are at this moment on the march—this may be an opportune moment for me to send you this message.

"On a previous occasion I have addressed you on behalf of the settlement of political, economic and social problems by peaceful methods and without resort to arms.

"But the tide of events seems to have reverted to the threat of arms. If such threats continue, it seems inevitable that much of the world must become involved in common ruin. All the world, victor nations, vanquished nations and neutral nations will suffer.

"I refuse to believe that the world is of necessity such a prisoner of destiny. On the contrary, it is clear that the leaders of great nations have it in their power to liberate their peoples from the disaster that impends.

"It is equally clear that in their own minds and in their own hearts the peoples themselves desire that their fears be ended.

"It is, however, unfortunately necessary to take cognisance of recent facts.

"Three nations in Europe and one in Africa have seen their independent existence terminated. A vast territory in another independent nation of the Far East has been occupied by a neighbouring State. Reports, which we trust are not true, insist that further acts of aggression are contemplated against still other independent nations. Plainly, the world is moving towards the moment when this situation must end in catastrophe, unless a more rational way of guiding events is found.

"You have repeatedly asserted that you and the [Italian or German] people have no desire for war.

"If this is true, there need be no war. Nothing has persuaded the peoples of the earth that any governing Power has any right or need to inflict the consequences of war on its own or any other people, save in the cause of self-evident home defence.

"In making this statement we as Americans speak not from selfishness or fear or weakness. If we speak now, it is with the voice of strength and with friendship for mankind. It is still clear to me that international problems can be solved at the council table.

"It is, therefore, no answer to the plea for peaceful discussion for one side to plead that, unless they receive assurances beforehand that the verdict will be theirs, they will not lay aside their arms.

"In conference rooms, as in courts, it is necessary that both sides enter upon discussion in good faith, assuming that substantial justice will accrue to both, and it is customary and necessary that they leave their arms outside the room where they confer.

"I am convinced that the cause of world peace would be greatly advanced if the nations of the world were to obtain a frank statement relating to the present and future policy of Governments.

"Because the United States, as one of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, is not involved in the immediate controversies which have arisen in Europe, I trust that you may be willing to make such a statement of policy to me as head of a nation far removed from Europe in order that I, acting only with the responsibility and obligation of a friendly intermediary, may communicate such declaration to other nations, now apprehensive as to the course which the policy of your Government may take.

"Are you willing to give assurance that your armed forces will not attack or invade the territory or possessions of the following independent nations: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain and Ireland, France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Lichtenstein, Luxembourg, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Irak, the Arabias, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iran?

"Such an assurance clearly must apply not only to the present day, but also to a future sufficiently long to give every opportunity to work by peaceful methods for a more permanent peace.

"I therefore suggest that you construe the word 'future' to apply to a minimum period of assured non-aggression—10 years at the least—a quarter of a century if we dare look that far ahead.

"If such assurance is given by your Government I will immediately transmit it to the Governments of the nations I have named, and I will simultaneously inquire whether as I am reasonably sure each of the nations enumerated

above will in turn give a like assurance for transmission to you.

"Reciprocal assurances, such as I have outlined, will bring to the world an immediate measure of relief.

"I propose that if it is given, two essential problems shall promptly be discussed in the resulting peaceful surroundings, and in those discussions the Government of the United States will gladly take part.

"The discussions which I have in mind relate to the most effective and immediate manner through which the peoples of the world can obtain progressive relief from the crushing burden of armament which is each day bringing them more closely to the brink of economic disaster.

"Simultaneously the Government of the United States would be prepared to take part in discussions looking towards the most practical manner of opening up avenues of international trade, to the end that every nation of the earth may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world market, as well as to possess assurance of obtaining the materials and products of peaceful economic life.

"At the same time those Governments, other than the United States, which are directly interested, could undertake such political discussions as they may consider necessary or desirable.

"We recognise complex world problems which affect all humanity, but we know that study and discussion of these must be held in an atmosphere of peace. Such an atmosphere of peace cannot exist if negotiations are overshadowed by the threat of force or by the fear of war.

"I think you will not misunderstand the spirit of frankness in which I send you this message. Heads of great Governments in this hour are literally responsible for the fate of humanity in the coming years. They cannot fail to hear the prayers of their peoples to be protected from the foreseeable chaos of war.

"History will hold them accountable for the lives and the happiness of all—even unto the least.

"I hope that your answer will make it possible for humanity to lose fear and regain security for many years to come."

Mussolini's Reply to President Roosevelt

During the course of the preparations for the World Exhibition in Rome, to be opened on April 21, 1942, Mussolini delivered a speech in which he touched upon questions of political import; excerpts from his speech read as follows:

"If we really had the intention of setting fire to the explosion, if we really possessed those hidden aggressive intentions which are imputed to us, we would not have commenced with a work of such great scope as the organisation of the World Exhibition. Nor would we have invited those nations to participate, many of whom have proved by accepting the invitation that they share our ideas in connection with the course of events.

"In venturing upon this work and actively proceeding with it in spite of the storm-clouds on the horizon, it must be looked upon as a promising sign, that is, that we will attack none, on the contrary we intend to continue our work in peace. The attempt to drag the Axis Powers in the prisoner's dock is unjust in the highest degree and irresponsible in every respect.

"Not less senseless is the invention of a ten-year guarantee system, quite apart from the enormous geographical mistakes committed by those who have not the faintest knowledge of European affairs.

"Finally, as far as the ventilated super-conference is concerned, at which the United States were again the distant onlookers, experience has taught us the bitter lesson that the larger the number of participants the more certain is the failure of the conferences.

"It is quite immaterial whether one sends an answer to the famous 'message' or not, I could not let the opportunity slip by of confirming anew that the policy of Rome

and the policy of the Axis is guided by the criteria of peace and cooperation and that Germany and Italy have given their proofs of that."

Telegrams to Roosevelt

Protest Telegrams from Palestine Arabs

On April 26 the chief commission of the Palestine Arabs sent a telegram to President Roosevelt. A sharp protest was made in the telegram against the fact that Roosevelt and the Government of the United States, in direct contradiction to principles alleged to be held by them, extensively support the "illegal and barbaric Anglo-Jewish aggression" in Palestine with all their influence.

* * *

Apart from the chief commission of the Palestine Arabs, the executive commission, too, of the Syrian-Palestine Congress sent a telegram to Roosevelt on the same day.

The contents of the telegram read as follows:

"You named Syria and Palestine amongst the countries for which you demanded non-aggression guarantees in your "message" to the authoritarian States. Syria and Palestine are victims of a brutal violation of territory and independence on the part of the democracies of France and England. Intervene please, Mr. Roosevelt, to protect Syria from those attacks and to create for them that right of self-determination which is due to them in accordance with the natural right and the manifold assurances from France, England and Wilson."

* * *

India demands Self-Determination

President Savarkar of the *Hindu Maha Sabha*, the largest Hindu organisation in India, directed the following telegram to President Roosevelt:

"If your "message" to Hitler really did spring from "unselfish consideration for the protection of freedom and democracy", against a military attack, then please persuade England, too, to withdraw its armed sovereignty in India and to grant it a free, self-determined constitution. A great nation like India can demand at least as much international justice as the smaller states."

Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Dictate of Versailles

The *Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz* comments as follows on the question of Wilson's fourteen points as the legal basis of the Armistice and of the Versailles negotiations in its 91. number on May 12:

Wilson's fourteen points as well as his later declarations which revealed on the same lines the ideas of the President on the possibilities of the conclusion of peace, led up to the Armistice to an animated exchange of notes between Germany on the one hand and the United States on the other, conducted through the Swiss Government. On October 12, 1918 the German Government replied to the question of the United States to the effect that they accepted the principles which President Wilson laid down in his address on January 8 and in his later addresses as the basis of permanent peace of justice. On October 14 already the American Government referred to the unconditional acceptance by Germany, but declared that a corresponding execution of the peace depended upon the certainty and satisfactory character of the guarantees which Germany was to give in that sphere for compensation. After further polemics on questions of conduct of war on both sides, Germany then requested on October 27, 1918 that proposals be submitted for an armistice which would introduce the just peace charac-

terised by the President in his pronouncements. The reply ensued in a note of the American Foreign Minister, Lansing, on November 5, 1918, which expressed readiness to commence armistice negotiations, but in which however the character of the conditions for peace was simultaneously given, set down as follows in a memorandum of the Allied Governments:

"The Allied Governments have carefully considered the exchange of notes between the President of the United States and the German Government. With the following reservations they declared their readiness to conclude peace with the German Government on the basis of the peace conditions which were set out in the address of the President at the Congress of January 8, 1918, and along the principles given in his later addresses. They must, however, point out that the customary so-called conception of freedom of the seas contained varied interpretations, several of which they could not accept. They were, therefore, forced to reserve for themselves complete freedom on that subject on entering the peace conference."

The Lansing Note of November 5 contained therewith the express consent of the Allies to the Wilson points subsequent to their acceptance by Germany. That Note is, therefore, of paramount importance for the statement that a preparatory peace-treaty was made immediately before the armistice, the contents of which were to have been binding for the future peace negotiations.

The Polish-Attitude

Foreign Minister Beck in the Sejm

The Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, delivered a speech before an assembly of the Sejm on May 5, in which he dealt with Poland's foreign policy. His address reads as follows:

"The weakening of collective international institutions and the complete revision of the method of intercourse between nations which I have reported on several occasions in the House has had as a consequence the opening of many new problems in different parts of the world.

"That process and its results have in recent months reached the borders of Poland.

"A very general outline of these phenomena can be summed up by saying that the relations between particular Powers have taken on a more individual character.

"The general rules have been weakened. One cause simply leads more and more directly to another.

The Anglo-Polish Agreement

"So far as we are concerned, very serious events have occurred. Our contacts with some Powers have become easier and more profound, while in other cases serious difficulties have arisen.

"Looking at things chronologically, I refer in the first place to our agreement with Britain

After repeated diplomatic contacts designed to define the scope and aims of our future relations we reached, on the occasion of my visit to London, a direct agreement based on the principles of mutual assistance in the case of direct or indirect menace to the independence of either of our countries.

The formula of the agreement is known to you from the declaration of Mr. Neville Chamberlain on April 6, the text of which was drafted by common agreement and which should be regarded as a pact concluded between the two Governments.

"I regard it as my duty to add that the form and character of the comprehensive conversations held in London add particular value to the agreement.

"I should like Polish public opinion to know that I found, on the part of the British statesmen, not only a profound knowledge of the general political problems of Europe, but also such an attitude towards our country as permitted me to discuss all vital problems with frankness and confidence without any reservation or doubt.

Breaking of the German-Polish Pact of 1934

"It was possible to establish the principles of Polish-British collaboration, first of all because we made it clear to each other that the intentions of both Governments are concordant on basic European problems.

"Secondly, neither Great Britain nor Poland has any aggressive intentions whatever, but they are determined to defend certain basic principles of conduct in international life.

"The parallel declarations of the leaders of French policy confirm that we are agreed between Paris and Warsaw that the effectiveness of our defensive pact not only cannot be affected adversely by the change in the international situation, but on the contrary, that our agreement should constitute one of the most essential elements in the political structure of Europe.

"The Polish-British agreement has been used by the Chancellor of the German Reich as a pretext for a one-sided declaration of the non-existence of the treaty which the Chancellor of the Reich concluded with us in 1934.

"The fact that I have had the honour to participate actively in the conclusion and execution of the pact imposes on me the duty of its analysis.

"The pact of 1934 was an attempt to give a better course to history between two great nations, an attempt to leave the unwholesome atmosphere of daily clashes and wider hostile designs and to rise above the animosities of centuries.

"The pact aimed at creating deep foundations of mutual respect. The endeavour to oppose evil is always the best expression of political activity.

"The policy of Poland proved our respect for that principle in the most critical moments of recent times.

"From this point of view the breaking of that pact is not an insignificant matter.

"However, every treaty is worth as much as the consequences which follow it, and if the policy and conduct of the other party diverge from the principles of the pact we have no reason for bemoaning its slackening or dissolution.

"The Polish-German Pact of 1934 was a treaty of mutual respect and good neighbourliness and as such brought a positive value into the life of our country, into the life of Germany, and the whole of Europe.

"Since, however, there appeared tendencies to interpret it as limiting the freedom of our policy or as a ground for demanding from us one-sided concessions contrary to our vital interests, it lost its real character.

"Let us now pass to the disturbing situation. The German Reich has taken the very fact of the Polish-British understanding as motive for the breaking of the 1934 Pact.

"Various legal objections were raised on the German side. I will take the liberty of referring lawyers to the text of our reply to the German memorandum, which will be handed to-day to the German Government.

"I should not like to detain you any longer on the diplomatic form of the events, but one of its aspects has a special significance.

"The Reich Government, as is apparent from the text of the German memorandum, made its decision on the ground of Press reports without consulting the views of either the British or the Polish Governments as to the character of the agreement concluded.

"It was not difficult to do so, for I expressed myself, immediately on my return from London, as ready to receive the Ambassador of the Reich, who did not, however, avail himself of the opportunity until to-day.

"Why is this circumstance important? Even for a man of the simplest reasoning it is clear that what was decisive was neither the character nor the purpose and scope of the agreement, but the mere fact that such an agreement was concluded.

"This in turn is important for an appreciation of the intentions of the Reich's policy.

"For if, contrary to previous statements, the Government of the Reich interpreted the 1934 declaration of non-aggression between Poland and Germany as meant to

isolate Poland and make normal friendly collaborations with Western Powers impossible for our country, we should always have rejected such an interpretation ourselves.

"To make a proper estimate of the situation we should first of all ask the question: What is the real aim of it all?

"Without that question and the reply to it we cannot properly appreciate the essence of the German statements with regard to matters concerning Poland.

Danzig and the Corridor

"I have already referred to our attitude towards the West. There remains the problem of the German proposals as to the future of the Free City of Danzig, communications between the Reich and East Prussia through our province of Pomerania and the other subjects mentioned as matters of common interest to Poland and Germany.

"Let us, therefore, investigate in turn each problem.

"About Danzig, let me make first some general remarks.

"The Free City of Danzig was not invented by the Versailles Treaty. It has existed for many centuries as a result, properly speaking, if we set apart the emotional element, of a positive "cross" between Polish and German interests.

"The German merchants of Danzig assured the development and prosperity of that town, thanks to Polish overseas trade.

"Not only the development but also the very *raison d'être* of the city was formerly due to the then decisive fact that it is situated at the mouth of our only great river, and now to its position on the main waterway and railway line connecting us with the Baltic.

"This is a truth which no new formulas can change. The population of Danzig to-day is predominantly German, but its livelihood and prosperity depend on the economic potential of Poland.

"What conclusions have we drawn from that fact?

"We have stood, and we stand firmly, on the ground of the rights and interests of our overseas trade and our maritime policy in Danzig.

"Seeking reasonable and conciliatory solutions, we have purposely not endeavoured to exert any influence on the free national, ideological and cultural development of the German majority in the Free City. I shall not prolong my address by quoting examples.

"They are particularly well known to all who have been concerned in any way with the matter.

"But when after the repeated statements of German statesmen who respected our views and expressed the opinion that "This provincial town will not be the object of conflict between Poland and Germany", I hear a demand for the annexation of Danzig to the Reich—when I get no reply to our proposals of March 26 for a common guarantee of the existence and the rights of the Free City, and when I learn subsequently that this has been regarded as a refusal to negotiate, I have to ask myself what is the real aim of it all?

"Is it the freedom of the German population of Danzig—which is not menaced—or a question of prestige? Or is it a question of barring Poland from the Baltic—from which Poland will not let herself be barred?

"The same consideration concerns communications across our province of Pomerania. I insist on the term "Province of Pomerania"—the word "Corridor" is an artificial invention, for it is an ancient Polish land with an insignificant percentage of German colonists.

"We have given the German Reich full railway facilities. We have allowed its citizens to travel without Customs or passport formalities from the Reich to East Prussia. We have suggested the extension of these facilities to road transport.

"Again the question arises: What is the real aim of it all?

"We have no reason to obstruct the German citizens in their communications with their eastern province, but we have, on the other hand, no ground whatever for restricting our sovereignty over our own territory.

"In the first and second instances—that is, in the matter of the future of Danzig and of communications through Pomerania—it is still a case of one-sided concessions which the Government of the Reich seems to be demanding from us.

"A self-respecting nation does not make one-sided concessions. Where is the reciprocity? It looks vague in the German proposals.

"The Chancellor of the Reich mentions in his speech a triple condominium in Slovakia. (Joint control of a State's affairs vested in two or more other States.) I have to state that I heard that suggestion for the first time in the Chancellor's speech on April 28.

"In some earlier conversations allusions only were made to the fact that in the event of a general agreement the problem of Slovakia could be discussed. We did not seek to carry on such conversations, for it is not our custom to make bargains with the interests of others.

"The proposal of an extension of the pact of non-aggression to 25 years was also not put forward in any of the recent conversations.

"Here also there were unofficial allusions made by prominent members of the Reich Government; but there were in such conversations various other allusions reaching far wider and further than the subjects now under discussion. I reserve the right to return to this matter if necessary.

"In his speech the Chancellor of the Reich proposed as a concession on his part the recognition and definite acceptance of existing frontiers between Poland and Germany.

"I have to state that this would have been recognition of what is our property indisputably *de jure* and *de facto*, so that this proposal also cannot alter my point that the German claims with regard to Danzig and the motor road remain one-sided demands.

"In the light of these explanations the House expects from me an answer to the last passage of the German memorandum, which says: "If the Polish Government attaches importance to a new contractual settlement of Polish-German relations, the German Government is prepared for it."

"It seems to me that I have already defined our actual attitude. For the sake of clarity I will now sum it up.

"The motive for such an agreement would be the word "peace," which the Chancellor stresses in his speech.

"Peace is certainly the aim of the hard work and striving of Polish diplomacy. Two conditions are necessary for this word to have any real value: Peaceful intentions and peaceful methods of action.

"If the Government of the Reich is at present guided by these two conditions in its relations with our country all conversations provided naturally that the principles which I have previously enumerated are respected—are possible.

"If such conversations materialise the Polish Government will, according to its custom regard the problem objectively, having in view the experience of recent times, but without refusing its very good will. Peace is a valuable and desirable thing.

"Our generation which bled in several wars surely deserves a period of peace.

"However, peace, like almost all things in this world, has its price—high, but definable.

"We in Poland do not know the conception of peace at any price. There is only one thing in life of men, nations and State which is without price, and that is honour."

The German Reception of Colonel Beck's Speech

The "*Deutsche Dienst*" comments as follows on the declaration made by the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck:

"What Beck has tried to set out as the chronological sketch of events, is nothing other than a dangerous attempt to deceive the opinion of the public of the world and to

explain the question of guilt in favour of Poland in order to transfer the responsibility for the breaking of the 1934 Agreement onto Germany.

If Colonel Beck were genuinely desirous of giving a true chronological survey, he should have introduced his comments with the statement that the German proposals regarding Danzig and the Corridor were known to him not just since the submitting of the German proposals but months ago. We do not remember in October 1938 and in January and March of this year, when the Polish ambassador in Berlin, as well as the Polish Foreign Minister in person, were informed in concrete form of the German offer expressed by the Führer in his speech, that Beck contested that offer with the argument that such proposals robbed the 1934 German-Polish Agreement of its very foundations. And how could the Polish Government have delivered the answer containing a rejection of the German offer on March 26 without having been fully informed of the German offer?

The agitator-press of the western countries — with or without the active participation of the responsible government circles — applied the requisite nervous pressure on the Polish public with the report to the amazed world that a German mobilisation threatened Poland's very existence. Although Germany had not mobilised one single man, the Polish Government used that deliberate lie as an excuse to mobilise their forces.

Colonel Beck, upon his own request, then left for London, where he concluded — in view therefore of a nonexistent fact — a pact of mutual assistance with England. The Minister responsible for Polish foreign affairs thereby joined the English policy of encirclement, which is obviously and clearly directed against Germany. It was planned that Poland should assume the role, in the framework of the British encirclement pacts, which Czecho-Slovakia was once destined to play in accordance with the will of the Versailles Powers. Poland has accepted obligations in that agreement which, if it does not intend to violate the treaty, will annul the obligations concerning the exclusion of force agreed upon with Germany. Poland has therewith expressed its will not to exclude force between Poland and Germany, and has thereby abolished the basis of the German Polish Treaty.

It would therefore be impossible for Colonel Beck to construe a reconciliation of the Anglo-Polish Encirclement pact with the spirit and the letter of the German-Polish Agreement. Instead of that, it was obviously his endeavour to thrust upon Germany the intention of desiring to prevent Poland's friendly cooperation with the Western Powers and to isolate Poland. Beck also omitted the clear formulations of the Führer, who expressly stated in his speech that the agreement of 1934 had not touched the pact of mutual agreement hitherto agreed upon with France. Germany was able to make that expressly recognised exception because no conflict could arise between Germany and France.

Moreover the Polish Foreign Minister has vouchsafed us no information as to how he plans to reconcile those monstrous transgressions against the Germans in Poland, concerning which the German Press has been silent long enough, and the mobilisation of the Polish forces on the frontiers of the Reich in view of a non-existent danger with the spirit of the German-Polish Agreement.

In his treatment of the German proposals the Polish Foreign Minister failed to support the existing inacceptableness, according to the Polish conception of those proposals, with convincing arguments. Instead of that he could do nothing better than to defame the German proposals, which had been drawn up in a friendly spirit and which in no manner infringed upon Poland's honour, but rather contributed to the definite peaceful settlement of the German-Polish problem and thereby to the stabilisation of conditions in Eastern Europe, inasmuch as he talks of one-sided demands, the annexation of Danzig and of the German attempt to deny Poland's access to the Baltic Sea.

The whole world knows that the Führer has repeatedly respected and recognised Poland's access to the sea as a vital interest of the Polish State in his speeches. Not only was that vital necessity of Poland carefully considered in Germany's proposals, the economic connection, too,

between Danzig and Poland was given due consideration in every direction.

On all those things Colonel Beck was silent to the world. And he wasted no words upon the fact that Poland rejected the German proposal in a manner lacking all cool, statesmanlike reflection and which did not forego the implication of possible military actions.

The Foreign Minister of the Reich as well as the Secretary of State of the Foreign Office, in reply to Colonel Beck's statements, have given the Polish Ambassador in Berlin no opportunity of doubting that the Polish answer of March 26 signified the rejection of the German proposal.

We understand Beck's desire to receive the German ambassador. It is a diplomatic custom during the absence of the ambassador, to proffer the consul the corresponding declarations, and it was open to the Polish Government to forward their communiqués to the Foreign Office through the Polish Embassy in Berlin. It will remain Beck's secret why he did not do that. Even now, after Beck's speech, we are waiting for an explanation for the fact that the Polish Foreign Minister went to London instead of coming to Berlin, whither he was invited by the German Government to a friendly discussion of all the questions. And that in view of the fact that the concessions to Poland contained in the Polish offer far exceeded those discussed with the Polish Foreign Minister in his talks with the Führer and Foreign Minister of the Reich on the question of Danzig and the corridor.

Beck also said:

"Since, however, there appeared tendencies to interpret it as limiting the freedom of our policy or as a ground for demanding from us one-sided concessions contrary to our vital interests, it lost its real character."

If Beck wanted to sign the Treaty of friendship with Germany in place of Pilsudski in 1934, and had said to us that a broaching of open questions would be interpreted as a limitation of Poland's freedom of policy, none could have expected us to conclude such a treaty. For in that case we would have been forced to claim that very theme of the mutuality of all treaties which Beck so violently supported in his speech. If the Polish Foreign Minister stresses increasingly the importance of the reply to the question, where is the mutuality in the German proposals? and thinks he ought to add that no treaty can be concluded without mutuality, we are compelled to raise the question, where were the concessions of mutuality when Germany was separated from Danzig and East Prussia and when Upper Silesia was taken?

With due consideration of the fact that Poland owes its present geographic position exclusively to the historic injustice of the Versailles Treaty, Poland was the sole recipient party in the German proposal.

Colonel Beck raised the assertion that he first heard of the three-fold condominium over Slovakia in the Reichstag speech of the Führer. We must state in reply to that, that reference to the solution of the Slovak question was made in many talks with the Polish representatives. Not indeed, as Beck declared, in the sense of dealing with foreign interests, but with a view to the German preparedness to allow both bordering states to participate in the final settlement of Slovakia.

Colonel Beck asserted further, that the prolongation of the pact of non-aggression for 25 years had not been proposed to Poland in any concrete form. In that case, too, Beck would have been right had repeated diplomatic conversations between foreign ministers and ambassadors not signified a definite form of the concrete proposal. The Führer himself called Colonel Beck's attention to those 25 years.

If Beck appeals to the fact that the territory of the corridor has but a negligible percentage of German settlers, those words indeed represent no argument against the German desire for access to its Eastern Province. And the Polish Government ought to be most familiar with the methods used after Versailles to de-Germanise the old country of the Orders, which even after the Polish sovereignty in 1772 was predominantly German.

Beck, who of course referred to the German character of the Free City of Danzig only as a "German majority",

gave assurances that Poland exercised consciously no pressure on the free development of that "majority". That statement is right, for Poland has hitherto had no opportunity of exerting such pressure directly on Danzig. The assertion that the will to national and cultural estrangement of the German city of Danzig does not exist in Poland, must however appear doubtful in view of the reading of the Polish Press, which demands undisguisedly the incorporation of Danzig in the Polish State union, and in view of those arguments which Poland used for the same demands in Versailles.

German Danzig wants to return to the Reich. There is no doubt of that in the whole world to-day. If Beck asserts that the Weichsel is a Polish river, at the mouth of which Danzig lies, true a German city, but a city in which Poland must therefore exert the requisite influence, we, too, could raise considerable claims with those arguments for the incorporation of harbour towns in Europe.

The fundamental readiness of the Führer in his speech and in the memorandum of April 28 to attain a new treaty settlement of relations with Poland was answered by Beck exclusively with the general turn of speech that the prerequisites for that were "peaceful methods of negotiation".

Apart from the fact that the Polish Government has up to now taken no measures to prevent the obviously aggressive demands of the Polish Press, and apart from the fact that it has not revealed any intention of cancelling the mobilisation of its forces, generally accepted as superfluous, Germany is waiting even after Beck's speech, for a gesture from the Polish Government, which will give consideration to the Führer's readiness for a peaceful settlement of the questions pending between the two countries.

However, in conclusion we must raise this final grave question: Is Colonel Beck's answer the reply of Poland and the Polish people, or is it rather to be regarded as one of those thrusts of which the Polish Press has been guilty against Germany, not for the first time yesterday and to-day?"

Two British Voices on the Danzig Problems

On May 16, the "Times" published two letters, one by Sir Arnold Wilson, M. P., the other the Reader-in-English at the University of Königsberg. These two letters referred to a previous statement of the "Polish Case" by a certain M. Stefan Litauer which had been given room in the "Times" columns. The two letters read as follows —:

The Vistula Traffic

To the Editor of the Times

Sir, — In your issue of May 9 Dr. Litauer says: „Danzig's destiny has always been and is to lead the Polish River Vistula into the Baltic."

The phrase is misleading. The Vistula ends in a delta: shipping can enter only by a canal, opened in 1896. Less than 100 years ago the main stream (Nogat) entered the Frisches Haff: it was artificially diverted back to Danzig Bay in 1857.

Before 1914 traffic on the Vistula was extensive, thanks to elaborate conservancy works on the 200 kilometres in German territory. Since 1919 traffic has greatly decreased, for conservancy has been neglected; existing works are in disrepair.

The claim that Poland should enjoy sovereign rights over the mouths of the Vistula because it is a Polish river is not likely to commend itself to Holland. Boundary lines through deltas are always troublesome, for great rivers find new mouths from time to time and throw up new islands, as, e. g., in the Shatt-al-Arab below Basrah.

By Article 18 of the „Minorities" Treaty of June 28, 1919, the Vistula should be an international waterway, subject to the Barcelona Convention. That might, in certain eventualities, be a proper solution. Meanwhile the value

of the Vistula as a waterway is steadily diminishing, and the risk of serious floods causes much anxiety to Germans, who can do nothing to repair the dykes, which to a distance of 50 metres from the bank are in Poland. The question is one for dispassionate examination, not for rhetoric. Your obedient servant.

Arnold Wilson.

Population of the Corridor

To the Editor of the Times

Sir, — M. Litaner's statements about the traffic between East Prussia and the rest of the Reich are not in accordance with the facts. At present the whole of the goods traffic between the two parts of the Reich passes over the privileged transit route of the Polish Corridor—Schneidemühl-Marienburg. Previously a certain amount of goods had been sent from Breslau via Posen, but this proved too expensive and was discontinued. Passengers travelling between the two parts of the Reich have always used the privileged transit route of the Polish Corridor. A very small percentage travel via Danzig and Stettin.

M. Litaner quotes the Polish official figures, 91 per cent. Poles and 9 per cent. Germans in the Corridor, but he omits to say that 107,000 of his 91 per cent. are Cassubians living in the northern parts of the Corridor and not Poles. At the end of the War the figures were very different, for within three months of Polish rule 600,000 Germans fled the Corridor area.

As to Danzig, it would be truer to his history to say that this city maintained her independent position in spite of the Polish personal union. Danzig was a rich and prosperous city long before she accepted the Polish personal union. One proof of her independence of Poland is that she never let a Polish king enter her city. During the incorporation with Prussia, Danzig flourished—various municipal buildings are a proof of it—and it was not till she was cut off from the rest of her countrymen that she declined. The various negotiations of the last few years have only shown how very little Poland has done to keep her side of promises made and send 50 per cent. of her export through Danzig.

I remain yours faithfully,

Victor Adams.

Reader in English, Albertus-University, Königsberg.

German Relations with the Scandinavian and Baltic States

Pacts of Non-Aggression with Estonia, Latvia and Denmark

In pursuance of the Führer's declaration on April 28 on Germany's readiness to conclude pacts of non-aggression, negotiations have been held between the German Government and the governments of Estonia, Latvia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland for the purpose of concluding such pacts.

Results of the Negotiations with Sweden, Norway and Finland

The exchange of views with Sweden, Norway and Finland gave the following results:

The Swedish and Norwegian Governments have declared anew to the German Government that their countries do not feel threatened by Germany and that they have no intention of concluding pacts of non-aggression with any country in the maintenance of the principle of neutrality. They, therefore, do not regard a treaty of this sort necessary and have agreed with the Government to withhold from any further pursuance of the plan. The negotiations with the Finnish Government also led to the same conclusion.

* * *

The *Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz* comments as follows on the negotiations in its 94. Nr. on May 19 1939:

As is known, President Roosevelt recently sent a message to the leaders of the Axis Powers with the demand that they deliver non-aggression declarations in favour of 31 states in view of the international situation. The Führer and Chancellor of the Reich dealt with that idea in his reply. The preparedness of the German Government was expressed to the Northern States should they desire to conclude mutual pacts of non-aggression. Therewith a new proof of good will was given on the part of the Reich Government and more was done in order to confirm and emphasise the relations of confidence with those countries.

Some time ago already Estonia and Latvia decided to conclude mutual pacts of non-aggression with Germany, whereby a familiar misrepresentation describing Germany's aggressive plans in the Baltic was simultaneously destroyed. Now, Denmark, too, which after a period of misunderstandings which now belong to history, has long enjoyed sound relations with Germany, has expressed its willingness to seal those friendly relations with the conclusion of a mutual pact of non-aggression.

As far as the three remaining Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Finland are concerned, there is no doubt for them that the interests of the German Reich are concerned with the stability of the northern sphere. They have, therefore, already been able to express some time ago that they do not feel threatened by Germany. If these Northern States do not wish to enter into a pact of non-aggression with Germany to-day, that reveals on the one side that the American President made a mistake in attributing to those states the feeling of being threatened which could only be removed by a declaration of non-aggression from Germany. On the other hand, the efforts of the encirclement Powers, which have sought to impute to as many outside powers as possible the feeling of being threatened merely in order to compromise their independence and their neutrality, have obviously allowed the wish to mature in those northern countries to avoid the very appearance even in a passive form of contact with any sort of combination of powers.

The political consequences of certain "one-sided guarantees" which could in no way circulate security, rather mistrust and bias, have not missed their aim in the sober north. Germany, as is well known, never intended to drag neutral states into the whirlpool of European differences. The emphatic manner with which the northerners hold aloof from any group formation is, therefore, to be estimated as the sharpest rejection to those who might make the attempt to yoke them too in their encirclement front against the Axis Powers.

The varied receptions of the German questionnaire by the northern States is naturally conditioned by the political and geographical differences of the individual countries. However, the basis of each attitude reveals a refreshing conception and determination: viz: the will of the peoples of the north to secure in every direction their integrity and independence, and to maintain strict neutrality and to adhere to that policy under all circumstances. Germany has therefore estimated the desire of Sweden and Finland to secure the Åland Islands together in the spirit of that neutrality as a proof of such resolution, and

has regarded such an attitude of both States also as a prerequisite for consent to the agreement.

The Reich can, therefore, with satisfaction take cognizance of the fact that its attitude towards the people of the north is understood and appreciated, and it can combine the hope with that knowledge that the lessons distributed from the north will be understood and welcomed everywhere.

The Pacts with Estonia and Latvia

Mutual Declarations Securing Complete Independence of Both Baltic States

10 Year Non-Aggression Pact

On June 6 the Estonian Foreign Minister, M. Selters, arrived in Berlin for the purpose of concluding the pact of non-aggression negotiated with Germany. The following morning, June 7, M. Munters, the Latvian Foreign Minister, arrived for the same purpose. The German-Estonian and German-Latvian Pacts of Non-Aggression were formally signed in Berlin on June 7.

Subsequent to the signing of the pacts an exchange of views was held between the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Estonian and Latvian foreign ministers in the Foreign Office.

The wish was unanimously expressed that the German-Estonian and German-Latvian relations be further deepened. It was emphasised on the German side that the Reich Government regarded the political independence of Estonia and Latvia as an important element for the securing of peace in East Europe, and that it was, therefore, determined always to respect on its part that political independence.

In the same spirit it was pointed out from the Estonian and Latvian side, on this occasion, to the previously expressed view, that the Estonian and Latvian Governments are resolved to exercise constant care for the maintenance of the political independence of their countries, and to adhere to a policy of strict neutrality.

Text of the Treaties

German-Estonian Pact of Non-Aggression

The text of the German-Estonian Pact of Non-Aggression reads as follows:

The German-Reich Chancellor and the President of the Republic of Estonia, firmly resolved to maintain peace between Germany and Estonia, have agreed to confirm that decision with a State Treaty and have appointed the following as plenipotentiaries

The German Reich Chancellor

the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs Joachim von Ribbentrop

The President of the Republic of Estonia

the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Karl Selter

who, subsequent to the exchange of their plenipotentiary powers, which were in sound and requisite order, agreed upon the following decrees:

Article 1

The German Reich and the Republic of Estonia will never advance the one against the other in the event of a war or any other method of application of force. Should an action such as described in section 1 arise on the part of a third power against one of the contracting partners, the

other contracting partner will not support such an action in any manner.

Article 2

This Treaty is to be ratified and the documents of ratification are to be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible. The Treaty will come into force on the exchange of the documents of ratification and are valid from then on for a period of ten years. If notice is not given at least one year before the termination of that period by one or the other contracting partner the duration of validity for the treaty will be extended for a further ten years. The same is valid for the subsequent periods.

The Treaty, however, will not remain in force any longer than the corresponding treaty signed to-day between Germany and Latvia. Should the treaty cease to be in force before the point of time ensuing from section 2, the German Government and the Estonian Government at the request of one party will immediately enter upon negotiations on the renewal of the treaty.

As document of this the two plenipotentiary powers have signed this treaty. Completed in duplicate in German and Estonian in Berlin on June 7, 1939.

(signed) Joachim von Ribbentrop

(signed) Karl Selter

Signature Protocol

Upon the signing of the German-Estonian Treaty to-day the agreement of both parties has been settled on the following: There is no support rendered by the contracting partner, not participating in the conflict, in the sense of Article 1 Section 2 of the Treaty, if the procedure of that partner is in accord with the general rules of neutrality. If the normal exchange of goods and transit of goods is continued between the contracting partner, not participating in the conflict, and the third power, that is not to be regarded as inadmissible support.

Berlin, June 7, 1939.

(signed) Joachim von Ribbentrop.

(signed) Karl Selter.

Text of the German-Latvian Pact of Non-Aggression

The text of the German-Latvian Pact of Non-Aggression reads as follows:

The German Reich Chancellor and the President of the Republic of Latvia, firmly resolved to maintain peace between Germany and Latvia, have agreed to confirm that decision with a State Treaty and have appointed the following as plenipotentiaries

The German Reich Chancellor

the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs

Joachim von Ribbentrop

The President of the Republic of Latvia

the Minister for Foreign Affairs, V. Munters.

who, subsequent to the exchange of their plenipotentiary powers, agreed upon the following decrees:

Article 1

The German Reich and the Republic of Latvia will never advance the one against the other in the event of a war or any other method of application of force. Should an action such as described in section 1 arise on the part of a third power against one of the contracting partners, the other contracting partner will not support such an action in any manner.

Article 2

This Treaty is to be ratified and the documents of ratification are to be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible. The Treaty will come into force on the exchange

of the documents of ratification and are valid from then on for a period of ten years. If notice is not given at least one year before the termination of that period by one or the other contracting partner the duration of validity for the treaty will be extended for a further ten years. The same is valid for the subsequent periods.

The Treaty, however, will not remain in force an longer than the corresponding treaty signed to-day between Germany and Estonia. Should the treaty cease to be in force before the point of time ensuing from section 2, the German Government and the Latvian Government at the request of one party will immediately enter upon negotiations on the renewal of the treaty.

As document of this the two plenipotentiary powers have signed this treaty. Completed in duplicate in German and Latvian in Berlin on June 7, 1939.

(signed) Joachim von Ribbentrop
(signed) V. Munters

Signature Protocol

Upon the signing of the German-Latvian Treaty to-day the agreement of both parties has been settled on the following: There is no support rendered by the contracting partner, not participating in the conflict, in the sense of Article 1 Section of the Treaty, if the procedure of that partner is in accord with the general rules of neutrality. If the normal exchange of goods and transit of goods is continued between the contracting partner, not participating in the conflict, and the third power, that is not to be regarded as inadmissible support.

Berlin, June 7, 1939.

(signed) Joachim von Ribbentrop.
(signed) V. Munters.

Danish-German Pact

Text of Treaty

The non-aggression Pact between Germany and Denmark which was signed in Berlin on May 31 is a brief document consisting of a preamble and two articles.

The preamble states that the German Reich Chancellor and the King of Denmark and of Iceland are firmly resolved in all circumstances to maintain peace between Germany and Denmark. The two articles read:—

Article 1

The German Reich and the Kingdom of Denmark will in no circumstances resort to war or to any other form of violence against each other.

Should a third party take action of the kind designated in Paragraph 1 against one of the parties to the Pact, the other party to the Pact will in no way support such action.

Article 2

This Pact shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible. The Pact comes into force with the exchange of the instruments of ratification and is valid from then on for a period of ten years. The Pact may be renewed for another ten years, if notice to that effect is given by one of the parties to the Pact not later than a year from the expiry of the first term. The same holds for further renewals.

An explanatory protocol relating to Paragraph 2 of Article I states that if the party to the Pact not involved in a conflict continues to trade with the third

party mentioned in that article, it shall not be regarded as giving the third party inadmissible support.

Germany and Lithuania

Lithuanian Declaration on the Non-Aggression Clause in its Pact with the Reich

The Lithuanian Propaganda Office gave the following *communiqué* to the Press after the conclusion of the German-Lithuanian Treaty¹⁾:

„The Treaty between Lithuania and Germany on the cession of the Memel Territory is thoroughly discussed in public. Special interest is devoted to the section in the treaty in which both States bind themselves neither to resort to force, the one against the other, nor to support a third State, should the latter direct its power against Lithuania or against Germany.

„Lithuania has always aimed at developing peaceful relations with its Western neighbour State, and the renunciation expressed in the treaty of the application of force can but support its peace policy. That section of the treaty is moreover in perfect accord with Lithuania's policy of neutrality. Lithuania is a small State and does not desire to intervene in the conflicts of other states, and to remain quite apart from them. The treaty must be estimated as a favourable factor for the independence and security of Lithuania.“

German-Lithuanian Trade Treaties

On May 20 the German-Lithuanian trade treaties were signed in the Foreign Office by the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Urbsys, and by the German and Lithuanian delegation leaders, Norkaitis, of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry, and Dr. Schnure, of the German Foreign Office. The agreements had been the subject of the negotiations which had been conducted for some weeks in Berlin.

The treaties signed are concerned first of all with the settlement of economic relations between Germany and Lithuania, proved necessary after the reunion of the Memelland with the Reich, and then with the establishment of the Lithuanian freeharbour zone in Memel, the outlines of which were set down in the German-Lithuanian State Treaty of March 22 on the reincorporation of the Memel territory. The negotiations were conducted in a friendly spirit and with complete understanding for the economic interests of the other treaty partner, so that it was possible in a comparatively short time to reach a comprehensive and permanent settlement on both sides.

The validity of the economic treaty, to which is annexed a payments agreement and an agreement upon the lesser border traffic, is for two years' duration. In the goods turnover between Germany and Lithuania due consideration could be given to the upward trend, noted since 1936, of the exchange of goods on both sides, which corresponds to the natural complementary — and development — possibilities of both countries. Complete agreement could also be attained in the financial questions arising from the reunion of the Memel territory with the Reich.

Lithuania receives as free-harbour, in the form provided for in the treaty of March 22, 1939, two free-harbour zones with the depots belonging to them in the Memel harbour, which will assure a smooth development and further progress of Lithuanian transit trade. For a later date a new Lithuanian free harbour, 3 km. south of the town of Memel, has been considered, the establishment of which has been taken over by the Reich. The further examination of that plan has been entrusted to a special Lithuanian-German commission. Special regulations have

¹⁾ cf. News in Brief, 1939, Nr. 3/4, page 39.

been agreed upon for important Lithuanian undertakings in Memel which serve the Lithuanian transit trade.

Permanent Good Neighbourly Relations

Subsequent to the signing of the trade treaties between Germany and Lithuania the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, conducted detailed conversations with the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Urbsys. The exchange of views resulted in the fact that the economic questions existing between the two countries were solved to the complete satisfaction of both parties.

At the same time both foreign ministers stated with satisfaction that thereby a further foundation had been created for a lasting good-neighbourly relationship between both countries.

* * *

On May 21 the Führer received, in the presence of the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Urbsys, accompanied by the Lithuanian Ambassador, Skirpa, who were in Berlin for the purpose of signing the German-Lithuanian trade agreements.

Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, on German-Lithuanian Relations

On the occasion of the signing of the German-Lithuanian trade treaties Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, granted the representative of the

Lithuanian news agency, Elta, Dr. Treiguts, an interview on the conclusion of the treaties between Germany and Lithuania. On the question of the political relations between the Reich and Lithuania, the Reich Foreign Minister commented as follows:

"Following upon the settlement of the Memel question there are no divergences between Germany and Lithuania. On the contrary! In future Germany and Lithuania can complement each other in every direction. Germany as the great consumer of Europe can take over a considerable section of Lithuania's production.

"On the other hand Lithuania can cover all its needs for industrial productions in Germany. The trade treaty concluded to-day forms a significant basis for that close economic cooperation between the two States.

"The agreement on the Memel harbour is a further basis for the future economic cooperation of both States. While the open Memel question poisoned the relations between our two countries for years, the country on the Memel will — I am convinced of this — now be a connecting link between the German and the Lithuanian people, for nothing is more suited for the purpose of securing lasting good relations between the two countries than this gateway to the Baltic Sea at the disposal of both economic systems.

"Moreover, the political relations between Germany and Lithuania have been secured by our treaty of March 22, which excludes every form of force between the two countries. But, beyond that I would like to say that Germany desires an increasingly deeper friendly relationship of the two countries, and may all the people in Kovno know that Lithuania can rely more and more upon the friendship of Germany!"

German-Italian Pact of Friendship and Alliance

The Conclusion of a Comprehensive Italo- German Pact

Result of the Milan Meeting

On May 6 and 7, the foreign ministers of Germany and Italy, met in Milan for a comprehensive examination and discussion of the present European situation subsequent to the conclusion of the Anglo-Polish guarantee-agreement. On this occasion the two ministers agreed, after consultation with their respective heads of state, to announce the conclusion of an Italo-German Pact of Friendship and Alliance.

The "*Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*" sent the following official report from Milan on May 7: —

The Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, and the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Ciano, have carefully examined the political situation during their talks in Milan on May 6 and 7. They have established anew the complete agreement of views of their Governments in every direction and have decided to express the close connection of both nations in a comprehensive political and military pact.

Both Axis Powers have been stimulated therein by the conviction that they will thereby contribute in an effective manner to the securing of peace in Europe.

A Contribution to the Securing of Peace

The "*Deutsche Dienst*" writes as follows on the conclusion of the Italo-German Pact:

After a thorough examination of the present political situation inside and outside of Europe the Foreign Ministers of both Axis Powers have concluded a political and military pact during their two-day meeting in Milan, the scope of which cannot be too highly estimated, and which is of historic significance.

This pact is the logical continuation of the policy of the Duce and of the Führer and corresponds to the will and the sentiments of both peoples. In documenting the destined unity of the Powers of order, it gives a crushing contradiction to all the malicious inventions of the foreign agitator-press, which has not only dared often enough to doubt the mutuality of the political direction of both Governments, but which has, beyond that, never ceased to cast doubt upon the solidarity of the two nations.

The conclusion of the Italo-German political and military pact is first of all a new constructive contribution towards the maintenance and securing of the peace of Europe against all attempts of the war-mongers to destroy that peace through the medium of fear-psychosis, threat and extortion in order to bend the will of the Axis Powers for the construction of a new order in Europe.

The result of the historic Milan meeting is a decisive blow against the aggressive encirclement policy which England and France, with the cooperation of certain third States, have long been carrying on against the Powers of the Axis.

The Führer had already declared clearly and unequivocally to the world in his Wilhelmshaven speech that Germany alone had the right to interpret when a one-sided encirclement against Germany actually existed.

The speech of the Polish Foreign Minister gave Germany and Italy no cause to revise their conceptions of the character of that policy which London and Paris are trying to persuade themselves is a defensive one.

The act in Milan is the most effective step wherewith to strongly oppose those diplomatic, economic and military efforts towards encirclement. Here too—as in the non-aggression pact negotiations with Latvia and Esthonia pending conclusion—the Axis has proved itself an instrument of peace.

The result of Milan is the success of the constructive will of the Axis Powers, which is expressed in deed and not in empty words, such as we heard recently from beyond the ocean. Here, under the cloak of bringing happiness to the world, and prompted solely by the desire to frighten the smaller and medium-sized nations, who do not feel in the slightest degree threatened by Germany, in order to derive political advantages from the necessary pressure of nerves; advantages which serve neither peace nor security in Europe.

The Italo-German Pact is an invincible buffer against all dangerous attempts of the war-mongers to plunge Europe and the world into disaster.

The German Foreign Minister on the Italo-German Pact

During his sojourn in the Villa d'Este on Lake Como, Reich Minister von Ribbentrop received the Milan representative of the "*Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*" the day after the publication of the conclusion of the Italo-German political and military pact. The Reich Minister expressed his satisfaction with the enthusiastic reception prepared for him in Milan as ambassador of the Führer. He commented as follows on the actual pact:

"I believe that our peoples can look to the future with confidence.

"The pact of alliance which Count Ciano and I have concluded on behalf of the Duce and the Führer is but the logical key of a position which has in reality existed for years. It signifies actually nothing new. But for those juristical word-twisters, quill-drivers and the war mongers who repeatedly deliver their oracles, we have made an outwardly visible conclusion, too, in order to show the world finally the character of our relations, and that neither lies nor insinuations nor mischief-making can impair the solidarity of our two nations."

The Reich Minister then spoke of the historic greatness of our times, and said: "Often in history there have been epochs in which two brilliant men have lived at the same time. But they were usually adversaries. For the first time in history we find now two men of genius who destine the fate of their peoples together.

"That is the immeasurable good fortune of both our nations. The democratic world may take cognizance of the fact that the friendship between Mussolini and Hitler is indestructible, and that both their peoples stand united behind them with the same sentiments.

"The democracies may also know that these two men and their two peoples want peace, but that they are likewise prepared to defend that peace and their independence together.

"Germany and Italy are armed and undefeatable against any and every attack."

Text of the Treaty

Signature Ceremony in Berlin

On May 22 the Pact of Friendship and Alliance drawn up between Italy and Germany in Milan was signed by the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, and by the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, in the New Reich Chancery in Berlin. The Führer was present for the signature ceremony.

The text of the Pact reads as follows:

Pact of Friendship and Alliance between Germany and Italy

The German Reich Chancellor and his Majesty the King of Italy and Albania, Emperor of Ethiopia, hold the time to have come to strengthen the friendly and homogeneous relationship between National-Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy through a solemn pact.

Now that a bridge for mutual help and support has been created through the common frontier fixed for all time, both Governments testify anew to the policy, which in its principle and aims has already been agreed upon by them, and which has proved successful for the promotion of the interests of the two countries as well as for the securing of peace in Europe. Firmly united through the inner affinity of their *Weltanschauung* and the comprehensive solidarity of their interests, the German and Italian nations are determined in future also to act side by side and with united forces for the securing of their living space and the maintenance of peace.

Along this path, marked out for them by history, Germany and Italy, in the midst of a world of unrest and destruction, want to serve the task of maintaining the principles of European civilization.

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In order to settle these principles in treaty form, the German Chancellor has appointed the Reich Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and His Majesty, the King of Italy and Albania, Kaiser of Ethiopia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Galeazzo Ciano di Cortellazzo, as plenipotentiary powers, who have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I

The contracting parties will remain in standing contact with each other in order to come to an understanding on all questions touching common interests of the European situation as a whole.

Article II

Should the common interests of the contracting parties be endangered by international events of any kind whatsoever, they will immediately enter into discussions over the measures to be taken for the protection of these interests.

If the security or vital interests of one of the contracting parties be threatened from outside, the other will give the threatened party full political and diplomatic support in order to set aside this threat.

Article III

If, contrary to the wishes and hopes of the contracting parties, it should happen that one of them is involved in hostilities with another Power or Powers, the other contracting party will come immediately to its side as ally and support it with all its military forces on land, sea, and in the air.

Article IV

In order to secure the speedy execution of the alliance obligations undertaken in Article 3, the Governments of the two contracting parties will intensify their collaboration in the military field, and the field of war economy. In the same way the two Governments will, from time to time, reach agreement on other measures necessary for

the practical execution of this Pact. For this purpose standing commissions will be set up which will be under the direction of the two Foreign Ministers.

Article V

The contracting parties undertake now that in the event of a war conducted in common they will conclude an armistice and peace only in full agreement with each other.

Article VI

The two contracting parties are aware of the significance which attaches to their own relations to the States with which they have friendly relations. They are resolved to maintain these relations in future and to shape accordingly the harmonious interests through which they are bound with these Powers.

Article VII

This pact comes into force immediately upon signature. The two contracting parties have agreed that the first period of its validity should be fixed at 10 years. In due time, before the expiry of this period, they will reach agreement over the extension of the validity of the pact.

As document of this the plenipotentiaries have signed this Pact and set their seal to it.

Completed in duplicate form, in German and Italian, both have the same validity.

Berlin, May 22, 1939.

XVII Year of the Fascist Era.

(signed) Joachim von Ribbentrop

(signed) Galeazzo Ciano

Broadcast Addresses by Count Ciano and Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop

After the Führer had left the hall in which the signing of the treaty had taken place, Count Ciano and Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop announced the conclusion of the pact of friendship and alliance between Germany and Italy on all German and Italian transmitters.

Count Ciano

The following is the text of the Italian Foreign Ministers broadcast:

"The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance concluded to-day defines and confirms that deep bond of spirit and work which exists between National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy in clearly outlined political and military obligations.

"The two great nations revived and strengthened by the genius and will of the Führer and the Duce, have placed themselves at the lead of European history in order that the foundations of Europe's thousand-years' culture may be retained, and they unite to-day, as a guarantee for the principles of order and justice in a world which is in process of disintegration, in an imperishable bloc of strength, will and interest.

"The Agreements of the Pact of Alliance are so unequivocal in their brevity and clarity they need no commentary. Their nature corresponds to the honest candour which characterises the Italo-German relations. The will which they express is the will of two nations deeply aware of the kindred nature of their fates.

"It is a great joy for me to see my name joined with that of Reich Minister von Ribbentrop's on this document. In this document which, in the same

manner in which it seals the work achieved by Germany and Italy up to now, also marks the long way in the pursuit of which both our nations will march together in future with their 150 million workers, citizens and soldiers, inspired by the wish to maintain peace, always their highest goal, simultaneously, however, firmly determined with unbending resolution to defend their imprescriptible rights of life and progress.

Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop

Foreign Minister Ribbentrop's broadcast announcement reads as follows:

"At the beginning of May the Führer and the Duce resolved to express the close connection between their two nations by concluding a comprehensive political and military pact of alliance. The Italian Foreign Minister and I, to the accompaniment of Upper Italy's jubulations, which prepared a triumphant reception for the Führer's Ambassador, and with the consent of the whole of the Italian people, confirmed that decision of the Heads of Government with a hand shake in Milan.

"To-day just two weeks later, the whole of the German nation welcomes with the same enthusiasm the Ambassador of the Duce, Count Ciano, who has now signed the Pact of Alliance with me. That historic act is the conclusion of a development, which, arising from the inner similarity in character of the National Socialist and Fascist revolutions, has led to a close community of interests and deep unity of the two nations, which grows increasingly near. Germany and Italy are now an indissoluble community.

"The world must come to an understanding with that fact. No power on earth, no inimical gesture, no agitation can change anything here. If democratic war-mongers attempt to invent the most complicated and ambiguous pact systems in order to encircle Germany and Italy, this Pact of Alliance is a decisive answer to that.

"Its language is clear and sure of aim, in accordance with our manner of thinking. In future the two nations will stand together, whatever may come, always prepared to stretch out the hand of peace to a friend, but firmly determined to protect and secure their vital rights together.

"A hundred and fifty million Germans and Italians form with their friends in the world a bloc which is invincible. Every German and Italian is proud to belong to that indissoluble community of struggle under the leadership of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini."

Press Statements of the Two Foreign Ministers

Subsequent to the signing ceremony of the Italo-German Pact of Alliance the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, and the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, in the presence of the Italian delegation and members of the Italian Embassy in Berlin, and of members of the Press department of the Foreign Office, gave the following statements to the representatives of the German and foreign Press:

Count Ciano's statement reads as follows:

"The pact which Herr von Ribbentrop and I have signed today on behalf of our Governments, represents clearly the complete political and military solidarity of Germany and Italy. Its stipulations are categorical. The spirit which inspires them is the spirit inherent in the ethical laws of Facism, as the Duce framed them in his historic speech on

the Maifeld on September 28, 1937: "To be friends, and being friends, to march together to the end."

"Italo-German relations have been in accordance with those laws in the past and will remain so in the future. Both countries and both peoples now form an indestructible bloc, closely moulded by the kindred nature of their conceptions, the existence of a common frontier settled for all time, their community of interests and by the perfect accord of their policy."

"The Pact of to-day gives to the historic fact of that firm unity the form of clearly defined obligations between the two States."

"The Alliance concluded by Italy and Germany is without mental or other reservations. Its bases, decrees and aims are clearly expressed. It is simultaneously a pact of permanent political cooperation and absolute military collaboration."

"The National Socialist and Fascist Governments had in view during the negotiations and at the conclusion of the agreement the maintenance of the peace of Europe. I do not need to repeat what the Duce has often had the opportunity of saying of late, viz., that Italy wants to continue, above all, its work and cultural development."

"There are in Europe neither problems which cannot be solved with good will and justice, nor are there reasons to justify a war, which would develop naturally from a European to a world war. That is how Italy thinks, and that is how Germany thinks too."

"Just as in the common wish for peace, our two countries are also at one in the determination to demand that the knots be cut which still throttle the life of Europe, and in the firm resolution to unite their forces, their will and their fate — in peace as in war — in order to form a front against every attempt to threaten the security of their living space or to attack the vital development and working interests of their peoples. For those interests, according to our conceptions, cannot be separated and must be represented and defended by us in indissoluble community."

The German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop spoke as follows:

"The Axis Berlin-Rome, which came into existence years ago as a result of the common defence of Germany and Italy against the exploiters of the Versailles status quo and as a result of the determination of both States to create a just peace for the continent of Europe, has again stood the test."

"Thus, the signing of the Italo-German Pact of Alliance to-day, two weeks after its conclusion in Milan by the Foreign Minister of the Duce and the Foreign Minister of the Führer in Berlin, does not signify in any way a new era in the policy of Germany and Italy, the Governments of both countries have drawn the logical conclusion to a perfectly natural evolution."

"The similar aims of National Socialism and of Fascism are bound to lead the countries naturally to an ever closer community of interests and an ever deeper unity. To-day's treaty which pronounces in a comprehensive form the will of both nations to master their future together, aims at nothing other than to establish before the world in documentary form what has long been living political reality."

"Ever since Germany and Italy have shaken off the fetters of the Versailles and Geneva systems and construct their policy instead of on unreal ideologies exclusively upon the strength of their newly arisen empires, the so-called democracies have redoubled their efforts to reduce both powers to dependence again and, of late, even to encircle them. At the same time it has been repeatedly attempted on the part of those countries to play the axis partners one against the other, even to split the axis."

"Despite all the disappointments which the clear policy and the unshakable cooperation of the Powers of order prepared for the democratic intriguers, those politicians have repeatedly brought up wild speculations on a possible break in the axis. That game is supposed to cover up the lack of positive political success on their own side."

"In contrast to all those illusions and intrigues the new pact establishes in a dignified manner beyond all doubt

and misconception the unbreakable solidarity of the united 150 million people under the unique historic leadership of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini."

"While the encirclement policy of the democratic governments is directed in a veiled manner or openly against Germany and Italy, the new Pact Berlin-Rome threatens nobody. The pact policy of our opponents is an irresponsible play with war and with war panic, and attempts are made to provoke whole sections of the earth one against the other in increasingly daring combinations, while the new Pact serves the securing of peace against such dangerous threats."

"While the aims of the encirclement policy are purely negative, serving the maintenance of an old injustice in order to withhold from Germany and Italy that place in the world which is due to them and that share of the goods of the world which is owing to them, the ideals of the Powers of order are positive and creative: they desire peace, but a just peace, in order to secure for their peoples and for the whole of Europe, and, in the long run, for the world, the blessings of a lasting and firmly founded order."

"Both Governments are firmly convinced that there is no single problem in Europe which cannot be solved with good will on all sides in a peaceful manner. But they are at the same time firmly resolved not to retreat one step before the threat of force, and to defend the vital rights of their people with all their power and all the means at their disposal. None in the world can doubt any longer on the indissoluble and destined unity of the Greater German Reich with the Italian Empire, nor can any other interpretation be given to it, nor can it be upset."

"Any intervention in Italian or German rights will in future meet with the united forces of both countries. Every inch of German soil and every inch of Italian soil will be immediately defended by both German and Italian soldiers. Germany and Italy with their powerful and loyal friends in the world form a powerful and invincible bloc of 300 million people, who are prepared to stretch the hand of friendship to everyone, but are likewise determined to destroy every enemy with their combined forces."

Exchange of Telegrams Berlin—Rome

On the occasion of the signing of the Italo-German Pact of Friendship and Alliance the Führer sent the following telegram to His Majesty, King Victor Emanuel, King of Italy and Albania and Kaiser of Ethiopia:

"Our two Foreign Ministers, plenipotentiaries, have just signed the Italo-German Pact of Friendship and Alliance. In this historic hour I would like to express to Your Majesty my deep satisfaction that our two peoples are bound together in unshakable friendship and community of destiny."

Adolf Hitler."

King Victor Emanuel replied with the following telegram:

"On the occasion of the signing of the treaty which was concluded by our two Governments to-day, I feel it my bounden duty to send you an expression of my genuine sentiments, as allied partner and friend, and my sincere wishes for your person and for the prosperity and greatness of your country, which is bound with Italy by the indestructible bond of a deep community, of interests and decisions."

Victor Emanuel."

The Führer also sent the following telegram to the Duce:

"Duce!

"In this historic hour in which the Italo-German Pact of Friendship and Alliance was signed under the enthusiastic rejoicing of the whole of the German people, it is my bounden duty to express to Your Excellency my great

joy concerning the fact that the inseparable community of Fascist Italy and of National Socialist Germany has now been established in a solemn treaty.

"The world will now recognize that all hopes of weakening the Axis are now in vain. Germany and Italy, a bloc of 150,000,000, will always stand together, to defend the sacred inheritance of civilization and secure a peace based on justice.

Adolf Hitler."

The Duce replied with the following telegram:

"To-day, when the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance concluded between National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy seals the intellectual and actual solidarity which unites our two peoples, I would like to offer you my hearty greetings and best wishes for you and for the future of Germany.

"The indissoluble unity of our wills and our forces is the securest foundation for peace and the advancement of our united nations, which are moulded together for

present and past by the firm bond of the oath of loyalty which they have exchanged to-day.

Mussolini."

* * *

A Telegram from the Japanese Government

On the occasion of the conclusion of the Italo-German Pact of Alliance the Japanese Government sent the following telegram to the Reich Government:

"The Japanese Government is permeated by the firm conviction that the conclusion of the Pact of Friendship and Alliance between the Italian and German nations, close friends of Japan, deepening further the existing close connections between the two countries, gives a firm support to the extremely uncertain European situation, and thereby a highly valuable contribution to the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

"In this spirit the Japanese Government affords its heartiest wishes to this world historic event."

Germany's Relations with Rumania, Jugoslavia and Hungary

The Rumanian Foreign Minister in Berlin

The German-Rumanian Trade Treaty as Factor of Rapprochement

On April 18 and 19 the Rumanian Foreign Minister, Gafencu, stopped in Berlin during his tour which took him later to Brussels, London, Paris and Rome. On April 20 he took part in a private capacity in the celebrations for the Führer's fiftieth birthday. On April 18 the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, gave a dinner in honour of the Rumanian Foreign Minister.

On the occasion of the dinner the Reich Foreign Minister held the following speech:

"It is an honour and a pleasure for me to welcome you to the capitol of the German Reich. I greet you as the representative of the Rumanian nation and as the ambassador of His Majesty, King Carol II. of Rumania.

"Your presence affords us the opportunity for a candid exchange of opinions, and I am convinced that that will contribute to the extending and deepening of the existing friendly relations between our nations. The complementary interests of the two countries as well as the flourishing cooperation in economic spheres justify the best hopes for the future.

"In this spirit I raise my glass to the health of His Majesty the King and to the happiness and prosperity of the Rumanian people and to the personal well-being of Your Excellency."

* * *

The Rumanian Foreign Minister replied with the following address:

"For the kind words with which you have greeted me I will remain grateful to you, and I would like to express my sincerest gratitude for the friendliness afforded me on my arrival in the capitol of the Reich.

"Bearing in mind the significance of my task and with complete confidence I entered upon my journey to the German Reich, for I do not doubt that it is a duty to work in a responsible position for a still better relationship between our two nations.

"Our trade treaty only recently concluded constructs on the basis of the well-tried experiences of our previous trade relations new and—which is our genuine opinion—at the same time fruitful methods. In the interests of both States and in the general interests of peaceful order we want to

assist that agreement to its full and justified effect by means of our work.

"And in my capacity of Foreign Minister I have been permitted to emphasise the whole spirit of that agreement in mentioning the words with which the Führer of the German people and my King announced their friendly aims.

"In appreciation of the great deeds whereby the German Reich, under its Führer, revived in the social sphere and developed itself so powerfully, I will take this opportunity of raising my glass to the well-being of His Excellency, the Reich Chancellor, to the prosperity and happiness of the German people and to the personal well-being of your Excellency."

The Jugoslav Foreign Minister in Berlin

On April 25 and 26 the recently appointed Jugo-Slav Foreign Minister, Dr. Alexander Cincar-Markovitch, up to that point Jugo-Slav ambassador in Germany, was in Berlin for the purpose of conducting detailed talks with the Führer, the Reich Foreign Minister and with Field Marshall Gen. Goering.

On the occasion of his visit to Berlin the Jugo-Slav Foreign Minister gave the following statement to the "*Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*" for the German Press:

"I am very happy that I have been afforded the opportunity in my capacity as Jugo-Slav Foreign Minister of visiting Berlin on the invitation of the Reich Foreign Minister and of resuming personal contact with the eminent representative of German foreign policy as well as with other leading personalities of the Reich.

"This visit has given me added joy because up till a short while ago I had the great honour and fortune to represent Jugo-Slavia in the German Reich, and because Berlin reminds me of many valuable friendships dear to me which enabled the success of my efforts to deepen the friendly relations between Germany and Jugo-Slavia to their mutual satisfaction. During my three-year sojourn in Germany I had the opportunity of admiring the wonderful rise which Germany has completed in all spheres under the wise and determined leadership of its great Führer.

"Relations of complete trust exist and are developing most favourably between the German Reich and Jugo-Slavia, and they are based as much on good neighbourliness and mutual respect as on mutual interests.

"There is, therefore, no question which cannot be discussed by the responsible representatives of both neigh-

bouring countries in a spirit of confidence in order to serve the deepening of our friendly relations and the work of peace in this section of Europe.

"His Majesty's Government, which devotes all its powers to the maintenance of peace and to the well-being of the people, lays great stress on these relations and will cultivate them most carefully.

"I take this opportunity with gratitude in order to bring to the foreground how much the German Press has contributed on its part, with its deep and exact knowledge of the interests on both sides, towards the development of the German-Jugo-Slavian friendship and towards the relations of confidence which exist so happily between both the countries."

Hungarian State Visit

The Hungarian Premier and Foreign Minister in Berlin

On April 29 the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Teleki, and Countess Teleki, accompanied by the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Csaky, and the members of their staff, arrived in Berlin for a several days visit.

The Hungarian Statesmen were met by the Foreign Minister of the Reich and his wife, Frau von Ribbentrop.

On that same day the Führer received the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Teleki, and the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Csaky, for a lengthy discussion at the New Reich Chancery. The Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, and the Hungarian Ambassador, Szotay, as well as the German Ambassador in Budapest, von Erdmannsdorff, also took part in the reception.

Previous to the reception by the Führer the Hungarian statesmen, together with the Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin, Sztojay, had talked with Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, in the presence of Secretary of State Weizsäcker. During the talks all the questions touching Germany and Hungary were discussed candidly and in detail.

The talks, which were conducted with exceptional friendliness, resulted in complete agreement upon the conceptions of the political situation and attested the firm friendship between the two countries.

After the reception in the Reich Chancery the Hungarian Prime Minister and the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs called upon Field Marshall Gen. Goering. Whereupon the Hungarian guests were received by the Führer's deputy, Reich Minister Rudolf Hess. Towards 7 p. m. the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, visited the Hungarian statesmen at the Adlon Hotel.

Exchange of Toasts

On April 31 the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, and Frau von Ribbentrop gave a dinner in honour of the Hungarian statesmen.

During the course of the evening von Ribbentrop delivered the following speech to his Hungarian guests:

"It is an honour and a pleasure for me, Your Excellency, to proffer the heartiest greetings to you, to your wife and to the Hungarian Foreign Minister in the capitol of the German Reich. The German people who know their bond with the valiant Hungarian nation receives you with warmest sympathy.

"The past years and the most recent events have made our well-tested friendship even more firm. With especial

satisfaction I reflect upon the return of those spheres which were torn from Hungary with the violation of every form of justice. New bonds have been linked with Germany and the Powers friendly to it through that precedent and through the entry of Hungary to the Anti-Comintern Pact. The cooperation which is based upon mutual steadfast trust will develop in an increasingly beneficial manner in the interests of both our peoples and will always be a security for peace in its close connection with allied Italy."

* * *

The Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Teleki, replied:

"Above all I would like to thank you most heartily for your heartfelt words and for the very friendly reception which has been afforded us on German soil, for myself and on behalf of my wife and of Count Csaky.

"It is an especial pleasure for us to be able to pay a visit to Berlin and to give in this way expression to the sympathy and respect which the Hungarian people have for the great and powerful German people.

"It is an experience for every Hungarian to come to the German Reich and to be able to admire the uniquely amazing achievements of the National Socialist Reich and of its great Führer in the sphere of culture, social well-being and the development of national power.

"The age-old friendship between our peoples has always been a decisive element of our thousand-year state existence, and Hungary's deep friendship to the German nation based upon that was but strengthened by the events of recent times in the feeling of genuine gratitude when we regained those spheres of our old Kingdom with the cooperation and support of our allied friends in the Rome-Berlin Axis, spheres, the immutable kinship of which with the Hungarian people, even after 20 years of foreign sovereignty, was fully confirmed.

"The Hungarian Government is firmly determined to continue that policy of close contact and trust with the Axis Powers and is gladly prepared to cooperate with all who are inspired with that same peaceful and friendly spirit.

"I thank you especially for the expression of unshakeable trust which to counter with equally solid trust."

Prince Paul of Yugoslavia in Berlin

Confirmation of Friendly Collaboration with Germany

Prince Paul of Yugoslavia and his Consort, Princess Olga, accompanied by M. Cincar-Markovitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, arrived in Berlin on June 1 for an eight days' state-visit. They were met on their arrival by the Führer who was accompanied by Field-Marshal General Goering, Frau Goering and the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, as well as leading members of Party, State and of the Armed Forces.

The Royal guests were conducted to the renovated Schloss Bellevue, where they resided during their stay in Berlin, after having inspected the guard of honour drawn from the army, air force and navy. The Führer left his guests at the Schloss and returned to the New Reich Chancery, where he was visited an hour later by the Prince Regent.

That same evening the Führer gave a state banquet in the Prince's honour. Those present at the banquet included, besides the Prince Regent and Princess Paul, M. Cincar-Markovitch, the Foreign Minister, M. Antitch, the Court Minister, and Dr. Andritch, the Yugoslav Minister in Berlin. The German guests included Field-Marshal Goering, Baron von Neurath, Herr

von Ribbentrop, the members of the Reich Cabinet and the service chiefs, heads of the armed forces, and senior officers of the armed forces.

Exchange of Toasts

During the course of the banquet the Führer proposed the health of the Prince Regent with the following address:

"Your Royal Highness, it is a great honour and a pleasure for me to be able to welcome Your Royal Highness, Prince Regent of Yugoslavia, and Your Royal Highness, Princess Olga, in the capitol of the Reich. I welcome you, too, on behalf of the whole German nation, which is filled with the sentiment of genuine friendship for His Majesty, King Peter II., for your Fatherland and the Yugoslav people.

"German friendship for Yugoslavia is not only a spontaneous friendship. It received its depth and its power to endure in the tragic confusion of the Great War. The German soldier then learned to esteem and respect his extraordinarily brave opponent. I believe the reverse also happened. This mutual respect found its confirmation in common political, cultural, and economic interests. In the present visit, therefore, not only do we see a living proof of the rightness of our feeling, but from it we also derive the hope that German-Yugoslav friendship will develop further and become ever greater.

"In the presence of Prince Paul we see, too, a happy opportunity for an open and friendly exchange of views, an exchange which—of that I am convinced—can only be fruitful to both nations and both States. I believe that all the more since, now that through historical events Germany and Yugoslavia have become neighbours with a common frontier determined for ever, a firmly founded confidence between them will not only ensure lasting peace for both nations and both countries, but beyond that it can also represent an element of appeasement for our nervously excited continent.

"That peace, however, is the aim of all those, who are really determined to carry out constructive work.

"It is my hope that Your Royal Highness will obtain a graphic picture of the constructive work, the desire for work and peace of the German people, which has no other aim than to approach a secure future under guarantee of the bases of its existence and its natural rights through untiring work. You may be assured that Germany and its Government accompany the path of progress which Yugoslavia has so successfully pursued in accordance with King Alexander's will with genuine sympathy. In this spirit I raise my glass to the health of His Majesty, King Peter II., to the personal happiness of Your Royal Highness, and Your Royal Highness, Princess Olga, to the prosperity of your Regency and to the well-being of the Yugoslav people."

The Prince's Reply

Prince Paul, in reply, expressed his appreciation of the warm welcome which he had received from the Führer.

"It is equally pleasant to me," he continued "to perceive the obvious friendliness and warmth which I have met in my contact with Your Excellency—under whose determined leadership and constant direction the German nation is realising one of the most brilliant epochs in its history—and in my association with the important statesmen of the Reich.

"The Yugoslav people have learned to appreciate all those qualities of the German nation which have led it to its unity and to the powerful development of its spirit and culture. In their struggle for unity and in their efforts to build up their own culture the Yugoslav people have also found in Germany and still find to-day a splendid example of national discipline, order, labour, and joy in creation. Thanks to a proper view of the vital interests of the two neighbour peoples, relations between Yugoslavia and Germany, as well as friendly contacts between the two countries, were finally determined years ago.

"This visit of mine is likewise a demonstration of the determined will of the Yugoslav nation to live and collaborate with the German nation in an atmosphere of peace and friendship. Therefore I am glad that, in the words of your Excellency, there are expressed once more the solemn assurances that the Great German Reich also wishes to establish and confirm friendly collaboration with Yugoslavia, in that it recognizes Yugoslavia's freedom and independence as well as the frontiers which, since last year, bind us in lasting neighbourliness. Thus I see not only conditions for a favourable development of still closer bonds between Germany and Yugoslavia, but also an appreciable contribution to the consolidation of peace in this part of Europe.

"With these sentiments I raise my glass to the personal fortune of Your Excellency and to the well-being of the friendly and great German nation."

* * *

The programme for the state visit included a military parade and a gala performance in the State Opera on June 2, a visit to Potsdam and the tomb of Frederic the Great, and the inspection of some military airports.

Important Factor for the Pacification of Europe

On June 5 the Prince Regent and his Consort were entertained by the Führer at a luncheon and later at tea in the Reich Chancery. The occasion afforded an opportunity for a several hours' talk with Prince Paul. M. Markowitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, and the Reich Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, were present.

The Prince's visit provided an opportunity for a comprehensive exchange of views which touched on all questions affecting both countries.

Both, it is stated, see in the confident friendship and close collaboration which bind Yugoslavia with Germany and Italy an important factor for the pacification of Europe and for a policy which has genuinely constructive work as its objective. Both Governments are firmly resolved to deepen their relations, political, economic, and cultural on this clear and firm foundation. They are in full agreement with the Italian Government that with this clear policy they serve the purpose of setting aside the tension at present burdening Europe and of securing a peaceful development which guarantees the vital rights of the nations.

The Prince Regent and Princess Paul left on June 5 for Dresden, where they spent some little time before proceeding to Karinhall, Field-Marshal Göring's estate on the Schorfheide. At Karinhall they remained until June 8, the end of their eight-day State visit to Germany.

Adolf Hitler — The Statesman

The Führer's 50. Birthday

Adolf Hitler — The Statesman

Baron von Neurath on the Historical Achievements of the Führer

On April 20 the whole German nation celebrated the Führer's 50. birthday as a national holiday. Amongst the numerous honours presented to the Führer on that occasion is included the acknowledgment and appreciation of the Press. The interview given by Baron von Neurath, Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia and President of the Cabinet, to the *Berliner illustrierte Nachtausgabe* on April 19, under the title of "Adolf Hitler — the Statesman", affords a survey of the achievements and the historic mission of the Führer and of the progress of German foreign policy during the six years from 1933.

Excerpts of that interview read as follows:

"That man alone, with the unique, comprehensive, statesmanlike talent of the Führer, accomplished everything. We have advanced from the secondary line of European importance to the decisive European great Power, because Adolf Hitler could act with the confidence of a nation, probably unique in the history of mankind. The successes could be attained because the Führer possesses a sure judgement of men and things, an extraordinary capacity to bide his time and wittingly to select the right moment, because he has amazing courage steeled by much reflection and discussion. ... One could talk for hours on those features alone which were requisite for the achievements of those six years.

"There has scarcely ever been such a time when that unusual measure of statesmanlike qualities was so evenly distributed and adapted to such an extent to the measure of the nation's power. For the Führer understood how to win the people over to his ideas and thus to train with his people the capacities to action in fullest measure.

"We must think over the political development of the past six years", said Baron von Neurath, "then one can more easily understand it. Just think of our position on April 20, 1933. We are still sitting in the League of Nations and in the disarmament conference. All about us there was still the power of the Versailles Dictate, strengthened by the constantly increasing association between democracy and bolshevism. That was expressed already on November 29, 1932, after many diplomatic negotiations, in the Franco-Soviet Pact of Non-Agression, which was directly aimed against a future National Socialist Germany. Then, just as to-day, the aim of the others was to encircle by a union between democracy and bolshevism. For six years the Führer worked against those encirclement intentions, and each plan — some even earlier than intended has been carried out. In a struggle against a world of enemies the foreign political victory of National Socialism was won."

Baron von Neurath referred to many instances in the first years of the foreign political struggle: "Just reflect that in June 1933 Litvinoff could conduct negotiations in the capitol of the Empire, London, with Poland, Rumania, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Lithuania, Estonia, and later with Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia; it was his aim, completely devoid of veils of diplomatic formula, to be able to force the democracies in the League of Nations, to which Russia did not belong, to an attack upon National Socialist Germany, and, at the same time, to incapacitate any attack against Soviet-Russia on account of its bolshevism. The most that could be promised of a possibility of success in German foreign policy before 1933 was to improve in some degree, with the weapon of so-called "reason", Germany's position within the Versailles system.

"Adolf Hitler shot out of a clear sky for the others when he announced, on October 15, 1933, Germany's exit from the League and the disarmament conference. The sentence runs thus: The German Reich Government, the German people are determined that they would rather accept every distress, every persecution and every sort of affliction than sign any more treaties, which must be unacceptable to every honour-loving people, the consequences of which, however, would lead but to a perpetuation of the distress and suffering of the Versailles conditions, and therewith to the collapse of the civilized community of States.

"We were fully aware of the fact that we were going into a voluntary isolation with that programme." Continued von Neurath. "But that was only the first signal. Soon afterwards the first diplomatic action followed. On January 26, 1934, after a very short exchange of views, the pact of agreement between Germany and Poland. Had the others not been blinded by so much democracy, they would have perceived everything in that deed which characterised Adolf Hitler's foreign policy later on. The pact was unpopular, it imposed a great sacrifice upon Poland. Two men made the decision, not interests of parliaments. For the first time since 1919 history was made instead of the perpetuation of the Versailles conditions pursued by the others.

"The pact was something entirely new. It made the others simply curious. In February 1934 Eden came to Berlin to the first time. He wanted to find out to what extent the Führer was still prepared to return into the community of the other States. Even then Eden was not well disposed. England was really concerned with numerous agreements which would later be nothing but paper. She wanted to encircle us with treaties then. That is to be seen most clearly in the Anglo-French Agreement of February 3, 1935, where, if one translates the language of diplomats into practice, it reads that the *Anschluss* with Austria was to be forbidden for ever and that Germany would be permitted to rearm only within the framework of that which the others would allow us if we would become members of the League of Nations again. Moreover, even in that document England's fears concerning the development of Germany's air-force was expressed. You see the problems which are repeatedly debated upon by England to-day and which cause England to do everything wrongly existed even then.

"With the stroke of March 16, 1935, the pronouncement of the reintroduction of conscription again cut the tangled web of all diplomatic repressions. Only he who witnessed that could estimate what nervous power it demanded to tear against the whole world that bond of Versailles, which next to the *Anschluss* was most important to the others. Only an exceptional estimate of the situation could have brought about that result: They will overwhelm us with a flood of threats, with conferences and decisions but they will not attack us. Complete sureness of action alone could have prompted the Führer's brief, five-line reply in a *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro* communiqué after the Conference of Stresa and the resolution of the League of Nations; a reply which proved to the others that we had no intention of bothering about their objections.

"Simultaneously, however, the Führer introduced a peace programme in 13 points in his speech on May 21, 1935. If the others had accepted that offer, they would have been spared at least much nervousness and worry. But they had in the meantime concluded the alliance between Paris, Prague and Moscow. They were not concerned with understanding but with encirclement.

"We, however, continued the policy of peace. On June 18, 1935, the Anglo-German Naval Treaty came into being, again a treaty of sacrifice with the viewpoint that right and justice should be decisive for us, not force. The democracies remained inactive, just as they did when the Führer completed the entry into the demilitarized zone on March 7, 1936. They realised apparently their weakness which revealed itself in the defeat in the sanctions war against

Italy at that time. They perceived, too, the unity of the national socialist and of the fascist revolution and the natural adherence of both States to the policy of the Axis, but they did not act. On the contrary, they promoted the policy of the axis, in that they endeavoured to exert the same pressure on Germany and Italy."

Baron von Neurath again referred to the days of decision upon the occupation of the demilitarised zone: "Many questions can be put afterwards", he said, "but in action there is no room for questions but acts. It is a time for clear and decisive decisions. When troops march, either shots will be fired or the march will be continued. The Führer foresaw that England would do nothing, just as in 1935, that the French generals would not use this last minute for a military blow against Germany, that the unconditional unity of the German people, the justice of our case, the moral weakness of the democracies, and the guilt which the others assumed with the Dictate of Versailles stood in their way. He was so filled with the strength of the German people and the effect issuing from that on the others that he made the decision to march in almost alone. The struggle continued immediately after March 7. England tried, as usual, to reduce us to difficulties through negotiations. Had we given way even in the slightest degree we would have fallen. During the London advisory negotiations Adolf Hitler had to make the courageous decisions which he made on the day before the marching-in day after day.

"On March 31, 1936, the Führer made a new offer. England replied with a counter-enquiry. The Führer then laid down the lines of a completely free policy of the Reich which had now become free: everywhere against bolshevism and with all force! Hence the immediate promise to support Franco, even though, as had been foreseen, the war in Spain would last for several years. Towards the democracies the possibility of negotiations but only on condition of absolute equality of rights for Germany. With Italy a determined policy of the revolutionary community.

"By the end of 1937 the political, military and national basis was created on that foundation for attaining the goal which the Führer had in mind from the very beginning: the *Anschluss* of Austria to the Reich. It is wrong to assume that the power of the newly created German armed forces played a decisive role in the Führer's plan. When he thought of the possibility of the *Anschluss* at the end of 1937, he saw a revolutionary development. The Führer still believed in the possibility of an *Anschluss* without the

application of force against a single person in German Austria. When Schuschnigg, for some incomprehensible reason, announced the plebiscite against the agreement of Berchtesgaden, the Führer mobilised not force but the people. The *Anschluss*, which the Führer formally completed in Linz, grew out of the rejoicing of the German people in Austria.

"Then, however, a new task came. The problem was now do justice to the natural dynamic force of 75 million people. What do people outside our frontiers know of how they with their mobilisation of the Czechs on May 21, 1938, forced the Führer to an action which resulted in their disadvantage and the salvation of the German people? That mobilisation, which was not purely a result of Benes' will, but of the prompting of his friends in London, was an "unprovoked attack" against National Socialist Germany in the truest sense of the usual words of democratic policy. In reply the Führer organised the defence forces by extending rearmament to its highest degree and with the construction of the western fortifications. For months he withheld the attack of the democracies on the lines of defence. The Munich Agreement, too, belongs to the chapter of voluntary acts of understanding on Germany's part towards an attacker. All that followed that agreement in political machinations in Czechoslovakia, everything which followed it in the way of crude threats against Germany and Italy in other States, was but a continuation of the attack of May 21, 1938. That is why we had to prepare ourselves for resistance on a basis which would afford us every material and military possibility. We could no longer suffer the insecurity in Central Europe.

"However, through that attack and the strength which it brought forth in us, we were then in a position to offer all the nations in Central Europe, without in any way encroaching upon their cultural freedom, political and economic advantages. That is how the plan of the Protectorate arose. The positive solution is parallel with the feelings of the peoples in Central Europe and in South East Europe.

"When, one day, research-workers will study the gigantic documentary material on the history of the world during the past six years," concluded Baron von Neurath, "there will be no possibility for error. They will find many documents with many discussions which they can simply lay aside. But in every document which Germany has contributed to history in those years, they will perceive the force, the courage, the brilliant superiority of Adolf Hitler, and the unique historical achievement of one man."

Security of the Reich

The Führer's Tour of Inspection through the Western Fortifications

Western Wall Impassable

The Führer and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces conducted a tour of inspection of the western fortifications of the Reich from May 13 to 19. On concluding his six-day inspection in the district of the western wall of fortifications, the Führer issued the following command:

"Soldiers and Workers of the Western Front!

"My inspection of the western wall has convinced me of its invincibility.

"With me the German people thanks all who have created, with unconditional concentration in the shortest time, the foundation for Germany's security in cement and steel.

"My thanks is due, apart from the soldiers, west-wall workers and labourers, to the frontier population

who have revealed exemplary national socialist community spirit by their willingness to sacrifice.

Adolf Hitler."

* * *

Germany's Fortifications in West and East

The "*Voelkischer Beobachter*" published the following article by Lieut. Col. of the General Staff, von Wedel, on May 21 under the title, "Germany's Fortifications in West and East": —

The German Press has reported on the fact that the Führer and Col. Gen. von Brauchitsch, together with leading members of the Party, have inspected the German western fortifications. The high inspectors have thereby been able to ascertain without reservation the powerful defence powers, even the invincibility of this wall of steel, iron and cement, and this may be said without any boasting.

No soldier of a western attack will enter over this bulwark into German country. Every attack will mean vain streams of soldiers' blood of the attacker against the

hindrances of the German western fortifications. And in the air, too, similar precautions have been made against every air-attack with the stations in the air-defence zones and with a series of other measures.

The frontier troops stationed for the occupation and maintenance of the whole fortification districts are constantly schooled in and for their work. A series of defence manoeuvres of these units will guarantee that the west-wall will always be prepared in the hands of courageous, specially selected and trained troops, in complete defence strength. Our security in the west is therefore guaranteed.

In the East of the Reich precautions have also been taken so that the formerly so frequently quoted walk to Berlin might well have lost its value as a pleasure.

As long as a friendly neighbourly relationship bound us with Poland that precaution was naturally somewhat in the background. On the other hand, it is obvious that our chief concern in recent times was our security in the west. In spite of that, however, it can be asserted to-day that in the east, too, a high degree of defence strength in the form of fortifications has been created.

Beginning with the Paris Agreement of 1927, which conceded to us a certain fortress on the eastern frontier, a more extensive system of fortification has arisen in the east in consistent, responsible work for the protection of Silesia, of the Reich capitol, and for the security of Pommerania.

East Prussia, as especially endangered German country, can almost be regarded as a complete fortress. Naturally, there are the necessary defence troops here in the east too, as peace-time units for the occupation and maintenance of the wartime stations.

It has already been mentioned that, in view of the political and other conditions existing up to now, the fortifications work in the east does not yet completely correspond to that of the western frontier of the Reich. There is still some work to be accomplished here. But we have by no means overheard the hysterical outbreaks of the Polish chauvinists, who are crying for the conquest of East Prussia, Silesia and Pommerania. Catastrophe politicians could only too easily reduce the fanatic Polish people to a state of madness.

Thus, in the shortest time, the defence strength of the eastern fortifications will be brought up to the standard of that of the west wall. Strong sections of the Reich Labour Service are already at work in Silesia. The powerful forces of the organisation of the Reich Inspector for German Roadways, Dr. Todt, will also be claimed very soon for this purpose.

The Army will comply with the wish and the will of the Führer with all its power, that in the east, too, no German this side of the border may be subject to an enemy attack without the protection of a strong land fortification. We have witnessed the miracle of the western fortifications of 1938. We will witness the same miracle of the eastern fortifications of 1939.

May all those desirous of attacking take timely cognizance of the facts. Inability to understand or the will not to understand will cost streams of the blood of their own soldiers, which will flow without any prospect of success, for the result will without doubt be that Germany's frontiers in west and east are impassable under the protection of their fortifications.

General Inspector Dr. Todt on the Strength of the West Wall

Rejection of Foreign Newspaper Reports

Speaking to 10 000 workers on the western frontier fortifications of the Reich on June 12., Dr. Todt, the Führer's special commissioner for the erection of the defences in the west of the Reich, commenced with a reference to the fact that the immense intensification on the west-wall erection had been begun almost a year ago.

He thanked the thousands of workers, who came from all over Germany, as well as the organisations without the assistance of which the achievements on the western wall could not have been accomplished: the German Labour Front, the Party, the corps of the S.A. the motorised units (NSKK), the SS, the railway and the post-office—all had contributed their share. Despite all that had been done, he continued, there was much yet to be done. Security was to be made doubly sure.

"You have seen that the work is of great importance in the fact that the Führer remained six whole days in the fortifications district recently. When you return to your camps this evening and relate that you heard Reich leader Rosenberg, Hierl, the district leader of the west, as well as Dr. Todt, your comrades may say: that cannot be right, for Dr. Todt is not here any more, he is in Spain.

"English and French newspapers and transmitters have recently reported that the General Inspector is no longer there. That the west wall is not stable and the General Inspector has been sent to Spain. Here again the wish was father to the thought. However, for the time being I am here, and you, my comrades, are still here, too, as are the fortifications, which are not, as reported, buried in high waters: on the contrary, they are growing day by day. In October the Führer decreed that the stations completed behind Aachen and Saarbrücken should be supplemented by a new and even stronger position behind those towns.

"You probably know from your comrades, who work near Aachen and Saarbrücken, that this new position has been conducted since October with the same energy and with the same success with which we have built the first and second positions east of those towns last year. In addition to those two positions, in themselves very strong and deep, a third has been made. And you know, too, that the new position is especially heavily armed and thus particularly capable of resistance."

The same was true, continued Inspector Todt, of the course of the whole line from Aachen to the Swiss border.

"German workers, German engineers and the men of the Reich Labour Service and units of the Army and Air-Force, work here in a spirit of wonderful comradeship, — and even though newspapers cry that there are constant differences between us, I can only give the assurance that we will continue to cooperate in comradeship and harmony as long as the Führer finds it necessary. In addition it has been related from the Strassburg station that our positions are for the most part no longer to be seen in Oberhein, that they have obviously been washed away in the recent high waters, at any rate they are no longer there.

"What do all these lies signify? Why does the other side desire so intensely to deceive their own people as to the strength of our fortifications? Here we are up against a very dangerous deception of the English and French people by the press and radio. The poor devils on the other side are to remain ignorant of the strength of our west wall, so that they can be better moved to attack it when the time seems ripe. The strength of our frontier fortifications is withheld from the French people, and with this criminal levity war policy is carried on.

"On the west wall from the sea to the Alps there stands in large letters: *Unauthorized person are forbidden to enter!* And if some agitators are determined to mislead the English and the French people into regarding the west wall as harmless, that is a very dangerous affair and will result in bitter disappointment for the French or English soldier if the irresponsible agitation of lies gives him false facts on the actual strength of our frontier fortifications and on the spirit of our troops.

"I would recommend the radio and press agitators to disport themselves amongst the troops so that they might have occasion themselves, in case of doubt, to form their own opinion on the strength of our fortifications and the spirit of our troops. I think their reports would read

differently than when they are permitted to agitate to war without participating themselves. At any rate we are convinced that the millions of square cubic meters of cement of our west wall are a more important and decisive contribution to the maintenance of peace than the recognised deceptions of the Press and radio agitators."

Dr. Todt concluded with the reminder that the work on the defensive wall was not yet complete, but that which was yet to be accomplished would be carried out with the proud conviction that its execution will be a proof of the achievements of a community.

The Colonial Question

The German Colonial Claim

Ritter von Epp on the German Demands

Grand Admiral Raeder in Stuttgart

A Congress of the Reich Colonial Bund was held in Vienna in mid-May. At the final meeting on May 18, the leader, General Ritter von Epp, gave an address, which he introduced with the statement of two fundamentally important data:

"1. In Europe Germany has a claim to the space dwelt upon by its people. All political motivations created against the powerful will-to-live of the German people, must yield before that perception and truth.

"2. Just as the living community of Germans has been restored in one Reich by the Führer, that united people demands its partnership in the reserve spaces serving over-peopled Europe as a supplement, and that united German people demands the possession of its legal share of the earth which it had peacefully acquired."

Excerpts from Ritter von Epp's address read as follows:

"The united 80 million Germans living together demand, according to international and natural law, the share in the reserve spaces of the world due to them. They will not and cannot renounce the partnership, cooperation and produce due to them. The claim is vitally necessary to the German people."

Epp then described the revenue and advantage which the nations provided with colonial possessions draw from the colonies now as a result of technical progress. Yet the German nation is to be excluded from that although, through its science and technics, it has greatly contributed and does contribute to the evolution which is transforming the world. Germany is determined at long last to share again in the general profit which is being produced with its talent and industry!

"To-day Germany counts its colonies amongst its possessions. They were incontestably acquired in a peaceful manner and in accordance with existing law, developed and constructed with German industry and capital. Beyond that they acquired German soil through the heroic struggle of German soldiers and the native helpers and friends.

"Our over-sea property is rich in the gifts of nature. We know that one day it will be further developed under our sovereignty, just as we also know that it is withheld from us only to weaken us, to maintain our condition of dependence.

"The German colonial claim arises from the struggle for the vitally necessary property. The Führer has raised it repeatedly, with special emphasis, however, in his last speech on April 28. It is a challenge to the robbers of our oversea living space for the restitution of the rights of violated international law, for the removal of a shameful violation of the honour of the German people."

The speaker then drew attention to the manner in which England invented the mandatory system, a form of guardianship and deprivation of civic rights such as formerly was successfully applied on the British side under guarantee of sanctimoniousness towards primitive nations. In order to get possession of the German colonies that form of deprivation of rights was applied. To found those measures, falsified documents, drawn up solely for that purpose, were used, as it admitted to-day. Those documents were an unheard of insult and libel against the German people.

"The mandatory system is a latent and permanent outrage against the German nation, for any length of time an unendurable fraud.

"The Greater German Reich and its Führer desire and aim at Germany's restoration and a consolidation of the world on a basis of the vital necessities of the peoples. The Führer's policy is guided along those lines. Thence comes his struggle for the removal of the unrest of Versailles, his claim for the return of the oversea living space robbed from us there.

"Greater Germany stands behind that claim. Through the Führer a politically and ideologically united people of 80 millions speaks, a people whose achievements and capabilities reckon them to the first cultural nations of the world, a people, too, allied by treaty and friendship with the neighbouring Italian nation, united in the Fascist spirit with it, and cultivating, moreover, friendly relations with all the nations which have made and make the same political and ideological aims the basis of their policies.

"This German nation must of necessity rely upon what it creates of its own to bring in goods from other areas for its consumption. Its areas overseas could extensively satisfy its needs, and facilitate considerably Germany's situation.

"Those who have its property in their possession took it in addition to already extensive oversea riches, and retain it with the weak legitimization "Versailles". They form a group of Powers, resisting, as lords of areas without people, the restoration of a natural balance by satisfying the conditions of existence, resisting thereby the realisation of peaceful conditions. They think they can oppose the natural pressure of population with encirclement.

"That is the position of claim and denial. The colonial claim and colonial policy is a part of the total policy. The total policy is the Führer's affair. He has taken up the pursuit of our colonial claim in the course of his total policy."

Grand Admiral Raeder's Speech in Stuttgart

Germany's Need for Access to Raw Materials

At the annual Congress of the *Deutsches Ausland Institut* in Stuttgart on June 9 Grand Admiral Raeder

delivered an address on the national political work of the navy.

In regarding German interests at sea, said Admiral Raeder, two features are decisive. The one is the protection of German living space overseas, viz: the access to the goods of the earth, which must be accessible to all nations. The Führer, continued Admiral Raeder, decreed the extensive development of the navy, and it is natural that that extension should give due consideration to the most modern claims, and should provide not only for the service of the fleet in home waters but also in foreign waters. Admiral Raeder then referred to the close cooperation of the navy with the mercantile marine, which has always readily supported the aims of the navy.

The second feature, continued Admiral Raeder, is the national political task of the navy, whereupon he revealed the importance of the navy's visits to foreign countries. The battle-ship, brings with it a particularly strong atmosphere of home, which deeply affects Germans abroad, for in producing the true picture of the home it rouses a feeling for the home which counteracts all international press agitation. Many Germans have found their way to the national socialist Greater Germany through this contact, for it is in this close contact from man to man that the real attitude is to be found towards the ideologically deeply-founded revolution of thought and motive in the Reich.

The national political task of the navy to-day, after the reincorporation of the Ostmark and Sudetenland, has been extended still further. In dealing with the productive powers of the Ostmark, Admiral Raeder pointed out the necessity for deepening the links with the overseas which had already been forged by the Ostmark, a task in which countless members of the South-East, now Reich Germans, must now cooperate. In that sphere, too, the navy could be of great assistance, for the battle-ship represented an impressive section of the production of home industry and its efficiency.

In conclusion Admiral Raeder devoted his attention to the German colonial demands. He regarded it as a matter of course that an industrial country such as Germany, so poor in raw materials, must have access to cheap raw material. The colonial claim, because of its vital nature, would always recur. The attempt to resist with every possible means the return of the German colonial area, as is happening now, Admiral Raeder described, as a lack of fairness, for Germany had the right to claim an unconditional return of its colonies. The whole of Germany, he concluded, is suffused to-day with the force of national socialist preparedness and it sees its mission in the realisation of the great idea of its Führer, and the navy, as bearer of that idea, would form a bridge between the German outposts in the world and the homeland.

Home Policy and Economy

Ostmark and Sudetenland

The Creation of Reich Districts

The Reich Government issued two laws on April 21 which contain the bases for the building up of the administrative in the Ostmark and in Sudetenland.

The "Law on District Alterations in the Country of Austria" (*Gesetz über Gebietsveränderungen im Lande Oesterreich*) of October 1, 1938, reduced the total number of Austrian counties, including Vienna, to eight, and now these district corporations are brought into direct contact with the administrative of the Reich and the Reich Central. With the exception of Vorarlberg, which will remain for the time being an autonomous administrative area and independent corporation under the direction of the *Reichsstatthalter* in the Tyrol, they will become *Reichsgaue*, i. e. administrative districts of the Reich and at the same time self-administrative corporations.

The districts of these *Reichsgaue* are covered by the already established Party *Gaue*, so that the unity of Party and State has been established in the returned territories from the point of view of districts, too. At the head of each *Reichsgau* there is a governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) who conducts the state administration under the supervision of the Reich Minister for the Interior. With this new regulation the important principle of unity of administration has been realised to a great extent.

Leadership and responsibility for public administration as a whole in the *Reichsgau* lies in the hands of the *Reichsstatthalter*, who, as district leader, has also the power of command over all the party offices of the *Reichsgau*.

Reich justice, financial-, railway-, and post office-administration are the only offices excepted from the offices adjoined to the *Reichsstatthalter's* sphere. But even in these special administrations of the Reich and in all public centres within his district the *Reichsstatthalter* has comprehensive rights of instruction. That right of direction which is only afforded to the *Reichsstatthalter* personally, exists naturally only within the framework of the laws and directions of the chief Reich authorities.

The offices of the *Reichsstatthalter* are divided into the state administration (*staatliche Verwaltung*), which is Reich

administration, and the district self-administration (*Gau-selbstverwaltung*). In the former the *Reichsstatthalter* is represented by the government president (*Regierungspräsident*) — a Reich official — and in the latter by the district head, who is an official of the Reich *Gau*.

The Reich Minister of the Interior supervises over the Reich *Gau*. For Vienna, which is likewise a Reich *Gau*, yet simultaneously a separate community, arrangements have been made in the laws corresponding to that double position.

The Sudeten Gau Law

The Sudeten Gau Law follows in principle the new regulations drawn up for the Ostmark, especially in regard to the position of the *Reichsstatthalter*.

Here too the Reich *Gau* is at the same time a state administrative district and an autonomous corporation. However, an exception exists in that, contrary to the Ostmark Law, which provides for the direct subordination of the county- and town-municipalities to the *Reichsstatthalter*, the Reich *Gau* Sudetenland is subdivided into the three government districts, Aussig, Eger and Troppau, so that in between the *Reichsstatthalter* and the county- (town-)municipality there are the authorities of the government presidents (*Regierungspräsidenten*). That form of organisation resulted as a matter of course from the number of inhabitants and from the geographical form of the long-drawn-out Sudeten district. Without the establishment of the government districts here an efficient administration would not be conceivable.

In that connection the Sudeten Gau is built after the style of the Prussian provinces. The position of the *Reichsstatthalter* differs from that of the Prussian *Oberpräsident* in that the government presidents are subordinate to the *Reichsstatthalter*.

The Reich Minister of the Interior on the Final Administrative Organisation in the Ostmark and in Sudetenland

On May 6 the Reich Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick, introduced the former Reich Commissioner, Konrad Henlein, into his new office as „*Reichsstat-*

halter of the Reichsgau Sudetenland" in Reichenberg. On that occasion the Minister of the Interior made the following comments on the final administrative form of the Reichsgau and the position of the Reichsstatthalter in that district:

"With the laws on the structure of administration in the Ostmark and in the Reichsgau Sudetenland of April 14, 1939, the Führer laid the foundation for the final constitutional reorganisation of the districts which returned to the Reich in the Spring and Autumn of 1938. In those laws the new conception of the Reichsgau was coined and the Reichsstatthalter at their heads were granted a new and highly responsible position.

Reich Unity and the Principle of Leadership

"After the Ostmark had belonged to the Greater German Reich for more than a year, and Sudetenland for more than half a year, the time had come for the conclusive definition of their administrative organisation. The fundamental requisition, that a clear power of command was necessary, arose from the national socialist conception of Reich unity and of the principle of leadership.

"The idea of unification of the administration could be realised in the framework which then existed. Then arose the demand for a purely Reich administration, which left no room for the maintenance or new-establishment of a county administration. The district divisions had to produce agreement between Party *Gaus* and state administrative districts together with an administration in close contact with the people, for the purpose of securing unity of Party and State.

"Developed from those principles, the administrative structure in the *Ostmark Law* and in the *Sudeten Gau Law* were almost literally identical.

"The administrative sphere of the middle grade is the "*Reichsgau*". It is a state administrative district and an autonomous corporation. State authorities and establishments of the *Reichsgau* are Reich authorities and establishments, their officials and teachers are Reich officials. At the head of the *Reichsgau* is the "*Reichsstatthalter*". He directs state administration in the *Reichsgau* as the Führer's representative and on behalf of the Reich Government, and is subordinate, therefore, to the Reich Minister of the Interior, whose directions and instructions he works upon.

„The special tasks of merging the new Reich *Gau*e with the structure of the Reich have caused the Reich Government to decree more comprehensive powers to the *Reichs-Statthalter* of the Reich *Gau*e than is granted in the Old Reich. In the special tasks of assimilation the law of direction and the right to command, provided for the event of "danger in delay", granted to the *Reichsstatthalter* in the Old Reich seemed insufficient.

"Since the *Reichsstatthalter* is not to carry out the executive administration himself, but only in agreement with the aims of the Government, and is to decree only the laws for the maintenance of those aims, he will intervene in the non-adjointed administrations only in urgent cases and not in the current execution of administration, in order, too, to avoid the issuing of double commands. It is a command that he guide the administration of the Reich *Gau*e in its totality instead of executing it himself.

"The *Reichsstatthalter* will receive the necessary personal assistance for the current business through his general representative, a Reich official with the official title of Government president (*Regierungspräsident*) in the state administration, and district head (*Gauhauptmann*) in the district autonomous administration.

"It is well known that experiences gained in the execution of laws must be awaited before this form of organisation might possibly be developed in the Old Reich. Any further steps to be added therefore, depend in a great measure upon the correct practical manipulation of those laws."

Population Statistics for Greater Germany in 1938

Births, Marriages, Deaths

According to the records of the Reich Statistics Office the number of marriages in 1938 was above normal. The further increase of 24,000 marriages in the Old Reich as compared with 1937 is regarded as above normal because 1. the drop in the number of marriages in the crises years up to 1933 was already restored at the end of 1937, and 2. the number of marriageable persons, as a result of the drop in the birthrate during the War, had considerably declined. In Austria, which has been included in all the statistics mentioned, an unprecedented accumulation of marriages was recorded. We have, therefore, a total increase of 64,000 marriages (total of 730,200) as compared with the results of 1937. Hitherto the statisticians have adopted the marriage-frequency of 1910/11 as the standard for comparative statistics. The number of single men has, therefore, fallen below that of the level in 1910/11, on the other hand the level of marriage frequency indicates that men marry at an earlier age to-day and, on the whole, more men marry than was the case under the conditions of 1910/11. The first months of the year 1939 reveal that the marriage frequency will probably rise. For in January and February 1939, in each case, 11 per cent more marriages were contracted in the large towns than in the corresponding months of the year 1938. The marriage frequency is reflected in the number of marriage loans granted. In the old Reich territory 243,691, or 37.8 per cent, of the newly married couples received marriage loans, whereas in 1937 marriage loans were granted only to 29.6 per cent. The most marked increase in the number of marriages is recorded in Berlin and Hamburg; 0.7 per cent of every 1,000 inhabitants in each case. The number of marriages increased in Austria by 85.4 per cent in 1938 as compared with 1937. For every 1,000 inhabitants 12.7 marriages were recorded for the yearly average. That is an accumulation which was not observed in the old Reich territory even in the years following the revolution.

The increase in the birth rate rose in 1938, subsequent to the slight decrease in 1937 (1,221,893) to a total of 1,277,000 living born. For every 1,000 inhabitants a yearly average of 19.7 live-born children was born in the Old Reich, as compared with 18.8 in 1937, 19 in 1936, 18.9 in 1935, 18.0 in 1934, 14.7 in 1933 and 26.9 in 1913. It is obvious from the last quoted comparative figure that there is still a very considerable difference between the birth rate of 1913 and that of 1938, although a marked increase can be recorded as compared with 1933. Moreover, the birth rate in 1938 is considerably larger than the number calculated to be expected (founded upon the number of legitimate births). The greater part of the increase in the birth rate (an increase of about 55,000) is therefore due to a renewed rise in the relative birth frequency, i. e. to the fact that there has been an increase in the number of second, third and fourth children. Legitimate propagation frequency was therefore 4.5 per cent higher in 1938 than in 1937. Thus, the deficit in the birth rate totals but 5.5 per cent in the Old Reich in 1938, that, however, does not mean that, in attaining this standard of the birth rate and bearing in mind the fecundity of the Slav peoples bordering on our country, the future of the population policy of the German Reich is already secured.

A further welcome report on the population statistics in Greater Germany for 1938 is the not inconsiderable improvement in the general death rate. Calculated for every 1,000 inhabitants, the death rate in 1938 was 11.7, i. e. just as high as in 1937 (as compared with 11.8 in 1936, and in 1935, 11.9 in 1934, 11.2 in 1933 and 14.8 in 1913). Here consideration must be given to the fact that the increase in the total population consisted in the main in a rise of population of an age in which relative death frequency is highest, viz: old people on the one side and

children on the other. So that when the general death rate for 1938 remains the same as it was in 1937, the standstill in the death rate signifies actually a not inconsiderable improvement of the general death rate. That is most clearly to be seen in the infant mortality statistics, which reveal a drop of approximately 2,000 in the old Reich territory as compared with 1937. The relative infant mortality has, therefore, dropped from 6.4 per 100 live-born children in 1937 to 6.0 per 100 live-born children in 1938. However, the further increase of deaths as a result of cancer, heart diseases and inflammation of the lungs appears to be a grave matter, when one regards the death-causes statistics in parishes with over 15,000 inhabitants; whereas deaths due to tuberculosis have declined by 0.6 per cent. The number of fatally injured has also increased by approximately 1,000, a sign of how necessary the campaign against danger of accidents is.

The total results of our population statistics for 1938 reveal an increase in population of 545,877 people (including Austria) as compared with 478,642 in 1937.

Social Political Achievements of the Labour Front

Report on the Second Efficiency Contest

The commissioner for the efficiency contest, Dr. Hupfauer, published a detailed report on May 1, the occasion of the day of national celebration, dealing with the course of the second efficiency contest (*Leistungskampfes*) for German factories. We are publishing the following excerpts from that report:

"When the leader of the German Labour Front announced the first efficiency contest for German factories, in pursuance of the Führer's decree on the "National Socialist Model Factory" (*Nationalsozialistischer Musterbetrieb*), on May 1, 1937, his aim was to make the idea of a true community a vital factor in all German works, and that in the quickest and best manner.

"The report itself is not a report of the whole, but extends to facts ascertained and reduced to about 50,000 of the contesting work-shops so that stimulation and example might be afforded with the slightest possible statistical strain.

"The German Labour Front regards its constant intensive efforts rewarded by the fact that the efficiency-contest factories have erected, in all, 4,850 apprentice work-shops and 1181 work schools. A welcome feature is the special promotion introduced in 3,809 concerns for hard-working and talented apprentices by reducing their period of training, whereby thousands of capable forces are prematurely won. Not less important are the increasing efforts of the factories, as a result of the shortage of workers, to train workers in less important or transferred industrial branches for insertion in the more important works.

"In the sphere of the further professional development of all workers, the *Reichsberufswettkampf* (Reich profession contest) assures for trade and industry as a whole a constantly increasing standard of efficiency. The 14,000 efficiency contest factories, the 70,000 talented, i.e. profession contest victors promoted by scholarships and similar measures, have appreciated the industrial value of human capacity.

"The 2,500 newly appointed chief and subsidiary medical doctors for industrial concerns in the efficiency contest have accomplished really great work in their regular observations of the condition of health, the reaction of work on the human body, and in their health protection measures. A proof of their achievements is revealed by the examinations conducted by 4,752 factories with their 600,000 workers. The 3,390 newly erected sanitary departments, equipped with the most modern sanitary apparatuses, and the 25,800 newly appointed sanitary-inspectors and -nurses are the permanent assistants of the industrial medical advisors.

"The sport activities cultivated so extensively in the factories and industrial concern to-day renew strength and restore personal powers of resistance; they are cultivated not for achieving records but as a balance for the mental and physical efforts expended by all the employees. The pioneers of the efficiency campaign have taken up their work here courageously and have announced 4,559 industrial sporting teams, for whom 1,250 new sportsgrounds have been erected, attached to the various concerns.

"The stimulation to the reciprocal exchange of workers in factories, with special regard to their place of dwelling, especially in large towns and labour centres, has, as a promising beginning, been adopted by 864 factories; whereas 2,970 concerns have created considerable facilities and short-cuts to the work-places by means of daily special trains and omnibuses, cyclists' paths etc.

"A further important task has been revealed in the care of the employees with regard to healthy nutrition. The method of providing food formerly by bringing one's own sandwiches afforded no lasting service. It is the concern of the employers to rid their employees of their unhealthy habit and to accustom them to daily warm meals. Such training is necessary in order to make full use of what the efficiency campaign works have established in 2,276 new works-canteens, the cooking of warm meals in 7,460 works and in the erecting of 25,190 suitable arrangements for warming food.

"Everything which is comprised in the recognised conception "Beauty of Work" is all for the purpose of saving energy, promoting health and producing pleasure in work. Thanks to the progressive attitude of the employers 227,000,000 marks could be applied to the "Beauty of Work" activities.

"Yet all these measures cannot take the place of the necessity for an annual, timely and sufficiently long total rest, mentally and physically. Our arrangement, unique in the whole world to-day, "Strength through Joy", has rendered valuable service in this respect. The concerns must afford assistance for the arrangement of holidays: for continued payment of wages alone, however short the journey planned, is not enough for the holiday, for those wages are needed for the support of the family. A welcome arrangement is provided by the *KdF* (Strength through Joy) saving arrangements, which have been started in 9,543 firms, as well as the travel-saving system adopted by 4,400 concerns. Generous, yet profitable are the *KdF* tours, conducted, granted and paid by 27,610 works, in which 463,800 employees took part.

"The mobilisation of all working forces necessary in the modern standard of labour brings the special task of caring for children and women in the foreground. The chief care here is that the work accomplished by young people shall not result in harmful developments later on, and that work done by women shall not incapacitate them for their tasks as mothers of the future generations.

"That the pregnant mother deserves special concern ought to be a matter of course to everyone who has the national community at heart. The fine example of the model factories has been copied in 5,179 other factories, which grant leave to pregnant women before the legally recognised point of time, the while paying their wages; in 6,115 concerns which pay the difference between the "pregnant women's relief" (*Wochengeld*) and their wages, and in 223 factories which have erected their own maternity homes.

"In the question of women's welfare the "women social worker" (*soziale Betriebsarbeiterin*), employed in 972 factories, affords sound advice and assistance to the employer.

"This careful attention towards the creation and promotion of German national strength on the part of our employers extends their welfare work to the personal and family life of their employees. Financial support for those desiring to marry afforded by 15,074 efficiency campaign factories, or gifts of clothing in the case of larger families on the part of 15,261 concerns, as well as the special support given to large families by 7,641 concerns,

all serve in the most excellent manner towards strengthening our people.

"Such measures serving happiness in the home and joy in life and work do not bring complete success if all the existing forces — including those of the factories and concerns — are not applied for the purpose of creating healthy and satisfactory dwellings for the working people. Already in the first efficiency campaign 2,100 concerns have made the first step with the construction of 29,000 dwellings.

"In 1938, 1,073 concerns regarded the best possible accommodation for their workers as so important that they promised the responsible offices of the Labour Front 27,175,615 marks for the erection of 24,692 dwellings. By March 31, 1939 the number of labourers' settlements which the Labour Front took in hand increased to a total of 57,637 building-units.

"In addition about 29,200 private dwellings were erected by the factories, i. e. 7,848 factories placed funds in the form of mortgages and interest-free loans at the disposal of the settlers. It is gratifying that the efficiency campaign gave rise to the renovation and modernising of 65,000 older dwellings.

"The sick man, too, belongs to the community of workers and is in especial need of aid. The new system of bridging

over the period when full wages are withheld, adopted by 17,000 concerns, or the differential payment afforded by them between wages and sickness insurance, or the continued payment of an average wage, affords a treatment of the sick worker, through the efficiency of the concern, which, though not legally regulated, is similar to that of the sick employee.

"In a manner worthy of acknowledgement, a large number of concerns endeavour to repay those whom accident during the execution of work, or age have incapacitated for working. The creation of an additional old age pension has been announced by 9,834 concerns, and widows and orphans pensions by 5,648 concerns.

"During the course of the efficiency campaign an appeal was addressed to factories, workshops and works, after a consultation of the Labour commission, to take in less capable persons in view of the present lack of workers. It has been announced that up till now about 60,000 persons of this type have already been employed with good results.

"Of the 50,000 concerns comprised in this report, 29,860, at the instigation of the efficiency campaign, intend to subject their work to an intensive examination for rational working. 12,930 concerns, by the granting of premiums, etc., have roused their employees to afford contributions to the improvement of the course of the work to be done."

Chronicle of Events

Spain's Gratitude to the German and Italian Volunteers

The Commander of the Spanish Air Force, General Kindelan, delivered an address to the German and Italian volunteers of the flight units on their departure on May 26. Excerpts from his address read as follows:

"It would be unjust if we forgot even for a moment, in dwelling upon the memories of hard times and fortunately surmounted difficulties, the eternal thanks which we owe to our allies for their contribution of unsurpassable technic and unprecedented spirit of work and sacrifice. God has given us the best flyers in the world as our helpers. We have stood together in a hundred battles. They yielded to no danger and shunned no sacrifice.

"There are no other tokens wherewith one can repay such genuine cooperation than that of our gratitude of which you may be assured. The remainder of the debt will be repaid by the satisfaction experienced by each one of our friends at having accomplished their duty in the struggle for a high ideal.

"With regard to the courage and modesty of our allies, I do not want to lay any special stress on their heroic deeds, but I do want to touch on the high level of the mutual understanding and solidarity attained by the three flight units in their cooperation, simply because it was excellent and unique in history. I can also confirm the fact that never once has any friction clouded our relations during the whole period of our common struggle.

"The most striking proof of the mutual trust between the three flight units is the system automatically adopted by the pursuit planes of protecting the bombing planes. The latter felt immediately safe, whatever nationality the flyers of the pursuit planes in which they entrusted their lives and their material.

"The reminder of the period of brotherhood-in-arms will form the most highly appreciated section in the escutcheon of the Spanish Air Force. And not only that, but also the proud recognition that the improvised Spanish units and organisations have not done badly alongside the best flight units of the world with regard to technics, courage and fighting power."

Spain's Exit from the Geneva League

The Spanish Foreign Minister, Jordana, sent a telegram to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on May 8, in which he informed him on behalf of the Spanish Government that Spain thereby declared its exit from the League.

Political circles designate that exit as a matter of course and declare that the step was not taken at an earlier date because the League had hitherto not recognised Burgos. Herewith Spain submitted the receipt for the treatment it had to suffer. On this occasion it can at the same time be brought to mind that those Powers, too, with which Spain is allied by the Anti-Comintern Pact, do not belong to the Geneva League.

Italo-German Trade Agreement

The German and Italian Government commission for the Italo-German trade relations met for a conference in Berlin from May 15—26. The conference was concluded with the signing of a series of treaties and agreements which were authorized by the chairman of the Italian Government commission, Ambassador Giannini, and by the chairman of the German Government commission. The chairman of the Italian Government commission signed on behalf of the Italian-Albanian customs union.

Both commissions have examined anew all the questions touching on the closer cooperation of the national economy of both countries. They have agreed upon a series of measures destined to serve that end. Moreover, the execution of a common economic programme has been held in view, further details of which will be settled upon in consultations between both commissions during the coming months.

Both Government commissions have also settled all questions which concern the incorporation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in the German-Italian agreements on trade- and payment-traffic between the two States. It has thereby been assured that the trade relations between the Protectorate and Italy will be much closer than they were between Italy and the former Czechoslovakian Republic.

Dr. Seyss-Inquart appointed Reich Minister

During the course of the organisational developments in Austria a decree was issued on May 1, 1939 on the "Construction of Administration in the Ostmark", wherein the office of *Reichsstatthalter* has ceased to exist.

The Führer has appointed the former *Reichsstatthalter* in Austria, Dr. Seyss-Inquart, Reich Minister, with the proviso that he direct a special sphere of activity.

On this occasion the Führer expressed his thanks to Dr. Seyss-Inquart for his services rendered to the German nation in his capacity as *Reichsstatthalter*.

Konrad Henlein Appointed Reichsstatthalter

The law which came into force on May 1 "On the Structure of administration in the Reich Gau of Sudetenland", the Reichsgau, Sudetenland, has become a state administrative district and an autonomous corporation. At the head of the Gau is the *Reichsstatthalter*, whose seat of office is in Reichenberg.

The Führer has appointed the former Reich commissioner for the Sudeten German spheres, Konrad Henlein, *Reichsstatthalter* in that Reichsgau, upon which occasion he expressed his thanks to Henlein for the services he has rendered the German nation.

German Agreement Upon the Alteration of the Aland Islands Agreement

The German Government, according to a communiqué of the *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro* on May 3, agreed to the Finnish-Swedish proposals for an alteration of the Aland Agreement in the matter of a fortification of the southern Aland island and the justification of certain other military defence measures on the island. The neutrality of Finland and Sweden in the event of any war-like developments touching the Baltic Sea area, is naturally a prerequisite. Equally natural is the fact that the German attitude towards the League of Nations, which has certain tasks on that island, will remain unchanged.

New German Ambassador in Angola

The Führer, on the instigation of the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, has appointed the Ambassador for special purposes, Franz von Papen, Ambassador in Angola on April 18.

German High Speed Records

On March 30 Flight Captain Hans Dieterle made a speed record with 746,66 km p. h. (466,66 m. h.) in one of the one-seater series of the Heinkel works pursuit 'planes beating thereby the world record set up by the Italian, Francesco Agello, who made 709,209 km. p. h. (380,756 m. p. h.) on October 23, 1934. The record 'plane was equipped with a Mercedes-Benz motor, DB 601, 1175 h. p. (German).

However, four weeks later this newly won record was surpassed. The Messerschmitt pursuit 'plane ME 109 R flown by Fritz Wendel attained a speed of 755,11 km. p. b. (471,9 m. p. h.) on April 27.

As General Udet commented to Press representatives, the new world record of the Messerschmitt 'plane reveals clearly that the record of the Heinkel pursuit 'plane was no chance result, but that such first-rate achievements were the result of the systematic work in the German air-craft industry. In peaceful competition the two world famous air-craft industries have attained almost the same results, a clear proof of the fact that in the development of pursuit 'planes, both are following the right path and achieve the best possible results. Germany can be proud of the fact that the German air-craft industry has produced two almost identically efficient pursuit 'planes, 'planes which are above the speed records attained abroad.

Just as in the case of the Heinkel pursuit 'plane, the new world speed record of the Me 109 R has been made

with the famous Mercedes-Benz DB 601 (1175 h. p.-German), the further development of which in the interval has made the attainment of such speeds possible. A VDM propeller of the amalgamated German metal works was applied as air-screw, as has been generally introduced in the German air force.

Speed Limit for Automobiles in Germany

A Decree for the Alteration of the Law on Traffic Rules of May 3 has been published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. During the past weeks a number of grave traffic accidents have occurred with countless dead and seriously injured. In view of that fact drastic measures were necessary. The Führer therefore ordered a speed limit for automobiles.

The following speed limits were settled upon:

Inside Built-Up Areas

For motor-cars and motor-bicycles
with or without side-cars . . . 60 km. (37.5 m.) p. h.
for lorries, omnibuses and all
other automobiles 40 km. (25 m.) p. h.

Outside Built-Up Areas and on all Reich Motor-roads

For motor-cars and motor-bicycles with or without side-cars 100 km. (62.5 m.) p. h.
for lorries, omnibuses and all
other automobiles 70 km. (41.25 m.) p. h.

Extension of German Foreign Language News-Broadcasts

The German Foreign Language news-broadcasts are being constantly extended. Following the addition of a second broadcast in English from 8.15—8.30 pm. to the original 6.15—6.30 pm. broadcast over the Cologne and Hamburg transmitters, news-broadcasts were begun in Arabic and Afrikaans on April 25.

The broadcasts in Arabic are given daily at 5.45 p. m. (Central European Time) on the German short-wave transmitter DJX 13,01 m. = 9675 Kiloherz and DJC 4983 meter = 6020 Kiloherz.

The broadcasts in Afrikaans, the first news service in this predominant language of the South African Union from Europe, are given daily at 8 p. m. (Central European Time) over the German short-wave transmitter DJL 19,85 meter = 15 110 Kiloherz and DJX 31 01 meter = 9675 Kiloherz.

Further additions to this radio news service will be made wherever it is found necessary.

Dwellings for Large Families

The Reich commissioner for the fixing of prices issued a decree on April 20 for the purpose of facilitating the obtaining of dwellings of moderate price for large families.

The municipal and provincial centres upon whom the supervision of rents has been transferred, are empowered by the decree to arrange that every house owner rents an adequate number of houses to large families.

The selection of the large families is left to the house owner. If the house owner finds no suitable families, he can apply to the competent authorities either for the particulars of such a family or for the restitution of the house. That restitution can then be adopted for other purposes corresponding to the aims of the population policy.

New Head for Health Office

The Führer has appointed the head of the Reich Health Office in Berlin, Dr. Leonardo Conti, chief of the Head Office for National Health, and director (*Hauptdienstleiter*) of the NSDAP. Dr. Conti is therefore also chief of the NSD Medical Union.

Demonstrations on the Occasion of the Führer's 50. Birthday

On April 20 the Führer accepted first of all the congratulations of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to Berlin when he received the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, M. Cesare Orsenigo, in the presence of the Reich Foreign Minister. The official congratulations then followed from the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, Baron von Neurath, and from Dr. Hacha. The Führer then received the congratulations of the Slovak Prime Minister, Dr. Tiso, and of the Slovak Foreign Minister, Dr. Durkansky.

In the large reception hall of the new Reich Chancery the Führer was then congratulated by the members of the Reich Government. All the ministers of the Government and secretaries of State of the Government appeared at the reception. On behalf of the members of the Reich Government, Field Marshall General Goering proffered the congratulation for the Führer's 50. birthday. In a short address he paid tribute to the significance of the Führer's personality for the German nation and he expressed the happiness and joy of the members of the Reich Government at being able to work so close to the Führer. The Führer expressed his thanks in a short reply for the loyal and responsible cooperation of the members of the Reich Government in the great events of the past six years. After the Reich Government had expressed its wishes for the Führer, the latter received in his study the commanders-in-chief of the three forces, Field Marshall Gen. Goering, Grand Admiral Raeder, Col. Gen. von Brauditsch, as well as the Chief of the Higher Command of the Army, Col. Gen. Keitel, in order to accept the congratulations of the Army.

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Freedom of the Free City of Danzig

Before his departure for the parade the Führer received the Gauleiter and the government representatives of the Free City of Danzig in his study where they proffered their birthday wishes to the Führer. Gauleiter Forster presented to the Führer the freedom of the City of Danzig with the following address:

"On this great day of celebration of the whole German people, I have come here with the Danzig Government to express, as spokesman of the whole German population in Danzig, to you, my Führer, the most hearty good wishes for your personal well-being on your birthday to-day. You may be assured that I fulfil the deepest wish of the Danzig people when I wish you to-day the best of health for the rest of your life, which I hope will be very long, and fullest strength for the solution of all the vital questions of our German people.

"It affords the Danzig people, however, a special joy that you will become an honorary freeman of the Free City of Danzig on your birthday to-day. Although Danzig is cut off, you will afford us great joy in accepting the freedom of the city of this eternally German country on the Baltic Sea. All Danzig people, who have held high their German nationality with exceptional perseverance during the past 20 years in the German outpost on the mouth of the Weichsel, are especially happy.

"The city of Danzig, with the presentation of this document of the freedom of the city to you, has fulfilled nothing but a natural debt of gratitude. You have done so much good during the last years for separated German Danzig in every respect that it has long been our deepest desire to be able to show our gratitude outwardly as well. To-day the moment has come when we can offer you this gratitude before the whole world."

Gauleiter Forster then read the text of the document of honorary freemanship:

"The Senate of the Free City of Danzig, in unending gratitude for the work of moral and national revitalization of the German people, and as a token of the lasting blood-kinship of Danzig with the German people, has presented Adolf Hitler, the Führer of the German people,

with the consent of the citizens of Danzig, with the freedom of the city. Herewith documented.

Danzig, April 20. 1939.

The Senate of the Free City of Danzig."

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Subsequent to the reception a State parade of all the armed forces marched past the Führer and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The parade lasted for four hours and was the largest of its kind to be held in post-war Germany. It was attended by the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, Baron von Neurath, Dr. Hacha, the Slovak Prime Minister, Dr. Tiso, foreign delegates and guests of honour of the Führer and the foreign military attaches.

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Congratulations from Foreign Heads of State and Government

A large number of foreign heads of state and government leaders telegraphed hearty greetings to the Führer on his 50. birthday.

From Italy came greetings-telegrams from King Victor Emanuel III., the Duce, Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, Marshalls Balbo and Graziani, the Minister of Propaganda, Alfieri, and President Federzoni.

Congratulations were also telegraphed from King George VI., from the Kaiser of Japan, the Kings of Bulgaria, Rumania, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Egypt, Saudi-Arabia and Afghanistan, from the Kaiser of Manchukuo, from the Queen of Holland, the Grand Duchess of Luxemburg, the Prince Regent of Jugoslavia, the Regent of Irak and the Regency of Siam, from the Regent of Hungary, von Horthy, and from the Hungarian Prime Minister, Teleki, Spain's Head of State, the Presidents of Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Portugal, Turkey, China and Bolivia, from the Duke of Liechtenstein, as well as from the former King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and the former Prime Minister, Stojadinovitch.

The text of King Victor Emanuel's telegram reads as follows:

"I am happy, Your Excellency, to express my most sincere congratulations and my very best wishes on the occasion of your birthday. Victor Emanuel."

The Führer telegraphed the following reply to the King of Italy and Albania and of Ethiopia:

"I would request Your Majesty to accept my deepest thanks for the kind wishes for my birthday which afforded me genuine joy. Adolf Hitler."

Mussolini's telegram reads as follows:

"On the day on which the German Reich celebrates your 50. birthday I wish you to receive the greetings of the Government and of the people of Italy as well as my own personal good wishes. The Italian people takes part in spirit in the German demonstrations with genuine sympathy and honest enthusiasm for the firm and tried friendship, which binds the two conceptions of state, the two revolutions and the two countries together. This friendship, which has withstood many tests, cannot be broken by any ridiculous attempts of our opponents which might arise. They will have to convince themselves one day that they have followed a false path, while Fascism and National Socialism is the way of justice and peace. Mussolini."

The Führer telegraphed the following reply to the Duce:

"I thank you Duce for your very friendly commemoration of my 50. birthday and for your heartfelt words. With this thanks I join anew the assurance of my unshakeable friendly bond with you and with Fascist Italy created by you, as well as my best wishes.

Adolf Hitler."

Memelland Annexed to Prussia

The Law on the reunion of the Memelland with the German Reich is contained in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* for March 23. It was decreed on board the battle-ship „Deutschland” by the Führer.

Signed by the Reich Minister for the Interior, Dr. Frick, by the Commissioner for the Four Year Plan, General Goering, by the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Ribbentrop, and by the Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers.

The Text of the Law reads as follows:

The Reich Government has concluded the following law, herewith announced:

§ 1

The Memel territory is once again an integral part of the German Reich.

§ 2

1. The Memelland will be incorporated in the Province of Prussia and added to the government-district, Gumbinnen.

2. The Reich Minister of the Interior will define the sub-division of the Memelland into municipal and provincial-centres, or the incorporation of the Memelland into existing municipal and provincial districts.

§ 3

Memellanders who have lost their German citizenship on account of the cession of the Memelland on July 30, 1924 are once again German citizens when this law enters into force, if they were domiciled in Memelland or in the Reich on March 22, 1939. That is also valid for those who obtain their citizenship through such a Memelland citizen.

§ 4

1. Reich Law will be in force in the Memelland as from May 1, 1939.

2. The competent Reich Minister, together with the Reich Minister of the Interior, can decree that Reich Law will enter into force in the Memelland on that date or later: subject to possible alteration.

Such a decree would have to be published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*.

§ 5

1. Prussian provincial law (*Landesrecht*) will come into force on May 1, 1939 in Memelland.

2. The Prussian provincial government (*Landesregierung*) can decree that Prussian provincial law will enter into force in the Memelland on that date or later: subject to possible alterations. Such a decree would necessitate publication in the Prussian Law Edicts (*Gesetzsammlung*).

§ 6

1. The Reich Minister of the Interior is the head official for the reunion of the Memelland with the German Reich.

2. The intermediary commissioner is the President-in-Chief of the Province of East Prussia. The leader of the Memel Germans is his deputy.

3. The Reich Minister for the Interior is empowered to issue the requisite legal- and administrative-rules for the execution and completion of this law.

§ 7

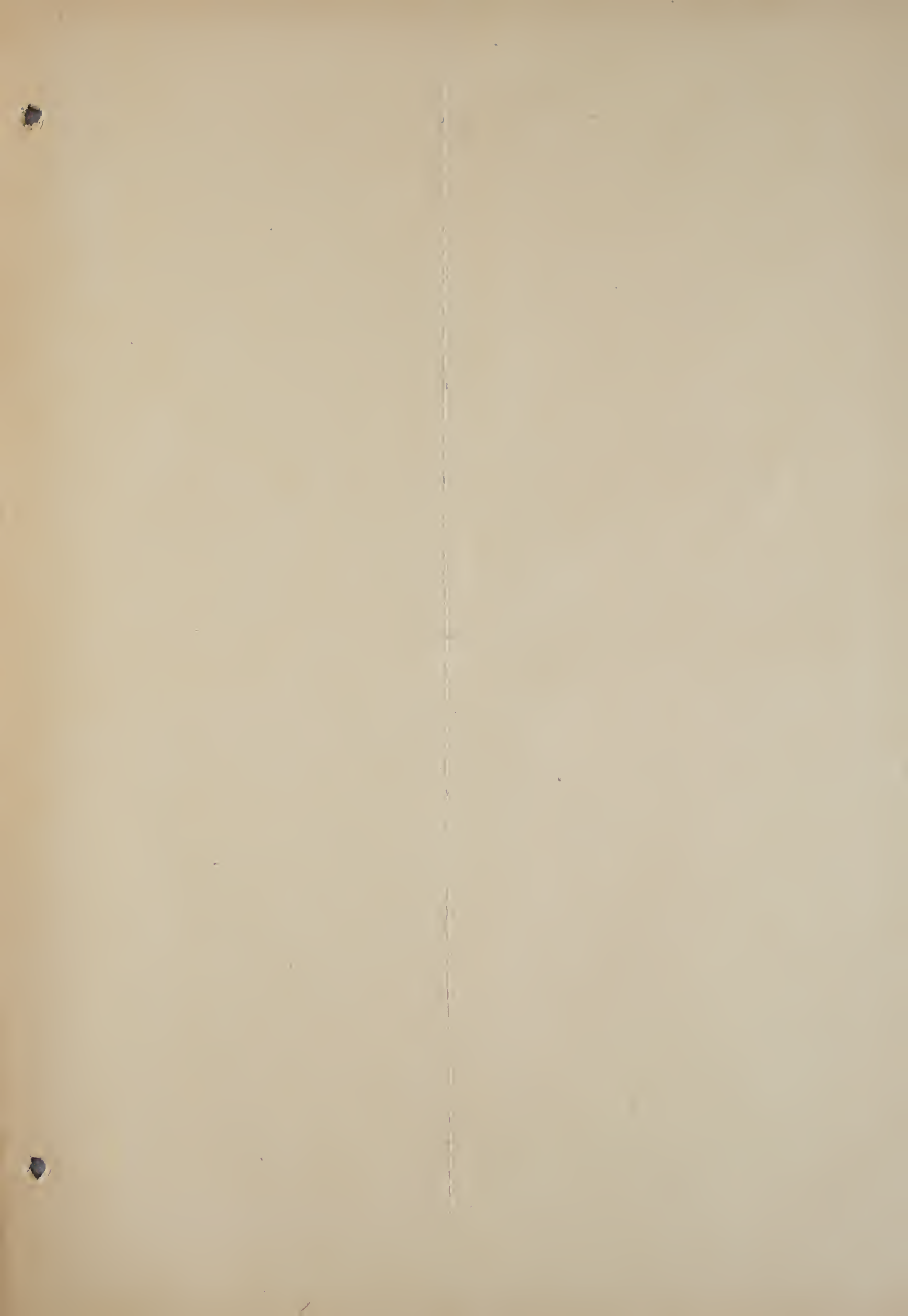
The law enters into force as from March 22, 1939.

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Cooperation of the German and Italian Forces

Subsequent to the meeting of the Italian Admiral Cavagnari and Grand Admiral Raeder in Friedrichshafen in mid-June, General Goering received on June 27 the Secretary of State for the Italian Air Force, General Valle, who had been spending some days in Berlin with a commission of Italian officers of the General Staff. Col.-General Milch was also present at the reception.

The two-hour talk which then ensued concerned the agreements discussed four weeks ago in Rome, and during the preceding days, in Berlin. It was unanimously agreed that all questions touching principles of supplement, organisation, training and matters of technical detail would be extended to an even greater measure of collaboration. Thus, the bases for the closest cooperation between the German and Italian air-forces and naval forces have been thoroughly assured.



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FASCIST POLICY AND THE ITALIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

A number of declarations are now at our disposal which permit us to get a clear picture both of the attitude which Italy has taken since the beginning of the war in regard to international events and of its reasons. First of all, there is the resolution of the Council of Ministers of September 1st which states in a few words that Italy would not take a military initiative in this conflict, the causes of which go back to the Treaty of Versailles. The attitude of "non-belligerence" was then explained by Mussolini in his speech to the Fascist party leaders from Bologna at Rome on September 24th. The resolution adopted by the Fascist Grand Council on December 7th reaffirmed this attitude in brief phrases but went beyond this by clarifying Italy's relation to Germany, which, in the international press, had been the subject of the most diverse speculations as well as of hopes and expectations; in order to eliminate all doubt, it emphasized, furthermore, the Italian interest in all questions concerning the Danube and Balkan region. Complying with the request expressed in the resolution of the Fascist Grand Council, Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, reported in his two-hour speech of December 15th to the Chamber of Fascists and Corporations on the changes and phases of recent international policy.

In this speech Count Ciano did not confine himself to a review of recent events, but going far into the past, he gave an impressive exposition of Italian foreign policy since Fascism came to power. He showed that the revision of the peace treaties and the establishment of a just peace were the cornerstones of this policy.

"Year after year," the *Stampa* wrote on December 17th, "the alarm has been sounded from Rome and other Italian cities in order to give a warning that the situation of unbearable injustice was upsetting the moral, economic, and political equilibrium. Mussolini did not confine himself to warnings and admonitions, but he also tried at every opportunity, from the time of the London Conference to the proposal of a Four-Power Pact in 1933, to bring about a fruitful work of revision and of reconstruction by means of extensive international cooperation. Europe, or rather, the creators of the injustices and those who benefitted by the privileges arising therefrom, preferred to retain the injustices and to remain insensible toward the new forces and necessities which knocked incessantly at their door.

"The alternative, 'revision or war', remained unnoticed and was put in the background by the slogan, 'revision means war', which arose particularly from those states of Eastern Europe which were newly created and who were territorially and ethnologically inflated. Faced with the failure of his warnings, Mussolini adopted a different policy, and thereby the Abyssinian undertaking became the starting point of the dynamic events of the years from 1935 to 1940 which the Duce with a kind of prevision called the *anni cruciali*—those years which would be decisive for the fate of Europe."

"The European crisis is not a crisis of today or yesterday," commented the *Corriere della Sera* the same day on Ciano's speech. "It has existed ever since Versailles and has since then become continuously more serious until those years were reached which the Duce characterized, in a prophetic way, as decisive. Count Ciano has mentioned the repeated warnings which Mussolini made to the statesmen of the various countries and the proposals which Mussolini made at the time of warning and which had the prevention of the clash as their goal. The chronicle of these past twenty years is a vivid proof of the bad will of the so-called democratic governments in face of the problem of European cooperation. Refusing a peaceful revision of the peace treaties, preventing—even by means of criminal sanctions—the extension of the Italian living-space, designing the evil plan for the encirclement of Germany, delivering Spain into the hands of Bolshevism, renouncing the peaceful spirit gained at the conferences at Munich, reintroducing Bolshevik Russia into the circle of European powers: by these means the democracies have done everything, indeed, which led inevitably to present-day conditions. Mussolini has tried up to the last moment to bring about a peaceful solution, but everything was in vain in face of the obstinacy of Poland which, under the illusion of the platonic declarations of its allies, was led to the abyss."

"From the days of its creation," Virginio Gayda wrote in the *Giornale d'Italia* on December 17th, "Fascism propagated the slogan: revision of the system of the peace treaties. It seemed daring and insulting, the aggressive manifestation of a martial régime. But it was, as the last twenty years have proved, the true slogan of peace because only a timely and courageous will for revision could have saved the peace by establishing an equilibrium of the interests of all nations.

"The appeals of Mussolini were not listened to. But in spite of this he renewed them again and again at reparations conferences, at disarmament conferences, and, finally, in the general, political plan of the Four-Power Pact. Only when the futility of these attempts became evident, did Italian foreign policy, even though it remained true to its constructive principles, assume the independent direction which became manifest in the conquest of Abyssinia, in the participation in the Spanish war of liberation, in the cooperation and alliance with Germany, and, finally, in the annexation of Albania.

"The only road to peace," wrote the *Gazzetta del Popolo* on December 17th, "is and remains the revision of the unjust and unequal treaties, which violated the rights of the vanquished as well as of one victor, namely, Italy. To repair the damages to Italian interests means not only the recognition of the sacred rights of Italy but also the logic of a total revision which will give Europe a new countenance in accordance with the justified demands of the various peoples. Mussolini's vision was not egoistic but in the common interest of Europe. No one could imagine that the demands of living and strong

peoples could be forced for all eternity into a state of rigidity which for them was burning with humiliation."

"Would it not have been better," said the *Popolo d'Italia* on December 17th, "to have given land in Africa to an Italy which renounced demands for a revision of the colonial order? Would it not have been better to liquidate the tragic balance-sheet of the war by granting to Germany a rearmament to the level of a few hundred-thousand men?"

One should like to supplement these questions by the following:

Would it not have been better, by means of a timely application of the *colpo di spugna* which Mussolini advocated, to have eliminated the reparations problem, which led not only to a chaos in European and world economy but, furthermore, to a rekindling of the feeling of bitterness, of hatred, and of revenge which had been on the wane among the peoples? Would it not have been better if the whole problem of the distribution of colonies and of the access to the raw materials of the world had at the proper time been the subject of a solution which would have been just for everyone, if the whole system of tariffs, trade restrictions, and other obstacles to international trade had been abolished, and if this traffic had been conducted back into its natural channels which were determined by the geographical position and the natural needs of the various countries, instead of having been put at the service of political ambitions which perforce led only to disorganization, to frictions, and to tensions? Would it not have been better if the most dangerous powder-barrels of this European order of Versailles origin had been put out of the way in time, by providing the many millions of national minorities, which had been torn away from their mother countries, with a tolerable existence so that they might have adjusted themselves slowly to changed conditions? Would it, finally, not have been better if Article XIX of the Covenant had been applied in time and if, thereby, treaties and conditions which endangered the peace of the world had been changed or eliminated?

These questions have frequently been asked, but they have unfortunately never been answered, least of all by that organ which was especially provided for this task, the League of Nations, which has refused for so long to recognize the alternative which Mussolini enunciated, "reformation or decline", until it was too late, so that quite a number of great and small states acted consequentially.

* * *

Ciano's explanations about the relations to Germany were looked forward to with particular expectation. This expectation was all the greater since certain circles had hoped for a weakening of the Rome-Berlin Axis as a consequence of the German-Russian *rapprochement* and of the resolution of the Council of Ministers of September 1st which proclaimed Italy's non-belligerence. In face of these combinations and argumentations, Ciano gave a clear exposition which culminated in the declaration that the resolution of September 1st had been adopted in complete agreement with the Government of the Reich.

In regard to the possible consequences of the German-Russian Agreement the Fascist Grand Council, referring to

the "insinuating reports of foreign origin", had already clearly declared in its resolution of December 7th that the relations between Italy and Germany were to remain those which had been fixed by the treaty of alliance and the exchanges of ideas which took place at Milan, Salzburg, and Berlin. Count Ciano has now explained this short statement more in detail, on the one hand by establishing the causal relation existing between the British-French-Russian negotiations and the German-Russian *rapprochement* as well as by determining clearly the responsibility of the first for the latter, and on the other hand by emphasizing anew the Italian determination to remain true to its alliance obligations.

The comments which the above mentioned Italian newspapers make in this regard can be summarized as follows: The present is closely related to the historic and diplomatic past and to the constant attitude of Fascist Italy. The obligations toward Germany continue unimpaired even though it was agreed that they should not lead to automatic intervention by Italy. The German-Russian Agreement is of politico-military concern to Germany but not to Italy. But Bolshevism as a general European manifestation concerns Italy and particularly Fascist Italy. The anti-Bolshevist note in Ciano's speech, as well as the proclamation of a closer supervision of conditions in the Balkan and Danube region grow out of this realization. But it would be a mistake if it would be concluded therefrom that Italy wants to put itself at the head of a Balkan union.

Italy is not neutral and its attitude and its views remain the same as at the beginning of the conflict. Abstention from all armed measures finds its reason in the honest desire to keep the extent and the dangers of the war within the present limits. But this does not mean that it is indifferent to the development of this strange conflict or its conclusion. It does not mean, furthermore, that it is not solemnly resolved to defend its own material and moral interests at home and abroad, on land, on sea, and in the air, whenever these should be threatened during the conflict.

The attitude of "non-belligerence" is completely in agreement with the letter and the spirit of the obligations toward Germany, to which Italy remains true. That which the Duce said on March 26th in his speech to the Fascist combative organizations remains unchanged: "The time of the *tour de valse*, if they have existed at all, is passed once and for all. The general reference to it is an insult to us and to all Italians." No one must therefore mistake the state of "non-belligerence" for that cowardly neutrality which was rejected by Count Ciano to the enthusiastic applause of the Chamber.

All those insinuations of the world press about Italian machinations with a view of establishing contacts with the Western powers are therefore just as wrong as the interpretations which see in the "non-belligerence" a change in the relation to Germany. Only those can imagine all these things who do not know the treaties and the exact extent of the Italian obligations.

The state of "armed non-belligerence" signifies that Italy follows the events watchfully and "standing at attention" while reserving the right to intervene if its own interests and a just peace should demand it.

THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION ADOPTED BY THE FASCIST GRAND COUNCIL AT ITS MEETING OF DECEMBER 7TH, 1939, AT ROME

The Fascist Grand Council held its first meeting of the XVIII year of the Fascist Régime under the presidency of the Duce on December 7th at 10 p.m. at the Palazzo Venezia.

The Foreign Minister gave an exposition of Italian policy concerning international affairs during the last few months. The exposition lasted for two and a quarter hours and received the applause of the Grand Council.

Following this, the Duce spoke for an hour and a half,

L'Ordine del Giorno sulla Situazione Internazionale approvato dal Gran Consiglio del Fascismo nella prima Riunione dell'Anno XVIII E. F. tenuta al Palazzo Venezia il 7 dicembre 1939.

Il Gran Consiglio del Fascismo, sotto la presidenza del Duce, ha tenuto la prima riunione dell'Anno XVIII E. F. il 7 dicembre alle ore 22, nel Palazzo Venezia.

Il Ministro degli Esteri ha svolto una relazione sulla poli-

and with the conclusion of this discourse the Council adopted the following Order of the Day :

"After hearing the detailed report of the Foreign Minister, which was based upon irrefutable documentary material, the Fascist Grand Council affirmed that the events which had immediately preceded the war, that the character of a static siege which the war at the Western front had assumed, that its development, furthermore, which had taken place particularly in the economic sphere with the blockade and counter-blockade, and that the changes which had taken place in the territorial position as well as in the relation of forces from the Baltic to the Carpathians had completely justified the resolution of the Council of Ministers of September 1st. This resolution had decided upon the non-belligerence of Italy, a decision which prevented the extension of the conflict to the South-East of Europe and to the Mediterranean and which was reaffirmed by the Fascist Grand Council.

In regard to the insinuating reports of foreign origin the Fascist Grand Council declares that the relations between Italy and Germany remain those which have been fixed by the Treaty of Alliance and by the repeated exchange of ideas which preceded and followed it at Milan, Salzburg, and Berlin.

The Grand Council specifies that, considering the common land and sea frontiers which have increased on account of the union of the Kingdom of Albania with that of Italy, everything which might happen in the Danube-Balkan Basin must concern Italy directly.

In regard to its maritime traffic Italy intends, in the most explicit manner, to safeguard this commerce out of consideration for its prestige and its indisputable necessities of life.

The Grand Council, finally, gave its vivid approval to the work done by the Foreign Minister and commissioned him to give in the near future a report about the changes and phases of recent international policy to the Chamber of Fascists and Corporations."

tica dell'Italia in riferimento alla situazione internazionale degli ultimi mesi, relazione durata due ore e un quarto ed accolta dall'applauso del Gran Consiglio.

Il Duce ha quindi parlato per un'ora e mezza e al termine del suo discorso è stato approvato il seguente ordine del giorno :

« Il Gran Consiglio del Fascismo, udita l'ampia relazione del Ministro degli Esteri, accompagnata da una dettagliata irrefutabile documentazione

afferma che i precedenti immediati della guerra, il carattere di statico assedio assunto dalla guerra stessa sul fronte occidentale; il suo sviluppo attuatosi prevalentemente sul terreno economico col blocco e contro-blocco dei traffici; gli spostamenti avvenuti nella situazione territoriale e nei rapporti delle forze dal Baltico ai Carpati

leggitimano pienamente la decisione del Consiglio dei Ministri del 1° settembre che stabiliva la « non belligeranza » dell'Italia, decisione che ha sin qui evitato l'estensione del conflitto all'Europa sud-orientale e al Mediterraneo, decisione che il Gran Consiglio riconferma.

Di fronte a tendenziose informazioni di origine straniera, il Gran Consiglio dichiara che i rapporti fra Italia e Germania rimangono quali furono fissati del Patto di alleanza e dagli scambi di vedute che ebbero luogo — prima e dopo — a Milano, Salisburgo, Berlino,

Precisa che tutto ciò che può accadere nel bacino danubiano-balcanico non può non interessare direttamente l'Italia date le comuni frontiere territoriali e marittime accresciute dopo l'unione del Regno di Albania a quello d'Italia.

Per quanto riguarda i suoi traffici marittimi l'Italia intende salvaguardarli nella maniera più esplicita e per il suo prestigio e per le sue indiscutibili necessità di vita.

Ciò premesso il Gran Consiglio rivolge un vivo plauso all'opera svolta dal Ministro degli Esteri e gli dà mandato di riferire prossimamente alla Camera dei Fasci e delle Corporazioni sulle recenti vicende e fasi della politica internazionale. »

TEXT OF THE SPEECH MADE BY THE ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER COUNT GALEAZZO CIANO TO THE CHAMBER OF FASCISTS AND CORPORATIONS AT ROME ON DECEMBER 15TH, 1939

" Comrades,

You will understand that in order to give to the country a precise review of the events of the last months, I have to go back to events which already seem to lie in the past but which are closely connected with the crisis which torments Europe at present and threatens the whole world.

The Turning-Point in European History

When we emphasize again the correctness of the declarations made by Mussolini, we do not do so in order to bring about reflections which are now superfluous, but on the contrary, we do so because it is necessary to revive every one's memory in regard to the farsightedness of Fascist policy as it has presented itself since May, 1927—to be more exact, since May 26th, 1927, that is, since that speech which has gone over into the history of the Fascist Revolution as the 'Ascension Day speech'. The Duce declared in that speech, which was held in this same room, that between 1935 and 1940 we would find ourselves at the fatal crossroads in the history of Europe.

The European Dilemma after 1919 : Revision of the Treaties or War

The only task I have set myself in the course of my exposition is to show how Fascist Italy has not confined itself to announcing dangers without taking action but has repeatedly made constructive offers of cooperation, and how these constructive efforts have failed again and again because of the lack of understanding on the part of others.

Fascism has recognized for a long time, for a very long time indeed, that the European system erected in the treaties of peace and artificially sustained by the system of collective security would lead Europe toward a new catastrophe. The peace treaties have torn Europe asunder and divided it into victors and vanquished, keeping the latter in a permanent state of servitude.

Already in 1919, at the time of their foundation, the Fascist combating organizations wrote the demand for the reconciliation of all the vanquished nations and the revision of the treaties upon their banners as one of their fundamental postulates of Fascist foreign policy.

In 1921 the Duce pointed out the dilemma with which Europe was inevitably confronted: either the revision of the treaties or a new war.

Eighteen years after these words were spoken, we see how these causes of the conflict which now stains Europe with blood have been indicated by Fascism at a time when the germs of this conflict were still invisible, when the dangers were barely developing, and, moreover, when Europe was still in the position to correct these mistakes which were made not only at the expense of the vanquished but particularly at the expense of Italy. From this time on Fascism has pointed the way toward the reestablishment of the elements of peaceful cooperation which had been destroyed by the peace treaties and whose reconstitution was made impossible by the policy of some of the victorious nations who held strictly to that formula which proved to be fateful for Europe: revision means war.

The Air-Castle of Reparations, the Illusion and the Mask of Collective Security, and the Errors of the System of Inequality

Upon this formula was built that air-castle which called itself reparations, military guarantees, collective security and which, under the illusion that it was possible to keep Europe in a state of permanent rigidity, suppressed the forces of reconstruction and made them ineffective.

Our struggle against this dangerous deception was long and stubborn. For ten years—from the Conference of London in 1922 to the Conference of Lausanne in 1932—we have fought against the system of reparations which weakened the economic life of the debtor nations. Europe would have been saved ten years of ruin and struggle if the radical solution of 'wiping the slate clean' had been applied in time.

This system of inequalities which limited the sovereign rights, and particularly the right of self-defence, of Germany and of those nations who had been her allies during the war should have been liquidated; without this, these countries inevitably took the right of self-defence on their own accord and thereby prevented successive attempts at disarmament—whose sincerity they had only too much reason to mistrust—from becoming effective.

The only possibility of restraining Europe in its armaments race and in its course leading toward war was to return to those countries their equality of rights as an indispensable condition for an agreement creating an equilibrium of armaments. We were the only ones in Geneva who emphasized this elementary necessity because we felt that Europe broke up, morally and materially, because of the policy drafted for it in the peace treaties. The struggle of nationalities commenced within boundaries which were frequently drawn without any understanding. The financial crisis, partly caused by the reparations system, destroyed the arteries of the European economy and transformed the states into closed and armed camps. The system of collective security divided the states and forced them into opposing groups, which, in turn, became the forerunners of those power blocs whose dangers the Duce has pointed out and fought against for so many years.

Collective security as a system which would give security to every state was an illusion and a mask. It was an illusion because it made the small states believe that they were protected against the might of the Great Powers, whereas in reality they were artificially drawn into their conflicts. It was a mask behind which an attempt was made to construct a system of alliances which methodically isolated and threatened some states. The attempts to create a real system of collective security had no other content and no other meaning than to make the obligation of mutual assistance which was provided for in the Covenant automatic. The alliances which were concluded with the view of providing for the practical execution of these obligations had no other goal than to serve clearly as a means of exerting political and military pressure in the service of special interest groups. These alliances were destined to serve as a basis of that policy which would infallibly lead Europe back toward war.

Mussolini's Vain Attempt to Call a Halt: the Four-Power Pact and a Disarmament Proposal

Italy once tried to call a halt to this march on the road toward war. On March 18th, 1933, the Duce made a proposal to the British Prime Minister in which the four Great Western Powers, Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain, were to find the basis for a permanent collaboration. This offer had as its purpose the elimination of all possibility of hostile intentions and groupings and to find thereby a means of adjusting the particular interests of the various states in the service of the higher common interest, that of securing the peace. The essence of this proposed agreement was the revision of the treaties and a disarmament convention. This was a last attempt to prevent the unavoidable failure of the Disarmament Conference

and to transfer the responsibility for solving the vital problems of European peace to the concert of the Great Powers. In conjunction the Duce made proposals in regard to disarmament: retention of the status quo by the armed nations, and rearmament, within the limits indicated by the Government of the Reich as the minimum requirement, by those nations which had been disarmed. The Four-Power Pact as well as the disarmament proposals remained dead letters. When it became evident that this would be so, the Duce made the following statement, which it is impossible to forget: 'The very day that the delegates to the Disarmament Conference are forced to declare that disarmament is a Utopia, a magnificent but also a dangerous Utopia, the League of Nations will have lost all importance and all esteem. In the place of a policy which excluded, at least in appearance, the formation of blocs of states will be a policy of blocs, of alliances, in other words, the pre-war system. His Majesty the Cannon will have the last word in the discussion.'

Under such conditions there was just one duty left for Italy: to work with all its resolution and forces for the defence of its own interests, for its expansion, and for the erection of an empire.

The Conquest of Abyssinia

The Abyssinian undertaking was the logical consequence not only of the unequal position of Italy in regard to colonial matters, but also of its obligation to think of its own security, its independence, and its future.

We were opposed by all those powers of suppression and force which we had uncovered and fought against for eighteen years and which held that the time had come for the use of their collective armaments in a premeditated siege, in order to exhaust us and force us to our knees. These weapons were broken by the resolution of a people and the genius of a leader. Italy emerged as the undisputed victor from this undertaking which was quickly accomplished not because resistance and difficulties were lacking but because all obstacles were inexorably run over by the Fascist monster, which, in keeping with the character of the Duce, acted most insistently and most vividly in those places where the resistance was greatest.

In Africa the victory was consolidated through the force of arms while we resisted a coalition of fifty-two nations in Europe. Those nations which demanded justice, just as we did, did not participate in the pressure which was brought to bear upon us, and with them we formed spontaneous connections which have become closer and more solid with time and events."

Count Ciano spoke then of the Spanish Civil War, the origin of which he traced to communism. He criticized the attitude of the two Western democracies in this conflict and praised the deeds of the Italian legionaries, whose heroism and sacrifice was manifest in the four thousand fallen. "They are, said Count Ciano in closing this part of his speech, the surest guardians of the friendship and collaboration of the two nations.

It must not be forgotten that when the storm which shakes Europe at present has, so far, permitted the Mediterranean to remain an industrious oasis of peace, this has been made possible only by the heroic will of the Caudillo, who broke the base powers of disorder and disintegration in Spain, and by those nations which understood and supported his great and noble efforts.

The Origin of the Rome-Berlin Axis and of the Tri-Partite Treaty

Germany was among these nations. Its National-Socialist Government did not remain deaf to the call of the Spanish people. Even though the Reich was interested neither in this question nor in conditions in the Mediterranean to the same degree as Italy, nevertheless, for reasons of ideological and

cultural solidarity, it gave its technical and military contribution in support of Franco's efforts. The parallelism of the policies of Germany and Italy became constantly more evident, and it was therefore a natural phenomenon that contacts were made at a given moment with the view of coordinating the measures of the two countries toward a common goal which was in opposition to the common opponents and their coalition. The policy of the Rome-Berlin Axis, which had appeared already in outline during the Abyssinian crisis, found its first concrete application in the Spanish Nationalist Revolution. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that those who opposed us during the conquest of Abyssinia had not in any way given up their obstruction policy in regard to us. Not being in a position to undo that which is recorded in history as a magnificent accomplishment, they tried to deceive themselves with the trick of non-recognition of the Roman Imperium.

In the Protocols of Berlin and in the meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden the bases for closer Italo-German cooperation were fixed more precisely than could be done in documents. This collaboration went beyond that concerned with the anti-comintern policy to questions concerning common interests. The bonds between the two countries constantly became closer through the spontaneous agreement upon the direction and methods which were required by the European interests of the two governments.

As has already been stated, Italy and Germany did not form a bloc; the Italo-German system was called an "axis" and not a "force of division". A long experience under particularly difficult conditions has shown that the parallel policies of the two great authoritarian states of Europe constitute an element of order and resistance against the attacks upon European civilization by the dark forces of destruction. Conditions being such—and after the visit of the Duce to Germany in September, 1936—Italy accepted the German invitation and adhered as a founder nation to the Anti-Comintern Pact concluded by Germany and Japan.

What is the extent and the value of this pact? It is not difficult to answer this question: it had the political purpose of solidifying the anti-communist system and of preparing the closer cooperation in all fields which had been created by this system. If this pact had not had this goal but had only signified a collaboration in the administrative sphere between the three governments in their defence against communist propaganda, then this pact would not have been necessary and would have remained within the modest limits of a police agreement instead of taking the form of a solemn political agreement which unites the signatory states.

The conclusion of the tri-partite agreement found a loud echo in the world and was much commented upon. Nobody could, however, be surprised by our decision because it presented the absolute continuity of the policy of Mussolini, who had been the first in the whole world to point out the dangers of Bolshevism and who had fought it with the same determination with which the struggle was fought out in the Spanish trenches.

The Resignation from the League, the Enemy of a Real Peace

A few weeks after the signature of the tri-partite agreement Italy announced her solemn determination to leave the League of Nations and to break off all relations with Geneva. This gesture arose, too, from the development of our policy. The conflict which had arisen between us and the League found its natural end in the resolution which was adopted by the Fascist Grand Council and proclaimed to the people by the Duce on December 11th, 1937. Once again we had given to the world an example of remarkable patience before we took a step, the consequences of which we realized: the withdrawal of Italy meant the death of the League. Once more, on November 1st, 1936, the Duce had put before the League this alternative: reformation or decline. The League had

rejected the call for reformation, so that only the second alternative remained. No tears will be shed by us at the bier of that organization which for a time has been both our enemy and that of peace.

Munich and Mussolini's Peace Action

Italo-German collaboration was developed upon the basis of the Berlin Protocols and of the Anti-Comintern Pact in the direction of this goal: continued *rapprochement* between the two peoples and an effective European peace policy.

The germs of crisis in Europe had grown to a disquieting degree. Although the danger of the Spanish question had come to an end with the victory of the Caudillo, the latent tension already existing for a long time between Germany and Czechoslovakia moved rapidly in the direction of a settlement by force. The attitude of Italy in this question is well known. Italy wanted to see justice and common sense applied; it then tried to localize the conflict and, finally, at the last hour, saved the peace. When humanity tremblingly expected at every moment the first cannon shot, the Duce succeeded in stopping Europe at the brink of war. The settlement of Munich saved the peace of Europe, and for the first time a path of light for the hopes of the people seemed to open up through the turmoil of hatred, of bitterness, and of revenge of the post-war period.

Munich was to present not only the solution of a question involving a national minority and a single and passing episode of good-will and justice. In the hopes of the peoples Munich represented, rather, the beginning of a period of understanding, of cooperation, and of appeasement. The understanding of realities was too vivid in us to let us lose ourselves in dangerous and premature optimism, but what we expected, and justly so, was that the danger which threatened Europe would open the eyes of the authors of the policy of force and that the most difficult problems had found at least the beginning of a peaceful settlement.

Anti-Munich and the Failure of the Detension The Beginning of the Policy of Encirclement

But no relaxation of tension took place after Munich. The sigh of relief which humanity breathed after the war had been avoided was dampened in a few weeks by those forces who, seeing the fate of Europe taken out of their hands, regarded the future with one sole preoccupation—retribution. Munich was followed by the anti-Munich. That which had been regarded as an act of judiciousness was now attacked as a capitulation. From this feeling, which began to have its effect upon some of the participating statesmen, the following conclusion was drawn: Munich must not be repeated. 'Never again a Munich' was the watchword; not in the sense that it was desired to let things drift and let events drive the world into war—because that had been avoided at the last moment—but in the sense that the policy of compulsion was to be taken up again, even in a stronger form, that the door which had been opened at Munich was to be closed again, and that a barrier was to be let down to close the avenue of peace which Munich had opened.

As the democracies, strangely enough, love the language of peace, they began to call this policy 'the peace front' and their coalition 'the democratic front', just as they had called their cooperation with Bolshevism in their internal politics 'the popular front'. There were three fronts, therefore, which were connected by one single goal: the alliance with the Soviet Union and the ideological, political, and military encirclement of Germany and Italy.

The Creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the Union of Albania with Italy No Preconceived Plan

In March, 1939, the Reich decided to occupy Bohemia and Moravia and to create a protectorate. In the first weeks

of April Italy consummated the union with Albania with the unanimous agreement of the Skipetarian people.

These two events were of the greatest importance—the one for Germany, the other for Italy; but both were, as must be emphasized once more, absolutely independent of one another. There is no truth in the talk about this pretended agreement between Germany and Italy which the peacefront tried to uncover with the evident purpose of drawing the countries of the Danube and the Balkans into the encirclement policy. The Italian soldiers did not land in Durazzo because German soldiers had moved a few weeks previously into Prague. The occupation of Albania was a purely Italian undertaking; it was caused solely by our rights, by our interests, and by the situation created in Albania which had no connection whatsoever with the Czech affair. The union of Albania with Italy was the culmination of old Italian rights and of a work of many years which we had undertaken for the benefit of the Albanian people.

The events of the eight months after the occupation of Albania prove the validity of our statements about the reasons for the Italian measures. Order and an industrious peace reign in Albania as was never the case during the past centuries, and this peace and this order are not upheld under threat or by the use of force but are the consequences of a complete and fraternal cooperation between the Italian and Albanian peoples upon the basis of equal rights and duties.

The Encirclement Policy and the German-Italian Treaty The Discussions at Milan

The union of Albania and Italy presents—as we stated already at the time of occupation—no threat to any other country. But this event also brought forth a strong press-campaign which had been conducted already for some time in France, Britain, and Russia against Italy and Germany. At this occasion plans of attack upon our boundaries, our colonies, and our lines of communication were propagated. Stupid and fantastic plans, but nevertheless dangerous. At the same time a program of the encirclement of Italy and Germany by means of a system of alliances was announced, planned, and executed.

The beginnings of this system lie far back in the past. The British Government, in agreement with that of France, had tried during the Abyssinian conflict to establish in the Mediterranean a system for mutual assistance which would come into play in the event of a conflict with Italy. We had reacted sharply to this plan: first, by bringing about the termination of these agreements and then, by establishing relations with Yugoslavia upon a basis of closer cooperation and confidence. This led to the solidification of a common system of security and peace in the Adriatic. Now the old plan was brought up again and was connected with a program of eastern alliances, having the purpose of isolating and encircling Germany.

The British-French offer to Poland, which led to the treaties of August 25th and September 4th, was announced on March 31st in London. I shall come back to this later.

Discussions about a tri-partite treaty of alliance began on April 8th in Moscow. The British-French guarantee-offers to Roumania and Greece were announced on April 13th in London and Paris. After this the British Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that the British and Turkish Governments had agreed to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance as well as a general guarantee-treaty for the Balkan countries. So, day after day, the links were closed in that chain with which its creators intended to complete the blockade of Germany in the East of Europe and the blockade of Italy in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans.

Under these conditions nothing was more natural than a consultation between Italy and Germany in order to determine and fix the development of the common policy. This consultation took place in Milan on May 6th and 7th. The

Foreign Minister of the Reich and I found that the situation was judged, in Rome as well as in Berlin, in absolutely the same way and that future plans were identical. While Italy and Germany were resolved to beat back with the force of arms any attack from the opponents, they were equally unanimous in regarding it as a necessity to do everything possible to safeguard and solidify the peace of Europe for a long period of time. This period was needed by both powers, so that they might perfect their internal reconstruction and complete their military preparations. The duration of this period was estimated by us as being three years and by Germany as four or five years—not that it would have been the program of Italy and Germany to disturb the peace of the world with threatening or aggressive proposals after this time had elapsed; on the contrary, our cooperation had the purpose of creating a basis of fundamental importance upon which it would be easier in the future to construct the security and the peace of Europe, which, in turn, could be stable and real only if the vital necessities of Italy and Germany could have been understood and satisfied with complete equality. The Government of the Reich, therefore, agreed with us that it would be inopportune to open up questions which would cause new polemics to arise before the above mentioned time had elapsed.

Upon these presumptions and with the goal of crystallizing the identical wills of Italy and Germany into a common front against the encirclement, the forthcoming signature of an alliance-treaty was announced at Milan. The signing took place in Berlin on May 22nd. As was stated at once in the declarations at the ceremony of signature, the treaty was not meant as a threat to anyone, because the Fascist and the National-Socialist Governments had had the upholding of the peace of Europe in mind during the negotiations as well as at the time of the signature and because, on the other hand, the treaty represented the juridical arrangement of that solidarity between Rome and Berlin which, in the course of great international events, had repeatedly been proved to be complete and solid.

The Responsibility of the Democracies for the Division of Europe into Two Blocs

The treaty, which contains besides the clause of mutual assistance also provisions concerning consultation and agreement, established the relations between Italy and Germany on the same level as that on which the relations between France and Great Britain found themselves at that time. It is therefore impossible to charge Italy and Germany with the responsibility of having split Europe into two opposing blocs, particularly as this is a political concept against which we have always fought because we saw the unavoidable danger which arose therefrom. It was the democracies, rather, which day after day prepared such a development. The Treaty of Berlin, far from being a threat, was therefore only the answer to the threat which the others had the intention of putting into action against us.

I have declared that we were imbued with a sincere and deep desire for peace when we concluded the Treaty of Berlin. This can easily be proved. The speech which the Duce made on the Capitol and in which he sketched the new policies of the country was, in the Fascist manner, followed at once by the deeds. The intensification of the preparations for the Exposition in 1942, the transformation of the Sicilian *latifond* into *bonifica*, the great program of the colonization of the Empire, and the immediate measures for the development and utilization of Albania all prove that Fascist Italy had the intention of turning toward fruitful and noble tasks which required a long period of peace for their accomplishment.

Germany too—completely absorbed by its work of internal reconstruction—was imbued with a desire for peace, the sincerity of which no one has a right to doubt. The Polish question

-which, at the time of the conversations at Milan and of the Treaty of Berlin, was far from that state of tension which at a certain moment made a peaceful settlement impossible—was meant at that time to become the object of diplomatic discussions. This intention had repeatedly been affirmed by responsible statesmen of the Reich.

The German-Polish Conflict and Its Causes

The Utopia of Versailles: the Imprisonment of the German People

The Political and Ethnological Inflation of Poland Danzig and the Corridor

What were the causes of this sudden and, for many, unexpected tension between Germany and Poland?

It would be a vain task to look for them in recent and accidental occurrences. Neither the incidences in the Corridor nor the conflict around Danzig set Europe on fire. One must go further back to the time when Poland was created as an independent state, to the form of its foundation, and to the reasons for which this form was brought into existence.

Poland, as it arose from the Peace Conference and from later decisions, was intended to be the last link in the chain with which the Utopia of Versailles intended to shackle that problem which presents itself to the world in the existence of Germany in the heart of Europe. In the same way in which the conception of the encirclement of Germany was proved to be a fundamental error which became the source of all crises which troubled the life of our continent in the last twenty years, so was its practical execution also a mistake. In order to give artificial strength to those countries which were to be the iron bars in the prison which was to be built around Germany, these states were inflated politically and ethnologically, whereas it was not realized that it was just these measures which would lead to their weakening and ruin. Poland became a glowing example and a victim of this inflation. One could hear for many years that Poland had at last approached the status of a great power, particularly so as it represented a unified people. But how many of its thirty-four million inhabitants were really Poles? Perhaps twenty, perhaps eighteen million. The others—and they amounted to 40 % of the population—were Germans, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, and Jews, all elements which were foreign to the Polish nation and which were so numerous that it was folly to think that it would be possible to assimilate and absorb them.

In addition to this organically unhealthy burden there were two other causes of weakness: the more legal rather than effective removal of Danzig from Germany, a city which was German by tradition, culture, and blood; and the creation of the Corridor, which was, by the separation of the German national territory into two parts, the most perfect expression of the stupidity perpetrated at Versailles.

The Realistic Policy of Pilsudski and the Baseless Policy of His Successors

This is neither the place nor the occasion for a review of the changes which took place in German-Polish relations; but it is worthwhile to remember that it was Marshal Pilsudski, that great Pole, who started his country with clear-sightedness in the right direction by not basing the policy of his country upon the doubtful conception of an insecure international equilibrium but upon that realistic, eternal, and unchangeable factor—geography.

In 1932 he concluded, therefore, a non-aggression pact with Russia, and in 1934, after National-Socialism had come to power, he concluded a treaty with Germany which established, indeed for several years, the relations between Berlin and Warsaw upon a basis of correctness and sometimes even of collaboration.

With the loss of Marshal Pilsudski the policy of Poland became characterized again by a succession of vacillations and

waverings. The determined leadership of the Polish leader was not continued by his successors, who, on the contrary, were influenced in their official measures by ideas which went beyond the realm of realities. Eager to play a part in European affairs which the state was able to support only with difficulty, the Polish Government did not hesitate to adopt an attitude and to take steps which made the position of its country constantly more precarious. Those who governed Poland were, for instance, the strongest opponents of the Four-Power Pact, which they even subjected to their ridicule. This initiative which would have secured the European balance of power as well as the national life of Poland was disparaged by them with the expression 'butcher-club'. It is certainly partly due to them that the Four-Power Pact was sabotaged.

Germany's Moderate Proposals and the Polish Rejection

The events which led to the last crisis are well known. The German Government asked that of Poland on March 21st to settle the problems of Danzig and the Corridor. The German proposals in this regard were judged to be reasonable by impartial observers. The Polish answer was in effect a rejection, and the incidences, which had already from time to time poisoned the relations between the two states, arose anew with greater violence. This could not be surprising to anyone who made an effort to recognize the effect of a dangerous propaganda against Germany which was spread by the responsible elements of the Polish people.

The events which followed have shown upon what fallacious tenets this propaganda was based and how neither the political leadership nor the sense of military responsibility of the governing circles corresponded to the heroism of the Polish people, to which neither we nor their enemy deny recognition.

The Dangerous Weapon of the British-French Unconditional Guarantee

The Franco-British decision to offer military guarantees to Poland, which was announced on March 31st, caused Warsaw to stiffen its attitude irrevocably in regard to the German demands. The situation took a dangerous turn on that day, and this did not escape the notice of the Duce. Already on May 27th he had, in a conversation with the British Ambassador, called the attention of the Government of London to the consequences which the offer of the dangerous weapon of the unconditional guarantee of France and Great Britain to the Polish Government would have for the peace of Europe.

Strengthened by this guarantee, Poland actually evaded the adoption of an attitude of reconciliation at a time when great opportunities for understanding were still existing. The incidences multiplied, the tension constantly became more evident, and the danger of war hung in the air.

Under these circumstances and in order to offer our cooperation to Germany in a search for a solution of the crisis which could satisfy the German interests and save the peace of Europe, we took the initiative for the Meeting of Salzburg, which took place on August 11th, 12th, and 13th.

The Meeting at Salzburg

Even though the situation was judged in Rome to be very dangerous, we thought it nevertheless expedient to make an attempt to prevent the crisis from moving irrevocably toward a solution by means of war. Upon the initiative of the Duce I proposed to the Government of the Reich, therefore, that it be publicly announced that Italy and Germany, anxious for the fate of Europe, had come to the understanding that it would still be possible, in spite of the seriousness of the moment, to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems which so seriously disturbed the life of Europe by means of normal diplomatic discussions.

In the long discussions with the Führer and the Foreign Minister I was given a detailed explanation of the reasons for

which Germany could no longer consent to the delay and the postponement peculiar to diplomatic discussions at the hands of an opponent who had up to that time given proof only of bad faith in regard to a just settlement. The incidences which were multiplied hourly had in the view of the Government of the Reich taken the conflict beyond the sphere of a diplomatic settlement into that of the military field. Since the time of the discussions at Salzburg it was clear, therefore, that without a radical change in the political attitude the solution by force of arms would be the most likely. But it became equally clear that it was the will of Hitler that the conflict should be kept within the confines of Germany and Poland, that the fire should under all circumstances be prevented from spreading, and that the crisis should not become general. We on our part did not fail to bring again to the notice of the Government of the Reich those reasons—with which it was already acquainted—for which the Fascist Government desired a peaceful settlement or, in case of its impossibility, a strict localization of the conflict.

From these reasons arose the attitude which Italy adopted during the troubled weeks between the meeting at Salzburg and the beginning of the German military operations against Poland.

The Realistic Plan of the Duce: Danzig for Germany

While the European diplomacy lost itself in the search for formulas which were incapable of stopping the development of events, the Duce was trying to found the solution of the difference upon a realistic basis. The time for discussions and polemics had passed already for a long time, and if peace was to be saved, it was necessary to make a gesture by which Germany's just rights were to be recognized and by which an atmosphere of confidence and the desire for a conference were to be created. This gesture could have been made in the form of the union of Danzig with Germany because this city really belonged to it, while Poland had only certain rights which were more theoretical than practical and which could have been safeguarded. It was really absurd to believe, under the conditions which had come to pass—after a long chain of bloody incidences had occurred, after newspaper controversies had heated the feelings and poisoned the atmosphere, and after the mobilization had placed large armies face to face—that Hitler could agree to participate in a conference which had as its only preparation the repeated refusals of Poland and its guarantors. These fundamental facts were recognized and defended by Italy after my return from Salzburg, at which time it would still have been possible with a single-minded and sincere effort to change the course of events.

The German-Russian Rapprochement and the Responsibility of Paris and London

The Conclusion of the Treaty between Germany and Russia after the Fruitless Policy of the Western Democracies in the Canossa of the Kremlin

In the meantime a new event had taken place: the German-Russian reconciliation. The singular importance of the decision of the Governments of Moscow and Berlin to conclude a non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet-Union was increased by the surprise which this news produced in the whole world. As is well known, France and Great Britain had for many months worked for the realization of a policy of closer cooperation with Russia which was to be culminated in the repeatedly predicted signature of a pact which, according to press reports, was to include even military collaboration. This latter seemed all the more probable as, in addition to the political and economic experts, a military mission had been in Moscow for several months.

It is correct that the slow progress of the negotiations and the presence of certain problems, about which a fundamental difference of opinion seemed to exist between Russia and the Western democracies, seemed to make the quick and advanta-

geous conclusion of the negotiations, which had drawn on since the month of April, doubtful. But few expected that ending which was the result of the conclusion of the German-Russian Treaty and all the less so because the Anglo-French press announced every other day that the signature of the agreement between the Bolshevist Government and the Governments of London and Paris was imminent and because they praised the policy of Moscow at every opportunity without stint.

Russia, which had just passed through a serious crisis in the form of a purification of the old guard of Lenin during which dozens of death-sentences against revolutionary leaders, marshals, admirals, ambassadors, etc. were pronounced and executed, received the honor of her reentry into international politics from the great democracies, which for five long months, from April to August, needlessly discussed outside the gates of the Canossa of the Kremlin, to which they were refused access. If the great democracies had left Russia alone, Germany would have had good reason to do the same.

As far as we are concerned, it must be stated that we have discussed this question with the German Government ever since April and May and that we agreed that a policy of understanding with Russia should be followed, so that Russia would be neutralized and thereby be prevented from becoming a partner in the system of encirclement propagated by the great democracies.

I was informed at Salzburg that the economic negotiations which were taking place at Moscow were proceeding very favorably, so that there was hope for further developments. On the evening of August 21st at 10 P.M. I received a telephone call from Herr von Ribbentrop, who informed me that he would go to Moscow on the 23rd in order to sign the non-aggression pact between the Reich and the Soviet-Union.

The Increased Tension of the Situation and Mussolini's Last Attempt to Save the Peace The Reasons for Its Failure

During the last days of August the situation became hourly more serious. The events are still vividly in the memory of all, so that I do not have to review them. While Italy continued to exert its moderating influence upon both parties in the hope that an understanding would still be possible, it did not neglect taking all those military and civil measures which in such serious circumstances appeared to be indispensable for the protection of its national security. We determined at the same time in close contact and common agreement with the Government of the Reich what the attitude of Italy would be in case the crisis should end in an armed conflict.

The last attempt at an understanding was made by the Duce on August 31st even though the situation had become so tense that a peaceful settlement hardly seemed possible. The English and French Governments were informed that the Duce—if he would be assured beforehand of the support of France and Britain and the participation of Poland—could call an international conference with the purpose of revising the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, those causes of Europe's troubles. The delay in the arrival of the answers, which came after the first hostilities at the German-Polish boundary had occurred, and the subsequent British demand for the evacuation of the German troops from the Polish territory under military occupation—a demand whose acceptance no one could recommend to the Führer for understandable reasons—caused the failure of these last efforts which the Duce had undertaken with his courageous and responsible will in order to save Europe from the tragic trial.

Italy's Clear Attitude in the Conflict in Complete Agreement with the Government of the Reich

After the outbreak of the hostilities between Germany and Poland and after the public announcement of the British-

French decision to give military assistance to Poland—in agreement with the treaties of alliance which obligated Britain and France toward Poland—the Fascist Government declared after the meeting of the Council of Ministers on September 1st in the communiqué that Italy would not undertake any military steps.

This resolution was known to the German Government and to it alone. No other government was informed of it before. It fixed the Italian attitude in the conflict with precision and in complete agreement with the Government of the Reich as is evident from Hitler's telegram to the Duce on the morning of September 1st in which he thanked Italy for its diplomatic and political support and declared that because of the fact that Germany disposed of sufficient military forces for the solution of the task, no need existed for Italian military assistance.

The Reasons for the Policy of the Non-Belligerent Power A Pack of Falsifications and Miserable Lies

The attitude which was adopted by Italy on September 1st is that of a non-belligerent power and is in complete agreement with the German intentions to localize the conflict and with the obligations determined in the treaties for each of the two states. These and no other, absolutely no other, are the reasons for the declaration that Italy would not take any military measures. But because the craziest statements have been made by inevitably present, diseased imaginations about Italy's determination to stand watchfully at attention instead of plunging into that war which all have declared they did not desire and into which up to this day no one has actually thrown himself or—according to the most recent and repeated official declarations—has any intention of throwing himself, at least on land, the moment has come, therefore, solemnly to settle accounts with this pack of falsifications.

According to some of these Italy has kept itself outside the conflict right from the beginning because it was not prepared in the military field. Just as Fascist Italy has in the course of a few years conquered its empire, just as it brought its glorious campaign in Spain to a successful ending, and just as it could, after the union with Albania, provide 734 kilometers of Balkan boundary with the means of defence, so was it ready on September 1st with its men and armies, if its interests and obligations should demand it, to undergo the severest trials. I have already declared that Italy, particularly because of the immense consumption of her wealth during two wars, needed a period of at least three years in order to bring the preparations of its armaments up to the desired level, that is, to its maximum capacity. The precipitous succession of events has not brought about a change in this fact. But no one has the right to draw therefrom the conclusion that Italy would have been unprepared at the moment of trial.

Others have declared that the Italian people had feared war. Nothing is more stupid or further from the truth, because on the basis of the facts, nothing could be less subject to scornful refutation. So little do the Italian people fear war that from 1911 to this day the years of war surpass in number the years of peace. From 1911 to 1912 the conquest of Lybia took place; from 1915 to 1918 the participation in the World War; from 1924 to 1931 the reconquest of Lybia; between 1935 and 1936 the conquest of Abyssinia; and from 1936 to 1939 the participation in the Spanish war.

Finally, there has been talk—and how could they omit this?—of opposition of popular opinion, of resistances, of discontentment, and of similar fairy-tales. When will it ever be understood that the Italian people cannot be judged by these things? When will it be realized that these lies serve only to widen the gulf which separates us from those who create and disseminate them? The truth is that in August, 1939, as always in the past and as ever in the future, the Italian people had only one heart and one belief and only one single will: that of the Duce. They have stood still because he commanded it; they would have marched and they will march if, when, and where he so determines.

Another lie which deserves only scorn is the assertion that this or that power has demanded explanations, assurances, or guarantees in regard to the Italian attitude. Nothing

of that kind has taken place and no one has exerted such pressure upon us. If that had been the case, we would have given a suitable answer. The truth is, rather, that wherever the value and the significance of the attitude taken by Italy has been understood, the hopes of these peoples have been concentrated upon our country and primarily upon the person of the Duce, as they also in the anxious hours of watchfulness will orient themselves accordingly.

The all-upsetting military action of Germany ended the war in Poland in a few weeks. The political events developed just as rapidly, with the signature of the friendship- and boundary-treaty between Russia and Germany. At that time, when the military operations in the East had come to an end and those in the West had not yet commenced—as they have practically not done even to this day—a peace-offensive was spoken of and connected, in particular, with my trip to Berlin in the first days of October at the invitation of the German Government.

The Relations between Germany and Italy as Determined by the Treaty of Alliance No More Reason for the Continuation of the War

The world-press wrote about Italian peace efforts or about a demand of the German Government that we should bring about negotiations. All this is incorrect. My trip to Berlin at the end of this first phase of the conflict had its reason in the German desire to give us information about the whole course of the conflict and about their future plans. Germany did not demand anything of us, and no step in the direction of negotiations was taken. The visit to Berlin belongs in that category of usual contacts which are kept up between the two countries, and it is necessary to repeat, as has recently been affirmed by the Fascist Grand Council, that the relations between Italy and Germany remain on that basis which was established in the treaty of alliance and in the accompanying exchange of opinion. This is not going to surprise anyone and particularly not those who heard the speech of the Duce at the twentieth anniversary of the Fascist combative organizations.

The War-Aims of the Democracies Extinguish the Hopes for Peace

At the end of the war in Poland Germany announced directly to the world, and not by way of Italy, that there was no reason for the continuation of the war or, in other words, no reason for its extension against the Western powers. Hopes of peace were visible once more on the horizon but they were only of short duration. They soon disappeared when the democracies made known their intentions and war-aims. To the Germany which had been victorious in the East, to the Germany which had realized a comprehensive agreement with Russia which did not solely concern the Polish question but which also deeply changed the situation in the Baltic, they spoke not only of a reconstitution of Poland but also of Czechoslovakia and of Austria. Such ideas are, of course, not realizable, and it is clear that even though Germany was ready to examine the problem of the erection of a Polish national state, it could not permit the policy of National-Socialism and its leaders to be put on trial. He who really desires to do fruitful peace-work must remain on the basis of reality; otherwise the peace of Europe will not be re-established; on the contrary, the differences will become intensified and the conflicts will become more serious and extensive.

The Fascist-Balkan Policy No Necessity for a Balkan Bloc

It is generally recognized that it has been the realistic attitude of Italy which up to the present has prevented a general extension of the conflict, and the attention of all those states who desire to protect their own interests and at the same time to save the peace of the world is therefore turned toward our country. In spite of this, I should like to declare distinctly that no step has been taken on the part of the Fascist Government and that, under present conditions, it is not our intention to take such a step in order publicly to explain more clearly our cooperative and friendly relations with the neutral states. As there is frequent talk

about the Balkan Peninsula and as the policy of Italy is turned particularly in this direction with an interest which finds its reason in history, geography, and tradition—quite independent of the union of Albania, a Balkan power, with Italy—I should like to declare that even though Italy affirms its vivid desire to see order and peace sustained and fortified in the Danube and Balkan region, it is of the opinion that no creation of blocs—no matter what kind they might be—can be advantageous either for the countries which are to participate in them or for the highest aim, the hastening of the reestablishment of peace. Our relations with the Balkan states are not in need of a new examination.

We have a treaty of non-aggression and friendship with Yugoslavia which excludes all possibility of war between the two countries, sanctions the cooperation in the Adriatic, and has proved to be solid and able to exist through a trial of three years during a succession of events of the highest importance. This could not have been otherwise because the intentions of the two parties were permeated with the best and most sincere will and desire to establish a sincere, lasting, and fruitful peace between Italy and Yugoslavia.

The fixing of a common land boundary has brought about the clarification of the general relations between Greece and Italy, which are now developing in an atmosphere of amiability and confidence. The recent exchange of notes between Rome and Athens has laid down the basis for these relations which are suitable for further favorable development.

The relations of Italy with Turkey are regulated by the Treaty of Friendship of 1928 which was renewed and affirmed in 1932. The Italian relations with Bulgaria, a country which always had our sympathies and whose strong military and civic virtues we value, are traditionally good. Equally cordial are our relations with Roumania, with whom the interstate trade has recently developed in the most satisfactory manner.

It is almost superfluous to speak of the Italian-Hungarian relations. The friendship and the complete solidarity which unites the two countries are deeply rooted in the soul of the

two peoples, who know from experience that they can always count upon the unchangeable solidity of this friendship and particularly so in difficult hours.

It is the common interest of all these countries to secure the maintenance of peace in the Danube and Balkan region. For this reason Italy regards with deep sympathy every manifestation of the will of these peoples to settle in a friendly manner these difficulties which exist between them and is ready to give them its advice and assistance for this purpose.

Italy's Relation to the Neutral States

The relations between Italy and all neutral countries are filled with a spirit of respect and cooperation. In Europe we have particularly deep-rooted relations with the friendly Swiss Republic and beyond Europe with the South American countries and the Japanese Empire, whose friendship Fascist Italy values very highly because we know that this feeling finds a response in the strong and noble Japanese people.

Standing at Attention and Ready for All Eventualities

Comrades! In this long report which I have had the honor to make I have tried to show, exhaustively and impartially, the position of Italy in the world situation. This position is identical with that which was fixed in the communiqué of the Council of Ministers on September 1st, which was affirmed by the Duce in his speech to the combative organizations of Bologna and then affirmed anew by the Fascist Grand Council.

Fascist Italy is going to follow the developments of events with a watchful spirit, ready, when it becomes possible, to give once more its contribution for the appeasement of the world, but resolved to watch with inflexible resolution over its interests, its commerce on land, on sea, and in the air, its honor, and its future as a great power.

This watchfulness finds its securest guarantee in the glowing and resolved discipline of the Italian people, in the strength of our armed forces, and in the will and genius of the Duce—as glorious as the future of our Fatherland."

Il testo del Discorso pronunciato dal Conte Galeazzo Ciano il 15 dicembre 1939 a Roma dinanzi alla Camera dei Fasci e delle Corporazioni

«Camerati,

voi consentirete che, per dare al Paese una esatta relazione sulle vicende che si sono prodotte negli ultimi mesi e che sono tuttora in pieno svolgimento, io risalga ad eventi che possono sembrare lontani nel tempo, ma che sono invece strettamente connessi con la crisi che oggi travaglia l'Europa e minaccia il mondo intero.

Il punto cruciale della storia dell'Europa

Non è per l'ormai superflua ragione di documentare ancora una volta la sicurezza delle affermazioni mussoliniane, ma piuttosto per rinfrescare la memoria di tutti sulla chiarezza della politica fascista, ch'io ricorderò che fin dal maggio del 1927 — esattamente dal 26 maggio del 1927, in quel discorso che è stato consacrato alla storia della Rivoluzione fascista col nome di discorso dell'Ascensione — il Duce affermò, in questa medesima aula, che tra il 1935 e il 1940 ci saremmo trovati a un punto cruciale della storia europea.

Il dilemma europeo dopo 1919: O la revisione dei Trattati di pace o una nuova guerra

Mi riserbo, nel corso di questa mia esposizione, di provare come l'Italia fascista non si sia limitata a denunciare passivamente il pericolo, ma come abbia invece a più riprese offerto il contributo costruttivo della sua collaborazione, e come questi nostri sforzi concreti si siano infranti contro l'ostacolo della incomprensione altrui.

Da lungo tempo, da lunghissimo tempo, il Fascismo aveva riconosciuto che il regime instaurato dai Trattati di pace e mantenuto con la forza artificiosa del sistema della sicurezza collettiva avrebbe spinto l'Europa verso una nuova catastrofe.

I Trattati di pace avevano lacerato l'Europa, spartendola definitivamente fra Stati vincitori e Stati vinti, ponendo questi ultimi in uno stato di soggezione permanente.

Nel 1919, all'atto stesso della loro costituzione, i Fasci di combattimento posero il riavvicinamento alle Nazioni vinte e la revisione dei Trattati come uno dei postulati fondamentali della politica estera del Fascismo.

Nel 1921 il Duce enunciò il dilemma di fronte al quale l'Europa doveva fatalmente trovarsi: «o la revisione dei Trattati, o una nuova guerra».

A diciotto anni di distanza da quando queste parole furono pronunciate noi non possiamo non considerare come le origini e le cause del conflitto che oggi insanguina l'Europa siano state dal Fascismo tempestivamente indicate, quando i germi di questo conflitto erano ancora invisibili, quando i pericoli erano ancora solamente in potenza, soprattutto quando l'Europa si trovava ancora in grado di attenuare gli errori compiuti non solo ai danni dei popoli vinti ma anche e soprattutto ai danni dell'Italia.

Fino da allora il Fascismo indicò la via per ristabilire in Europa gli elementi essenziali di una convivenza pacifica che i Trattati di pace rendevano impossibile e che la politica di alcune fra le Potenze vincitrici respingeva continuamente con l'asprezza di una formula che si è rivelata fatale per l'Europa: «La revisione è la guerra».

Il castello chimerico delle riparazioni, l'illusione e la maschera della sicurezza collettiva e l'aberrazione del regime di disuguaglianza

A questa formula si appoggiava quel castello chimerico che si chiamava: riparazioni, garanzie militari, sicurezza

llettiva, e che nella illusione di mantenere l'Europa in uno stato di immobilità marmorea ne opprimeva e paralizzava le forze di rinascita.

Lunga e tenace è stata la nostra lotta contro questa pericolosa aberrazione. Per dieci anni — dalla Conferenza di Londra del 1922 alla Conferenza di Losanna del 1932 — abbiamo lottato contro il regime delle riparazioni, che illanguidiva la vita economica dei Paesi creditori. Dieci anni di rovine e di rancori sarebbero stati risparmiati all'Europa se la soluzione totalitaria del colpo di spugna fosse stata tempestivamente adottata.

E così doveva anche essere liquidato quel regime di disuguaglianza che decurtava i diritti di sovranità della Germania e dei Paesi che erano stati suoi alleati nella guerra, e primo ed essenziale di questi diritti quello di provvedere alla propria difesa, senza di che era fatale che questi Paesi vi provvedessero liberamente essi stessi, rovesciando i successivi tentativi di disarmo, sulla cui onestà avevano troppe ragioni di diffidare.

La sola possibilità di fermare l'Europa nella sua corsa verso gli armamenti e verso la guerra era quella di restituire a questi Paesi l'uguaglianza di diritto, premessa indispensabile di un accordo sull'equilibrio della potenza armata. Noi fummo i soli a Ginevra a sostenere questa elementare necessità, poichè sentivamo che l'Europa moralmente e materialmente si disgregava proprio su quelle linee che i Trattati di pace avevano segnate. I conflitti di nazionalità si inasprivano nei confini assai spesso tracciati senza la minima cognizione di causa. La crisi finanziaria — provocata in parte essa stessa dal regime delle riparazioni — sconnetteva i nessi vitali dell'economia europea e trasformava gli Stati in tanti campi chiusi e fortificati. Il regime della sicurezza collettiva li spartiva e li forzava in gruppi avversi, predisponendo quei blocchi di forze dei quali il Duce — per un lungo corso di anni — aveva denunciato e combattuto il pericolo.

La sicurezza collettiva, come sicurezza di ciascuno Stato nei riguardi di altri, non era che una illusione e una maschera. Una illusione, con la quale si faceva credere ai piccoli Stati che essi sarebbero stati protetti contro la forza delle grandi Potenze, mentre in realtà essi venivano artificiosamente coinvolti nei loro conflitti: una maschera, dietro la quale si tentava di creare un regime di alleanze metodicamente diretto ad isolare e minacciare alcune Potenze. Non altro contenuto aveva la sicurezza collettiva. Non altro significato i tentativi di rendere automatici gli impegni di mutua assistenza previsti dal Patto della S. d. N. Non altro obiettivo i Trattati di alleanza conclusi per dare pratica applicazione a questi impegni, veri e propri strumenti di pressione politica e militare messi al servizio di un gruppo d'interessi particolari, e destinati a costituire le fondamenta di quella politica che fatalmente doveva riaprire all'Europa la via della guerra.

Un vano tentativo mussoliniano di arresto: Il Patto a Quattro e un Progetto di Disarmo

Su questa via fu ancora una volta l'Italia a fare un tentativo di arresto. Il 18 marzo 1933 il Duce proponeva al Primo Ministro britannico la conclusione di un accordo fra le quattro grandi Potenze occidentali, l'Italia, la Francia, la Germania e la Gran Bretagna, nel quale fossero fissate le basi e le condizioni di una collaborazione permanente che, allontanando ogni idea di raggruppamenti contrapposti o di finalità antagonistiche, mirasse a salvaguardare gli interessi dei singoli Stati con l'interesse supremo, comune a tutti, del consolidamento della pace. Nucleo essenziale di questo patto era la revisione dei Trattati e un accordo per gli armamenti. Era questo un tentativo estremo per riparare al fallimento inevitabile della Conferenza del disarmo, riportando i problemi vitali della pace europea alla responsabilità e alla collaborazione delle grandi Potenze.

Contemporaneamente il Duce presentò il progetto di disarmo: mantenimento dello *status quo* per le Potenze armate, e riarmo delle Potenze disarmate nei limiti indicati dal Governo del Reich come il minimo necessario. Sia il patto a quattro sia il progetto di disarmo restarono lettera morta e il Duce dettò allora parole che non possono venire dimenticate:

« Il giorno — egli scrisse — in cui i delegati della Conferenza del disarmo dovranno dichiarare che il disarmo è una

utopia, una sublime ma appunto per questo più pericoloso utopia, la Società delle Nazioni avrà perduto ogni significata e prestigio; alla sua politica, che escludeva almeno in apparenza i blocchi degli Stati, subentrerà la politica dei blocchi, cioè delle alleanze, in altri termini la politica dell'anteguerra. all'ultimo è sua maestà il cannone che sarà invitato a parlare »:

In tale stato di cose all'Italia restava un solo dovere: quello di provvedere con la sua volontà e con le sue forze alla difesa dei propri interessi, alle necessità della sua espansione, alla costruzione di un suo sistema imperiale.

La conquista dell'Etiopia

L'impresa in Etiopia fu la necessaria conseguenza non solo dell'iniqua posizione fatta all'Italia nel campo coloniale, ma anche del dovere che si imponeva all'Italia di pensare alla sua sicurezza, alla sua indipendenza, al suo avvenire.

Trovammo allora contro di noi tutte quelle forze di oppressione e di coercizione che per 18 anni avevamo denunciato e combattuto e che credettero giunto il momento di sperimentare le armi societarie lungamente affilate, predisponendo e attuando un assedio che avrebbe dovuto esaurirci e piegarci. Queste armi si spuntarono contro la volontà di un popolo e il genio di un Capo.

L'Italia uscì fulmineamente vittoriosa da una impresa che non fu breve per mancanza di resistenza o di difficoltà, ma solo perchè gli ostacoli furono inesorabilmente investiti dall'impero fascista e, come è nello stile del Duce, l'impeto fu più vivo là dove le resistenze erano maggiori.

Questo sforzo noi compimmo in Africa con le armi mentre in Europa resistevamo alla pressione di una coalizione di 52 Stati, della quale però non facevano parte quelle Nazioni che, come noi, reclamavano giustizia e con le quali ci unirono allora spontanei vincoli che il tempo e gli eventi dovevano precisare e consolidare.»

Segue una vasta documentazione della guerra civile in Spagna, della partecipazione italiana e della responsabilità del comunismo. L'atteggiamento delle due Potenze occidentali vien sottoposto ad una severa critica. Dopo un inno sulle vittorie, sull'eroismo e sullo spirito di sacrificio dei legionari italiani, dei quali quattro mila sono caduti in terra di Spagna, il Conte di Ciano chiude questo capitolo del suo discorso esclamando: « Essi sono i custodi più sicuri dell'amicizia e della collaborazione fra le due Nazioni. »

« Nè si deve dimenticare che se oggi, nel turbinio della tempesta che scuote l'Europa, il Mediterraneo ha potuto sin qui rimanere un'oasi di pace operosa, ciò è stato reso possibile dall'eroica volontà del Caudillo che ha stroncato in Spagna le forze torbide del disordine e del sovvertimento, e di quei Paesi che compresero e assecondarono il suo grande e nobile sforzo.

L'origine dell'Asse Roma-Berlino e del Patto tripartito

Tra questi Paesi era la Germania. Anche il Governo nazista non era rimasto sordo agli appelli del popolo spagnolo. Pur non avendo nella questione lo stesso diretto interesse dell'Italia a tutto ciò che concerne la situazione mediterranea, ma per ragioni di solidarietà ideale e civile, il Reich aveva offerto il contributo della sua collaborazione tecnica e militare alla causa franchista. Il parallelismo fra la politica della Germania e quella dell'Italia si faceva sempre più evidente e fu naturale fenomeno che, a un dato momento, si stabilissero dei contatti per coordinare l'azione dei due Paesi, che tendeva a un medesimo fine e che si trovava in contrasto con l'opposizione e la coalizione dei medesimi avversari. La politica dell'asse Roma-Berlino, che già si era profilata durante la crisi etiopica, trovò la sua prima applicazione concreta sul terreno della rivoluzione nazionale spagnola. Nè bisogna dimenticare che gli antagonisti dell'Italia, all'epoca della conquista etiopica, non avevano affatto disarmato nel loro atteggiamento ostruzionistico nei nostri riguardi e, impotenti ormai ad annullare quello che era un formidabile evento acquisito alla storia, cercavano ancora di ingannare almeno se stessi con la farsa del non riconoscimento dell'Impero di Roma.

Nei Protocolli di Berlino e nell'incontro con Hitler a Berchtesgaden furono precisate le basi di una più intima collaborazione italo-tedesca; ma, più che dai documenti che, concerne-

vano soprattutto questioni di interesse contingente, i vincoli tra i due Paesi furono sempre più stretti dalla spontanea unità di indirizzo e di azione che le vicende europee suggerivano ai due Governi.

L'Italia e la Germania — come già fu detto — non costituirono un blocco: il sistema politico italo-tedesco fu definito un asse e non un diaframma. Una lunga esperienza svoltasi in condizioni di particolare difficoltà valse a provare che la politica parallela dei due grandi Stati autoritari di Europa costituiva un fattore di pace e di sicurezza, un elemento d'ordine e di resistenza contro l'assalto che alla civiltà europea veniva portato dalle forze oscure della distruzione.

In queste condizioni — e dopo la visita del Duce in Germania nel settembre 1937 — l'Italia fu pronta ad accettare l'invito germanico a dare la sua adesione in qualità di firmatario originario al Patto anticomintern già esistente fra la Germania e il Giappone.

Quali la portata e il valore di tale Patto? Non è difficile rispondere che esso aveva il significato, nettamente politico, di consolidare il sistema anticomunista e di preparare una più intensa collaborazione in ogni settore fra le Potenze che tale sistema avevano costituito. Che, se il Patto non avesse mirato a tale scopo, ma avesse avuto l'unico obiettivo di coordinare l'azione amministrativa dei tre Governi nella difesa contro la propaganda bolscevica, allora tale Patto non sarebbe stato affatto necessario o, anziché prendere le proporzioni di un solenne impegno politico fra Stati, sarebbe rimasto in quelle più modeste e adeguate di un accordo di polizia.

Larga eco e molti commenti suscitò nel mondo la stipulazione dell'accordo tripartito; ma nessuno poté sorprendersi della nostra decisione poichè essa rappresentava l'assoluta continuità della politica di Mussolini, che primo nel mondo aveva denunciato il pericolo del bolscevismo e l'aveva combattuto nelle vie d'Italia con la stessa tenacia con la quale lo stava combattendo nelle trincee di Spagna.

L'uscita dalla Lega, nemica della vera pace

A distanza di brevi settimane dalla firma del patto tripartito, l'Italia annunciò solennemente la sua decisione di uscire dalla Società delle Nazioni e di recidere ogni nostro legame con Ginevra.

Gesto anche questo perfettamente coerente con lo sviluppo della nostra politica. Il conflitto sorto tra noi e la Lega trovava l'11 dicembre 1937, nella deliberazione votata dal Gran Consiglio e comunicata dal Duce al popolo, il suo naturale epilogo. Ancora una volta avevamo dato al mondo un esempio di mirabile pazienza prima di compiere un gesto del quale avevamo valutato tutta la portata.

L'uscita dell'Italia da Ginevra significava la fine della Lega. Il 1° novembre 1936 il Duce aveva ancora una volta posto il dilemma: « O rinnovarsi o perire ». La Lega aveva rifiutato il rinnovamento; non era rimasta che la seconda alternativa: la morte. Nessuna lacrima verrà da noi versata sulla bara di quella che fu a un tempo nemica nostra e nemica della vera pace.

Monaco e l'azione del Duce per la pace

Sulla base dei protocolli di Berlino e del Patto anticomintern, la collaborazione italo-tedesca continuò a svilupparsi verso gli obiettivi fissati: un maggiore riavvicinamento dei due popoli e una effettiva politica di pace europea.

Ma ormai i germi di crisi in Europa avevano preso una incontenibile virulenza. Mentre con l'affermarsi vittorioso del Caudillo si allontanava la minaccia dello scontro causato dalla questione spagnola, nell'Europa centrale il conflitto, per lungo tempo latente, fra la Germania e la Ceco-Slovacchia volgeva rapidamente verso la soluzione delle armi. Anche in tale situazione l'azione svolta dall'Italia, prima per far prevalere l'equità e il buon senso, poi per localizzare il conflitto, e infine, all'ora estrema, per salvare la pace, è nota.

Quando l'umanità attendeva ormai trepidante, di minuto in minuto, il primo colpo di cannone, il Duce riusciva ad arrestare l'Europa sul limite della guerra. L'accordo di Monaco salvava la pace europea e per la prima volta, in quel turbine di odii, di rancori e di vendette che era la politica del dopoguerra, sembrava aprirsi un varco luminoso alle speranze dei popoli.

Monaco non doveva rappresentare soltanto la soluzione di una questione di minoranze nazionali, restando un episodio

isolato e fugace di buona volontà e di giustizia. Nelle speranze dei popoli, Monaco rappresentava l'inizio di un periodo d'intesa, di collaborazione, di pacificazione. Certo era troppo vivo in noi il senso della realtà per abbandonarci a pericolosi e prematuri ottimismo. Ma quello che ci attendevamo — e avevamo il diritto di attenderci — era che il pericolo che aveva investito l'Europa avesse aperto la mente ai fautori della politica di coercizione e che i più gravi problemi avrebbero almeno trovato un principio di soluzione pacifica.

L'Anti-Monaco e il fallimento della distensione. L'inizio della politica d'accerchiamento

Ma a Monaco non seguì una distensione. Il respiro di sollievo che l'umanità aveva tratto dalla guerra evitata fu in poche settimane soffocato dalle forze che avevano visto sfuggire dalle loro mani il destino dell'Europa e guardavano all'avvenire con una sola intenzione: quella della rivincita.

A Monaco seguì così l'Anti-Monaco. Quello che era stato un atto di saggezza fu attaccato come un atto di capitolazione. Da questo sentimento, che cominciò a fare breccia in alcuni degli uomini di Stato che avevano contribuito alla sua realizzazione, una conclusione fu tratta: che Monaco non avrebbe dovuto ripetersi più. Mai più Monaco, fu la parola d'ordine. Non nel senso che non bisognava più lasciare che gli eventi trascinassero nella loro spinta inesorabile l'Europa fino alla guerra perchè questa fosse all'ora estrema evitata, ma nel senso che bisognava riprendere e rafforzare la politica della coercizione, chiudere la parentesi che Monaco aveva rappresentato, fare scendere una saracinesca sulla via della pace che Monaco aveva aperto.

E poichè le democrazie amano singolarmente il linguaggio della guerra, esse cominciarono a chiamare questa politica « fronte della pace », come avevano chiamato la loro coalizione « fronte delle democrazie », come nella politica interna avevano chiamato « fronte popolare » la loro collusione col bolscevismo. Tre « fronti » che erano collegati fra loro da un unico piano: l'alleanza con la Repubblica dei Sovieti e l'accerchiamento ideologico, politico e militare della Germania e dell'Italia.

L'istituzione del Protettorato nella Boemia e nella Moravia e l'Unione dell'Albania all'Italia. Nessun piano concordato

Nel marzo 1939 il Governo del Reich decideva l'occupazione della Boemia e della Moravia e l'istituzione del Protettorato. Nelle prime settimane di aprile l'Italia realizzava l'unione dell'Albania, invocata dall'unanime volontà del popolo schiettato.

Erano due eventi di altissima importanza, l'uno per la Germania, l'altro per l'Italia; ma due eventi, è bene ricordarlo e chiarirlo, assolutamente indipendenti l'uno dall'altro. Niente esisteva di quel preteso piano concordato fra l'Italia e la Germania che il « fronte della pace » si agitava a denunciare, allo scopo evidente di attirare alla politica di accerchiamento i Paesi dell'Europa danubiana e balcanica. I soldati italiani non erano sbarcati a Durazzo perchè i soldati tedeschi poche settimane prima erano entrati a Praga.

L'occupazione dell'Albania era impresa interamente italiana dettata interamente dai nostre ragioni, dai nostri interessi e dalla situazione che si era creata in Albania e che non aveva alcun rapporto con la situazione ceco-slovacca.

L'unione dell'Albania all'Italia rappresentava il coronamento di antichi nostri diritti e di una lunga opera da noi compiuta in favore del popolo albanese.

Quanto è avvenuto negli otto mesi trascorsi dal giorno in cui le nostre truppe posero il piede sul territorio albanese, prova la verità delle nostre affermazioni circa le ragioni e i moventi dell'azione italiana. L'ordine e la pace operosa regnano in Albania, come mai vi regnarono nel corso dei secoli. E questa pace e quest'ordine non sono tenuti con la minaccia o con la forza, ma sono la conseguenza della collaborazione piena e fraterna fra il popolo italiano e quello albanese sulla base d'una parità di doveri e di diritti.

L'unione dell'Albania all'Italia non rappresentava, come fin da allora affermammo, una minaccia per nessun popolo.

La politica dell'accerchiamento e l'alleanza italo-germanica. I colloqui di Milano

Ma anche di questo evento ci si valse per inasprire la violenta campagna di stampa che già da tempo si conduceva in Francia, in Inghilterra e in Russia contro l'Italia e la Ger-

ania. In tale occasione furono propugnati piani di attacco alle nostre frontiere, alle nostre colonie e alle nostre vie di comunicazione, piani assurdi e immaginari ma non per questo meno imprudenti. Contemporaneamente fu annunciato, disposto e condotto un programma di accerchiamento dell'Italia e della Germania per mezzo di un nuovo sistema di alleanze e di garanzie militari.

I principi di questo sistema erano lontani. Durante il conflitto etiopico il Governo britannico aveva, d'intesa con il Governo francese, tentato di stabilire nel Mediterraneo un regime di accordi di mutua assistenza nell'eventualità di un conflitto con l'Italia. Noi avevamo vigorosamente reagito, prima provocando la decadenza degli accordi, poi portando le nostre relazioni con la Jugoslavia sopra una base d'intima collaborazione e di fiducia, che stabiliva nell'Adriatico un regime comune di sicurezza e di pace. Ora il vecchio piano veniva ripreso e collegato al programma delle alleanze orientali che era perseguito per isolare e accerchiare la Germania.

Il 31 marzo era stata annunciata a Londra l'offerta di garanzia anglo-francese alla Polonia, che doveva portare ai Trattati del 25 agosto e del 4 settembre, e sulla quale avremo occasione di tornare.

L'8 aprile si iniziavano a Mosca negoziati per il Trattato tripartito di alleanza. Il 13 aprile si annunciava a Londra e a Parigi l'offerta delle garanzie inglese e francese alla Romania e alla Grecia. Successivamente il Primo Ministro britannico comunicava ai Comuni che il Governo britannico e il Governo turco erano d'accordo per la conclusione di un Trattato di mutua assistenza e per un Patto di garanzia generale della sicurezza dei Balcani. Così, giorno per giorno, venivano chiusi tutti gli anelli di quel cerchio che — nelle intenzioni dei suoi artefici — doveva completare il blocco della Germania nell'Oriente europeo e dell'Italia nel Mediterraneo e nei Balcani.

Niente di più naturale che l'Italia e la Germania avessero, in questo stato di cose, uno scambio di vedute per definire e decidere gli sviluppi della comune politica. Questo scambio di vedute ebbe luogo a Milano nei giorni 6 e 7 maggio.

Il ministro degli Affari Esteri del Reich e io potemmo constatare che il giudizio sulla situazione dato da Roma e da Berlino era assolutamente identico, così come identiche erano le intenzioni per l'avvenire. Italia e Germania, mentre erano decise a respingere con le armi qualsiasi attacco da parte degli avversari, concordavano appieno sulla necessità di dirigere ogni sforzo al fine di preservare e consolidare la pace in Europa per un lungo periodo di tempo, necessario ad ambedue i Paesi per perfezionare l'opera di ricostruzione interna e completare la preparazione militare. La durata di questo periodo fu da noi precisata in tre anni: da parte tedesca, in quattro o cinque. Non che trascorso tale tempo l'Italia e la Germania avessero in programma di turbare la pace del mondo con propositi minacciosi o aggressivi. Al contrario: la loro collaborazione aveva lo scopo di creare una base di fondamentale importanza sulla quale sarebbe stato più facile in avvenire costruire la sicurezza e la pace europee, che avrebbero potuto essere solide e reali soltanto quando le necessità vitali dell'Italia e della Germania fossero state equamente comprese e soddisfatte.

Comunque, il Governo del Reich concordava con noi sulla opportunità di non sollevare alcuna questione atta a suscitare nuove polemiche prima che il lasso di tempo suddetto non fosse decorso.

Fu su queste premesse, e allo scopo di cristallizzare la identica volontà dell'Italia e della Germania di presentare un fronte unico contro l'accerchiamento, che a Milano fu annunciata la prossima firma di un Patto di alleanza, firma che ebbe luogo a Berlino il 22 maggio. Come fu subito detto nelle dichiarazioni che accompagnarono la cerimonia, il Patto non costituiva una minaccia per nessuno, poichè, nel negoziarlo e nel concluderlo, il Governo fascista e il Governo nazista avevano avuto in animo il mantenimento della pace europea e, d'altro lato, il Patto rappresentava la regolarizzazione giuridica di quella solidarietà fra Roma e Berlino che grandiose vicende internazionali avevano a più riprese dimostrato completa e sicura.

Il Patto, che contiene oltre alla clausola di assistenza anche quella della consultazione e dell'intesa, portava i rapporti fra l'Italia e la Germania sul medesimo piano su cui da tempo si trovavano i rapporti tra la Francia e la Gran Bretagna.

La responsabilità delle democrazie di aver spaccato l'Europa in due blocchi

Non dunque all'Italia e alla Germania si deve far risalire la responsabilità di avere spaccato l'Europa in due blocchi contrapposti, concezione politica contro la quale noi avevamo sempre lottato, perchè ne avevamo riconosciuto il fatale pericolo. Sono state le democrazie a preparare giorno per giorno una tale situazione, e il Patto di Berlino, ben lungi dall'essere uno strumento di minaccia, fu soltanto la risposta a chi la minaccia intendeva agitare contro di noi.

Ho detto che una sincera e profonda volontà di pace ci animava nello stringere il patto di Berlino. E' facile provarlo. Il discorso che il Duce pronunciò in Campidoglio e che tracciava le nuove operose direttrici di marcia al Paese fu subito seguito, come è costume fascista, dai fatti. L'intensificazione dei lavori preparatori della Esposizione del 1942, la bonifica del latifondo siciliano, i vasti programmi di colonizzazione dell'Impero, la rapida azione di messa in valore dell'Albania stanno a provare che l'Italia fascista intendeva dedicarsi a feconde e nobili opere, che per essere degnamente compiute richiedevano un lungo periodo di pace.

Ed anche la Germania, tutta intenta alla sua opera di ricostruzione interna, era animata da un desiderio di pace, sulla cui sincerità nessuno ha diritto di sollevare dubbi. La stessa questione polacca, che ai tempi dei colloqui di Milano e del patto di Berlino era ben lungi dall'aver assunto quella asprezza che ad un certo momento la rese insolubile per via pacifica, doveva essere allora oggetto — secondo quanto fu più volte ripetuto dagli uomini responsabili del Reich — di negoziati diplomatici.

Il conflitto tra la Germania e la Polonia e le sue cause L'utopia di Versaglia: Imprigionare il popolo tedesco. L'inflazione politica e etnica della Polonia. Danzica e il Corridoio

Quali erano state le cause di questa improvvisa e per molta gente inattesa tensione tra la Germania e la Polonia? Inutile fatica sarebbe il ricercarle in avvenimenti vicini e contingenti. Non sono stati gli incidenti del Corridoio o gli endemici conflitti di Danzica a dar fuoco all'Europa. Bisogna risalire a tempi più lontani, a quelli stessi in cui la Polonia fu costituita in Stato indipendente, alla forma in cui fu costituita ed alle ragioni per cui fu costituita proprio in tale forma.

La Polonia, quale uscì dalla Conferenza della pace e da alcune decisioni successive, doveva costituire l'ultimo anello della catena con cui l'utopia di Versaglia intendeva imprigionare quella insopprimibile realtà che è nel cuore dell'Europa il popolo tedesco.

Ma come la concezione dell'accerchiamento della Germania è fondamentalmente sbagliata ed è alla base medesima di tutte le crisi che hanno perturbato in questi venti anni la vita del nostro continente, così altrettanto erronea ne fu la pratica esecuzione. Per rinforzare artificiosamente i Paesi che dovevano rappresentare le sbarre della prigione che si intendeva imporre alla Germania, si gonfiarono questi Paesi a dismisura, si inflazionarono politicamente ed etnicamente, senza rendersi conto che proprio ciò ne costituiva la debolezza e la stessa condanna.

La Polonia fu, ad un tempo, un esempio ed una vittima di questa inflazione. Per molti anni si è sentito dire che la Polonia era un Paese giunto ormai alla soglia di divenire una grande Potenza, in considerazione soprattutto della sua entità demografica. Ma quanti dei suoi 34 milioni di abitanti erano in realtà polacchi? Forse venti, forse diciotto milioni. Gli altri — e cioè il 40 per cento della popolazione — erano tedeschi, ruteni, russi, ebrei, elementi totalmente estranei alla Nazione polacca, ed in misura tale che era follia pensare che sarebbe stato possibile incorporarli ed assorbirli.

A questa insanabile tara organica si aggiungevano altre due ragioni di debolezza: la sottrazione alla Germania, di diritto più che di fatto, di Danzica, città tedesca di tradizioni, di cultura e di sangue, e la esistenza del Corridoio, che spezzando in due il territorio nazionale germanico era l'espressione più perfetta della assurdità delle decisioni di Versaglia.

La politica reale di Pilsudski e quella irrealistica dei suoi successori

Non è questa la sede, nè il momento di ricapitolare le vicende assai alterne delle relazioni tedesco-polacche, ma vale la pena di ricordare che quel grande Polacco che fu il Maresciallo

Pilsudski indicò con chiarezza la via da seguire: quella di basare la politica del Paese non su molto opinabili concezioni di incerti equilibri internazionali, bensì su quel fattore realistico, eterno e definitivo che è la geografia.

Quindi nel 1932, Trattato di non aggressione con la Russia, e nel 1934, dopo l'ascesa al potere del Nazismo, Patto con la Germania, che effettivamente valse per alcuni anni a riportare su un piano di correttezza, e talvolta persino di collaborazione, le relazioni tra Berlino e Varsavia.

Con la scomparsa del Maresciallo Pilsudski, la politica della Polonia fu di nuovo caratterizzata da un susseguirsi d'ineer- tezze e di oscillazioni. La decisa guida del condottiero polacco non trovò continuazione in coloro che gli succedettero al potere, e che furono fuorviati nella loro azione di governo da una visione deformata della realtà.

Ansiosi di far giocare nelle vicende europee un ruolo che le capacità dello Stato avrebbero difficilmente sopportato, essi non esitarono ad assumere atteggiamenti ed a prendere iniziative tali da rendere più pericolosa la situazione del Paese. Furono i governanti polacchi — ad esempio — i più aspri avversari del Patto a quattro e ne fecero persino oggetto dei loro sarcasmi! Una iniziativa che, insieme all'equilibrio europeo, sarebbe valsa anche ad assicurare la vita nazionale al popolo polacco fu da loro chiamata il « Club des charcutiers », il Circolo dei salumai, e a loro si deve, almeno in buona parte, se il Patto a quattro fu sabotato.

Le proposte moderate della Germania ed il rifiuto polacco

Le vicende che hanno condotto all'ultima crisi sono note. Il 21 marzo, il Governo germanico invitò il Governo polacco a risolvere la questione di Danzica e quella del Corridoio, e le proposte tedesche furono considerate dagli osservatori imparziali eque e moderate. La risposta polacca fu un sostanziale rifiuto e gli incidenti che già da tempo avvelenavano le relazioni fra i due Stati ebbero una nuova più violenta ripresa. Ciò non poteva destare alcuna sorpresa in chi aveva avuto agio di rendersi conto degli effetti di una pericolosa propaganda che gli elementi responsabili avevano condotta nelle masse popolari polacche nei confronti della Germania.

Gli avvenimenti che, in seguito, si sono prodotti hanno provato su quali falsi presupposti fosse basata una tale propaganda e come all'eroismo del popolo polacco, al quale rendiamo omaggio e al quale hanno reso omaggio gli stessi avversari, non corrispondesse né una pari capacità politica, né un altrettanto pari senso di responsabilità militare da parte dei governanti.

La pericolosa arma della garanzia incondizionata franco-inglese

La decisione franco-inglese, annunciata il 31 marzo, di offrire la garanzia militare alla Polonia irrigidì definitivamente Varsavia nell'atteggiamento assunto verso le richieste germaniche.

La situazione fu da quel giorno pericolosamente compromessa, e ciò non poteva sfuggire al Duce, che fin dal 27 maggio, in un colloquio che ebbe con l'ambasciatore britannico, richiamò l'attenzione del Governo di Londra sulle conseguenze che avrebbe avuto per la pace d'Europa l'affidare nelle mani del Governo polacco la pericolosa arma della garanzia incondizionata della Francia e della Gran Bretagna.

Forte, infatti, di questa garanzia, la Polonia esitò, allorché vi sarebbero state ancora larghe possibilità di intesa, di incamminarsi sulla via della conciliazione. Gli incidenti si moltiplicarono, la tensione divenne sempre più manifesta, il conflitto era ormai nell'aria.

Il Convegno di Salisburgo

In questa situazione, ed allo scopo di offrire alla Germania la nostra collaborazione per ricercare una soluzione della crisi che insieme agli interessi tedeschi salvasse la pace dell'Europa, nei giorni 11, 12 e 13 agosto ebbe luogo, in seguito a nostra iniziativa, il Convegno di Salisburgo.

Per quanto, anche giudicata da Roma, la situazione apparisse ormai estremamente compromessa, pur tuttavia ritenevamo ancora utile un tentativo per evitare che la crisi si avviasse inevitabilmente ad una soluzione bellica.

Pertanto, d'ordine del Duce, proposi al Governo del Reich di far conoscere pubblicamente che l'Italia e la Germania, pensose delle sorti dell'Europa, si erano trovate concordi nel giudicare che, nonostante l'estrema gravità del momento, era

ancora possibile attraverso negoziati condotti per le norme vie diplomatiche giungere ad una soluzione soddisfacente dei problemi che turbavano così gravemente la vita europea.

Nei lunghi colloqui che ebbi l'onore di avere con il Führer e col ministro degli Esteri mi furono ampiamente prospettate le ragioni per le quali alla Germania non era più consentito di affrontare i ritardi e i rinvii delle trattative diplomatiche condotte da un avversario che aveva dato prove di cattiva volontà nei confronti di una equa soluzione. Gli incidenti che si moltiplicavano ogni ora avevano spostato la vertenza — a giudizio del Governo del Reich — dal terreno diplomatico a quello militare.

Quindi, fin dai colloqui di Salisburgo, apparve chiaro che, salvo il radicale mutamento nell'atteggiamento polacco, la soluzione delle armi era la più probabile. Ma fu anche chiaramente manifesta la volontà di Hitler di contenere il conflitto nei suoi limitati termini di vertenza bilaterale tra la Germania e la Polonia, evitando in ogni modo che da questa vertenza il fuoco potesse dilagare e la crisi generalizzarsi.

Da parte nostra non mancammo, sin da allora, di far conoscere al Governo del Reich le ragioni — del resto ad esso già note — per le quali il Governo fascista avrebbe desiderato una soluzione pacifica della vertenza, o almeno, in mancanza di questa, una stretta localizzazione del conflitto.

A queste intenzioni s'ispirò la successiva azione dell'Italia nelle travagliate settimane che intercorsero fra il Convegno di Salisburgo e l'inizio delle operazioni militari germaniche contro la Polonia.

Il piano realistico del Duce: Danzica alla Germania

Mentre la diplomazia europea si sperdeva nella ricerca di formule che non potevano ormai arrestare lo sviluppo degli eventi, il Duce cercava di portare su un piano realistico la soluzione della vertenza.

Il tempo delle discussioni e delle polemiche era da lunga pezza finito. Si voleva salvare la pace, bisognava compiere un gesto che garantisse alla Germania il riconoscimento del suo buon diritto e che preparasse un'atmosfera di fiducia e di buona volontà per i negoziati successivi.

Questo gesto avrebbe potuto essere la cessione di Danzica alla Germania, tanto più che questa città ormai di fatto le apparteneva e alla Polonia spettavano soltanto, più in linea teorica che pratica, alcuni diritti che avrebbero potuto comunque venire salvaguardati.

Era infatti assurdo pensare, al punto in cui erano giunte le cose, dopo una lunga serie di incidenti e conflitti nei quali molto sangue era stato versato, dopo che polemiche di stampa avevano esasperato gli animi ed avvelenato l'aria, dopo che la mobilitazione aveva messo di fronte ingenti masse di armati, che Hitler potesse accettare di prendere parte ad una conferenza che avesse avuto, come sola premessa, le reiterate affermazioni di intransigenza della Polonia e dei suoi garanti.

Questa fondamentale verità fu dall'Italia fatta conoscere e propugnata fin dal mio ritorno da Salisburgo quando con uno sforzo unanime e sincero sarebbe ancora stato possibile modificare il corso degli eventi.

Il riavvicinamento russo-tedesco e la responsabilità di Parigi e di Londra. L'accordo tra la Germania e la Russia chiuso dopo la vana anticamera delle democrazie occidentali nella Canossa del Cremlino

Frattanto, un altro avvenimento si produsse in quei giorni: il riavvicinamento russo-tedesco. La singolare importanza della decisione presa dai Governi di Mosca e di Berlino, di stringere un patto di non aggressione tra la Germania e l'U.R.S.S., fu accentuata dal senso di sorpresa che la comunicazione suscitò nel mondo.

In realtà, come è noto, da molti mesi la Francia e la Gran Bretagna avevano tentato nei confronti della Russia una politica di stretta collaborazione, che avrebbe dovuto concludersi con la più volte annunciata firma di un Patto, che, secondo notizie di stampa, avrebbe potuto giungere fino alla collaborazione militare.

Ciò appariva tanto più verosimile in quanto da alcuni mesi era giunta a Mosca, ove già si trovavano esperti politici ed economici, anche una Missione militare.

E' vero che la lentezza con cui avevano proceduto i negoziati e l'esistenza di alcuni problemi sui quali era apparsa una fondamentale diversità di punti di vista tra la Russia e le

democrazie occidentali avevano reso scettici sulla possibilità di arrivare rapidamente ad una favorevole conclusione dei negoziati che si trascinarono sino dal mese di aprile: ma pochi si attendevano un epilogo come quello che si ebbe con la conclusione del Patto russo-tedesco, tanto più che la stampa franco-britannica annunciava ogni secondo giorno l'imminente firma dell'Accordo col Governo bolscevico ed i governanti di Londra e di Parigi non risparmiavano, ad ogni occasione, i loro elogi per la politica moscovita.

La Russia, che stava attraversando una durissima crisi dovuta all'epurazione spietata della vecchia guardia leninista attraverso tre memorabili processi, durante i quali furono pronunciate ed eseguite condanne a morte per decine di persone fra capi della rivoluzione, marescialli dell'Esercito, ammiragli, ambasciatori, ecc., è stata rimessa all'onore della politica internazionale dalle grandi democrazie che sono state per ben cinque mesi, dall'aprile all'agosto, a fare un'inutile anticamera in quella inaccessibile Canossa che era il Cremlino.

Se le grandi democrazie avessero ignorato la Russia, la Germania avrebbe avuto fondati motivi per fare altrettanto.

Per quanto ci riguarda direttamente dirò che della questione era stato parlato col Governo germanico fin dai mesi di aprile e di maggio, e fin da allora si era concordato di procedere ad una politica di distensione nei confronti dell'U.R.S.S.

L'obiettivo era di arrivare ad una neutralizzazione della Russia, per impedire che entrasse a far parte del sistema di accerchiamento progettato dalle grandi democrazie.

A Salisburgo mi fu comunicato che i negoziati commerciali condotti a Mosca avevano proceduto molto favorevolmente, sì da lasciare adito a speranze di maggiori sviluppi, ed infine la sera del 21 agosto, alle ore 22, mi fu telefonato da von Ribbentrop che il giorno 23 egli si sarebbe recato a Mosca per firmare il patto di non aggressione tra il Reich e l'U.R.S.S.

L'aggravazione della situazione e l'ultimo tentativo del Duce per salvare la pace. Le cause del fallimento

Negli ultimi giorni di agosto la situazione divenne di ora in ora più grave: è storia troppo recente e da tutti conosciuta perchè io debba ricordare qui eventi di pubblico dominio. L'Italia, per conto suo, mentre continuava a svolgere presso ambo le parti una azione moderatrice e fin dove possibile di conciliazione, non trascurava di prendere tutte le misure d'ordine militare e civile che nella grave contingenza apparivano indispensabili per tutelare la sicurezza nazionale. In pari tempo — nei contatti sempre intimamente mantenuti col Governo del Reich — veniva di comune accordo precisato l'atteggiamento che l'Italia avrebbe assunto qualora la crisi fosse sboccata in un conflitto armato.

L'ultimo tentativo di composizione fu — come è noto — compiuto dal Duce il 31 agosto, benchè oramai la situazione fosse aggravata al punto da rendere estremamente problematica una soluzione pacifica della vertenza. A tal fine fu fatto conoscere ai Governi inglese e francese che il Duce, qualora avesse avuto la previa certezza dell'adesione franco-britannica e della partecipazione polacca, avrebbe potuto convocare una conferenza internazionale con lo scopo di rivedere le clausole del trattato di Versaglia, causa del sovvertimento della vita europea. Il ritardo nelle risposte, che giunsero dopo che i primi fatti d'arme avevano avuto luogo alla frontiera germano-polacca, nonché la successiva richiesta britannica di evacuazione delle forze germaniche dal territorio polacco già occupato militarmente, — richiesta che per evidenti ragioni nessuno avrebbe potuto assumere la responsabilità di presentare e raccomandare al Führer — fecero fallire anche questo ultimo sforzo che il Duce aveva compiuto nella sua coraggiosa e responsabile volontà di risparmiare all'Europa una tragica prova.

Il chiaro atteggiamento dell'Italia di fronte al conflitto in piena concordanza col Governo del Reich

Scoppiate le ostilità tra la Germania e la Polonia, e resa di pubblica ragione la decisione franco-britannica di prestare assistenza militare alla Polonia, in virtù dei trattati di alleanza che legavano l'Inghilterra e la Francia alla Polonia, il Governo fascista fece conoscere — attraverso il comunicato diramato dopo il Consiglio dei ministri del 1° settembre — che l'Italia non avrebbe preso iniziative militari.

Questa decisione era nota al Governo tedesco, e soltanto al Governo tedesco. A nessun altro Governo era stato nei

giorni precedenti comunicata. Essa precisava l'atteggiamento italiano di fronte al conflitto, atteggiamento sul quale esisteva la piena concordanza del Governo del Reich, così come è provato dal telegramma diretto da Hitler al Duce, nella mattinata del 1° settembre, per ringraziarlo dell'appoggio diplomatico e politico dato dall'Italia alla Germania e per dichiarare che, considerando sufficienti le forze militari germaniche per assolvere i compiti che si presentavano, non riteneva esistere la necessità di un sostegno militare da parte dell'Italia.

Le ragioni della «non-belligeranza». Fioritura di falsi e di menzogne sfattate

La posizione assunta dall'Italia il 1° settembre è una posizione di non belligeranza, strettamente conforme alla intenzione germanica di localizzare il conflitto e rigidamente derivante dai patti nonché dagli impegni collaterali esistenti tra l'Italia e la Germania. Queste — e nessun'altra, assolutamente nessun'altra — sono le ragioni delle dichiarazioni che l'Italia non avrebbe assunto iniziative di carattere militare.

E poichè dalle immane fantasie malate sono state partorite le più ridicole spiegazioni sui motivi che avrebbero indotto l'Italia a sostare vigilante con le armi al piede anzichè precipitarsi in un conflitto che tutti dichiaravano di non volere e nel quale, per ora, nessuno si è effettivamente precipitato e nessuno — secondo le più recenti e ripetute dichiarazioni ufficiali — pensa di precipitarsi, almeno sul fronte terrestre, è giunto il momento di fare solenne giustizia di questa fioritura di falsi.

Secondo taluni, l'Italia non avrebbe fin dal primo momento partecipato al conflitto a causa della sua impreparazione militare. Per quanto l'Italia fascista abbia, nel giro di brevi anni, conquistato il suo Impero, portato a termine la gloriosa impresa in Spagna, provveduto a munire i 734 chilometri di frontiera balcanica dopo l'unione con l'Albania, pur tuttavia fin dal primo settembre l'Italia era in piedi, con i suoi uomini e con le sue armi, pronta, qualora i suoi interessi ed i suoi impegni lo avessero comandato, ad affrontare qualsiasi anche durissima prova.

Ho detto prima che l'Italia, soprattutto in conseguenza dell'ingente logorio di mezzi causato dalle due guerre combattute, aveva fatto conoscere che un periodo minimo di tre anni le era necessario per portare al livello voluto — cioè massimo — la preparazione dei suoi mezzi bellici. Il precipitare degli eventi non aveva potuto modificare questo dato di fatto. Ma da ciò nessuno ha diritto di dedurre che l'Italia si sia trovata impreparata al momento della prova. Da altri si è insinuato che il popolo italiano avrebbe temuto la guerra. Niente di più assurdo e di più falso: niente che possa trovare nei fatti una più disonorante smentita. Il popolo italiano teme tanto poco la guerra che dal 1911 ad oggi sono più gli anni di guerra e gli anni di lotta che quelli di pace: 1911-1912, conquista della Libia; 1915-1918, grande guerra; 1924-1931, riconquista libica; 1935-1936, conquista etiopica; 1936-1939, partecipazione alla guerra di Spagna. Si è infine parlato — e come questa voce avrebbe potuto mancare? — di contrasti di opinione pubblica, di opposizioni, di dissidi e di altre analoghe fandonie. Ma quando si arriverà finalmente a capire che non è con questo metro che si deve misurare il popolo italiano? Quando ci si renderà finalmente conto che queste menzogne valgono solo a scavare più fondo il solco che separa da noi coloro che le architettano e le propagano? La verità è che nell'agosto del 1939, come sempre nel passato, come sempre nel futuro, il popolo italiano non ha avuto che un cuore solo, che una fede sola, che una volontà sola quella del suo Duce, ed ha sostato perchè Lui ha comandato di sostare, ed avrebbe marciato e marcerà se Lui lo vorrà, quando Lui lo vorrà, come Lui lo vorrà.

Altra menzogna che ha circolato e che conviene sfatare, è che all'Italia siano comunque state chieste da questa o da quella Potenza spiegazioni o assicurazioni o garanzie circa il suo atteggiamento. Niente di tutto questo è avvenuto. Nessuno ci ha fatto pressioni di sorta. Se ci fossero state avrebbero avuto da noi adeguata risposta. La verità è invece che ovunque si sono compresi appieno il valore e l'importanza della posizione assunta dall'Italia e che verso di lei, e soprattutto verso la persona del suo Duce, hanno continuato ad orientarsi, come si orientarono nelle ore angosciose della vigilia, le speranze dei popoli.

La travolgente azione militare germanica risolse nel giro di poche settimane la guerra in Polonia. Gli eventi politici si svilupparono altrettanto rapidamente: con la firma del patto di amicizia e di frontiera del 29 settembre, il pieno accordo tra i due Paesi fu raggiunto e si stabilì fra Russia e Germania il confine comune. Allora — poichè erano ormai cessate le operazioni militari in oriente e quelle in occidente non avevano avuto inizio, come del resto non lo hanno praticamente avuto sinora — si parlò di offensiva di pace e con questa offensiva di pace fu messo specialmente in relazione il viaggio da me compiuto a Berlino, su invito del Governo germanico, ai primi di ottobre.

I rapporti tra l'Italia e la Germania fissati dal Patto di Alleanza Nessuna ragione di continuare la lotta

Si parlò nella stampa mondiale di iniziative italiane per la pace o di incarichi che il Governo germanico avrebbe voluto affidarci per l'apertura di negoziati. Tutto ciò è arbitrario: il mio viaggio a Berlino trova la sua origine e la sua ragione, alla fine di quella che è stata la prima fase del conflitto, nel desiderio tedesco di raggiungerci su quelli che erano stati gli sviluppi del conflitto, nonché sulle intenzioni della azione futura. Nulla ci è stato dalla Germania richiesto, nessun passo è stato in tale occasione compiuto. La visita a Berlino rientra nel quadro dei consueti contatti che vengono mantenuti tra i due Paesi, poichè conviene ripetere, come ha recentemente confermato il Gran Consiglio, che i rapporti tra l'Italia e la Germania rimangono quali furono fissati dal patto di alleanza e dagli scambi di vedute che lo hanno accompagnato. Questo non sorprenderà nessuno e soprattutto coloro i quali hanno ascoltato il discorso del Duce agli squadristi pronunziato il 26 marzo, per il Ventennale dei Fasci. Non attraverso l'Italia, bensì direttamente, la Germania fece conoscere al mondo, finita la guerra in Polonia, che nessuna ragione la spingeva a continuare, o per meglio dire a iniziare su vasta scala, la lotta contro le Potenze occidentali.

I scopi di guerra delle democrazie fanno svanire le speranze di pace

Speranze di pace apparvero ancora una volta all'orizzonte ma furono di breve durata. Esse svanirono subito allorchè da parte delle democrazie si fecero conoscere le intenzioni e gli scopi della loro guerra. Alla Germania vincitrice della guerra in Oriente, alla Germania che in Oriente aveva realizzato un accordo di vasta portata con la Russia, che concerneva non solo la questione polacca, ma modificava anche profondamente lo statuto del Baltico, si parlava non solo di Polonia, ma anche di Cecoslovacchia e Austria. Niente da fare, con queste idee: è evidente che se pure la Germania era disposta ad esaminare il problema della creazione di uno Stato nazionale polacco, non poteva nemmeno ammettere che si intentasse il processo a quella che è stata la politica del nazismo ed a quelle che di questa politica hanno rappresentato le più concrete affermazioni. Chiunque voglia fare opera feconda di pace deve mettersi e restare sul terreno della realtà; altrimenti non sarà la pace che verrà restituita all'Europa, bensì si inaspriranno i dissidi e si farà divampare più violento e forse più vasto il conflitto.

E' universalmente riconosciuto che è stato proprio il realistico atteggiamento dell'Italia che ha sin qui impedito la generalizzazione del conflitto, ed è verso il nostro Paese che si polarizza l'interesse di tutti gli Stati desiderosi di salvaguardare, in una con i loro interessi, la pace del mondo. Ciononostante, desidero precisare che nessuna iniziativa è stata presa dal Governo fascista, nè allo stato degli atti è nostra intenzione di prendere, per definire in modo ufficiale queste nostre relazioni di collaborazione e di cordialità con gli Stati neutri.

La politica fascista nei Balcani. Nessuna necessità di blocco balcanico

Poichè si è più volte parlato della penisola balcanica, e poichè appunto verso quella regione si dirige la politica italiana con un interesse che trova le sue ragioni nella storia, nella geografia e nella tradizione, nonché nell'essere divenuta

l'Italia, con la unione dell'Albania, anche di fatto una Potenza balcanica, aggiungerò che l'Italia, mentre riafferma il suo vivo desiderio di vedere mantenuti e consolidati l'ordine e la pace nell'Europa danubiano-balcanica, non ritiene che la costituzione di blocchi di qualsiasi specie possa essere utile nè ai Paesi che dovrebbero farne parte, nè al fine più alto di affrettare il ristabilimento della pace. Le nostre relazioni con i Paesi balcanici non hanno bisogno di nuove regolamentazioni. Con la Jugoslavia esiste un patto di non aggressione e di amicizia, che esclude in ogni eventualità la guerra fra i due Paesi, patto che sancì la collaborazione adriatica e che in una quasi triennale esperienza, attraverso vicende di grandiosa portata, ha provato essere solido e vitale. Nè altrimenti avrebbe potuto essere, poichè le intenzioni che d'ambo le parti lo ispirarono erano improntate alla più schietta buona volontà e al desiderio di realizzare tra l'Italia e la Jugoslavia una pace sincera, duratura e feconda.

Con la Grecia, lo stabilimento di una comune frontiera terrestre, lungi dal creare, come da parte di taluno si sperava, motivi di attrito e di contrasto, è valso a chiarire i rapporti generali tra i due Paesi, che adesso si sviluppano in atmosfera di cordialità e di fiducia. Il recente scambio di note tra Roma ed Atene ha fissato le basi medesime di questi rapporti, che sono suscettibili di successivi favorevoli sviluppi.

Con la Turchia le relazioni dell'Italia sono regolate dal patto di amicizia del 1928, che fu regolarmente rinnovato e confermato nel 1932.

Tradizionalmente buone sono le relazioni italiane con la Bulgaria. Paese che ha sempre avuto la nostra simpatia e del quale apprezziamo le salde virtù civili e militari; ed altrettanto cordiali i rapporti tra noi e la Romania, con la quale in questi ultimi tempi si sono intensificate, con ritmo particolarmente soddisfacente, le correnti di intercambio.

E' quasi superfluo parlare dei rapporti italo-ungheresi: l'amicizia e la completa solidarietà che uniscono i due Paesi sono profondamente radicate nell'animo dei due popoli che sanno per esperienza sicura di poter appieno contare sulla immutabile saldezza di questa amicizia sempre, e soprattutto nelle ore difficili. E' comune interesse di tutti questi Paesi conservare e assicurare il mantenimento della pace nella regione danubiano-balcanica: per questa ragione l'Italia vede con la più profonda simpatia ogni manifestazione della volontà di questi popoli di risolvere amichevolmente le questioni che esistono tra di loro, ed è pronta a dare a tal fine il suo consiglio e il suo ausilio.

Le relazioni dell'Italia con i neutri

Le relazioni dell'Italia con tutti i Paesi neutri sono improntate ad uno spirito di rispetto e di collaborazione: particolarmente intensi, in Europa, i rapporti con l'amica Repubblica elvetica e, fuori d'Europa, con i Paesi dell'America Latina e con l'Impero nipponico, la cui amicizia è sempre tenuta in altissimo conto dall'Italia fascista, e noi sappiamo che un tale sentimento trova una identica rispondenza nel forte e nobile popolo giapponese.

Le armi in piedi e pronto ad ogni evento

Camerati, nella lunga relazione che ho avuto l'onore di farvi, ho cercato di illustrare esaurientemente ed obiettivamente l'azione e la posizione dell'Italia nel quadro della situazione mondiale. Questa posizione è tuttora quella che fu fissata nella comunicazione del Consiglio dei Ministri del 1° settembre e fu solennemente confermata dal Duce nel suo discorso alle Gerarchie bolognesi e riconfermata dal Gran Consiglio. L'Italia fascista continua a seguire, con spirito vigile, lo sviluppo degli eventi, pronta, se ciò sarà possibile, a dare ancora una volta il suo contributo per la pacificazione del mondo, ma altrettanto decisa a tutelare con inflessibile fermezza i suoi interessi, i suoi traffici terrestri, aerei e marittimi, il suo prestigio e il suo avvenire di grande Potenza. Questa tutela trova la garanzia più certa nella disciplina fervida e risoluta del popolo italiano, nella saldezza delle nostre armi, nella volontà e nel genio del Duce; alti e sicuri come gli stessi destini della Patria.»

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FIVE MONTHS AFTER MUNICH

A French newspaper recently held the "Great Four" of Munich jointly and severally responsible for the fact that there remained, only a few months after Munich, so little of its spirit or of the results which it had been expected to yield. This reproach seems at first sight to be justified, for when we consider the material and spiritual state of the world in which the four countries, represented by the "Great Four", are living, we feel involuntarily that little is indeed left of the high hopes placed—not only by those four nations, but also by the rest of the world—in the work of peace produced at Munich and consequently lauded and extolled with almost gushing enthusiasm by the heads of the Government upon their return to their own countries.

But could more have been expected from that one day of Munich and immediately after it?

It is only too easy to forget the tremendous changes brought about by Munich in the geographical and political face of Europe. The "Great Four of Munich" replaced that Versailles, which was imposed at the point of the bayonet and under the threat of further starvation, by a peace settlement based exclusively on justice and equality of rights and not on considerations dictated by military and economic interests and other interests bound up with power politics and unrelated to the vital interests of the nations. In this respect, Versailles and St. Germain were liquidated by Munich, which liquidation was followed four weeks later by the liquidation by the Peace of Vienna of the Treaty of Trianon imposed on the Hungarians in accordance with the same principles.

Naturally the appeasement of Central Europe, which had been violated by the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain, could not be effected without a show of political power and it is for the use of these "methods" that Germany and the Führer have been blamed. Unfortunately those who indulge so light-heartedly in criticism of this kind are apt to forget that the same methods were employed by them twenty years ago and for fifteen years after, in order to keep a great and proud nation of 80 million souls in permanent bondage to the victorious nations. They forget that it was the Führer who, on the day after Munich, signed the Conciliation and No-more-war Pact with the British Prime Minister, Chamberlain, and two months later sent his Foreign Minister to Paris, in order to fulfil the wish which he has constantly expressed ever since he came into power: namely, that the millennial struggle with France on the Rhine should be brought to a close.

No-one can seriously have expected that all causes of tension would suddenly disappear and that an era of undisturbed peace would immediately begin. The Munich meeting was too short for that; while it is true that in a sense it brought the chapter of Versailles to a conclusion, it only marked the beginning of an attempt to replace it by a just and equitable peace. The revolution of thought, the reversal of policy and the process of relearning in the light of experience which Munich required of the "victors" were not only tremendous politically, but morally and psychologically far-reaching. They were bound to develop and adjust themselves slowly, in their relations both to internal affairs and to foreign policy and, apart from that, not all the outstanding problems had been settled. It was for all this that the spirit of Munich was to pave the way.

The Anglo-German Declaration

Unfortunately events have, since Munich, taken rather a different course and the Anglo-German Declaration, which Chamberlain flourished so hopefully before the eyes of those who welcomed him on his return, lost some of its glamour only a few days later: the first result of Munich and of this document was the

announcement of a gigantic rearmament scheme by Chamberlain himself in the House of Commons on October 3rd. During that sitting, His Majesty's Opposition and a number of unteachables from other camps, who had had the breath knocked out of their bodies by the events of the last week of September, began to get their breath back again—not however to extol the work done at Munich or even to accept it as the lesser of two evils, but to brand it as a betrayal of Czechoslovakia, a disgrace to England and a defeat from which she was never likely to recover. Although Chamberlain vehemently defended himself against these imputations, he, in common with the other members of the Government, exploited their inevitable effects upon the attitude of the British people, in the interests of the further rearmament of England. This propaganda thus unfortunately tended more and more to give the impression that the Peace of Munich was the outcome, not so much of justice and reason as of diplomatic—read, military—weakness, and that such a thing must never again be allowed to happen. In this rearmament campaign, the constant statement to the effect that it is hoped eventually to be able to disarm, that the necessity of spending so much money which could otherwise be employed for more productive objects, etc. do not cut very much ice. They could have had all this much cheaper, if the Disarmament Conference had not been wrecked by the Barthou Note of April 17th, 1934 and all Adolf Hitler's subsequent proposals ignored.

The same applies to economic disarmament as to military disarmament. Here again, the great economic conferences were smashed by political interests, which were always in the background and rendered nugatory every measure of economic recuperation and recovery and Germany was consequently obliged, as in the matter of disarmament, to resort to measures of self-help, in order to make herself independent of foreign countries. As in the matter of German rearmament so in that of economic recovery, the excitement will die down, as the present economic negotiations with France and especially with England already indicate. Germany aspires to economic imperialism as little as to military or political hegemony, but merely desires what is her due as a great nation and vitally necessary for her to have. In his last speech, Adolf Hitler gave prominence to this German economic problem, in order to show the rest of the world and especially England that, in this sphere also, many an injustice—in the colonial question, for instance—still remains to be remedied.

A solution of all these outstanding questions seems to us to be almost impossible, however, unless the chapter of moral disarmament is soon concluded. In all his speeches, the Führer has rightly drawn attention to the devastating effect among the nations of the systematic agitation by ideological fanatics and also by unscrupulous intriguers or by politicians and journalists who, for these or other reasons, are prejudiced against Germany and have, especially since Munich, been strongly reinforced from overseas. It is this agitation which is, more than anything else, undermining the spirit of Munich and with which the four statesmen have constantly to contend. Consequently it is not against them that the reproaches mentioned at the beginning of this article should be levelled, but against that statesman who, far from seeking to restrain the "crusade" of the pious and selfless democracies against the aggressive and greedy dictatorships, which is being announced by his supporters in every louder accents, is actually lending it his encouragement.

* * *

If the hope of a long peace expressed by Adolf Hitler in his last speech is to come true, and if the axiomatic truths of Chamberlain

and Daladier are to be fulfilled, namely that agreement and friendship between the four European Great Powers are not only desired but are a primary condition for the maintenance of peace, it will first be necessary, in addition to the outstanding questions to be settled by joint consultation and cooperation, to clear the atmosphere which has been poisoned by the ideological campaign of hatred and agitation carried on against the authoritarian States.

Particularly in this sphere of international relations and their pacific development, Mr. Chamberlain's desire seems to us to be worthy of consideration, namely to show good will not only by words but also by deeds and to make such contributions as may lead before everything else to a *détente*.

The German-French Policy of Conciliation and Peace The Declaration of December 6th 1938

In No. 7 of this Journal we dealt exhaustively with the previous history, course, objects and aspirations of this "peace on the Rhine" concluded between the two countries and published the relevant documents.

"I come to restore peace between Germany and France." These were the first words with which the first Foreign Minister of the Greater German Reich, Joachim von Ribbentrop, replied to the welcome to French soil extended to him by the Prefect of Compiègne on behalf of the French Government at the railway station of that town. There was a symbolic significance in these words uttered in this place, in the vicinity of which, almost exactly twenty years ago, the armistice conditions which were so humiliating and mortifying for Germany were negotiated, or rather imposed; still more symbolic was the solemn signature of the declaration a few hours later in the historic Salle de l'Horloge, which has seen two declarations of war, namely in 1870 and 1914 and in which the peace preliminaries were signed and the Treaty of Versailles was ratified. The fact that Herr von Ribbentrop stayed in the Hotel Crillon, in which the American President Wilson lived during the Paris negotiations and in which the "Big Four" met daily to discuss the dictated peace to be imposed on Germany, together with the reception of the Führer's representative in the French capital and the solemn ceremony at the grave of the unknown soldier, were so many signs of the psychological change brought about by Munich in the relations between the two nations since that time until the present.

At the place where the American at that time, like a Messiah, preached a world order which could not bring happiness and was bound to collapse because it was hollow and mendacious and based on the inferiority of some and the superiority of others, the Foreign Ministers of Germany and France twenty years later proceeded to sign a document based on the only valid condition of complete equality and equal rights for the two parties.

Imponderabilia? Certainly. The German-French declaration falls within the sphere of the imponderable. But Bismarck himself once gave the following admonition in the Reichstag: "It is the imponderabilia in politics which often become much more powerful than the questions of material and direct interest and their importance should not be underestimated." Even if the agreement makes little change in the actual position and even if the declaration for the present has only a "relative" value and solves none of the outstanding questions, in the first place it does away with the ominous conception of "hereditary enmity" which, although there has never really been any question of hatred between the two nations, has poisoned the relations for centuries and has allowed the antagonism to be passed on from generation to generation like a hereditary disease.

At Versailles this disease which combined fear, alarm and distrust more than any other feelings, reached its culminating point, since France thought she could banish these feelings by keeping Germany permanently down. The spirit and policy of Richelieu again celebrated their greatest, though also their

last, triumph in an organisation of security which was based on the foolish idea of keeping Germany for ever in the position of a vanquished nation. It was a vain and dangerous attempt to try to play the part of a policeman over a nation of 80 millions. This evil act of Versailles could not produce anything but evil and could merely separate the two nations still further. How easy would it have been to take the other way, the way of reason, which might have led them both to a cooperation which is almost dictated by nature.

Lost opportunities. Unfortunately they continued to be lost when Adolf Hitler, after assuming power and in particular after the settlement of the Saar problem which was still outstanding between the two countries, held out to France the hand of understanding and friendship in his speeches and in his interviews with French politicians and journalists. But his offers met with a feeble echo and for the most part fell on deaf ears or were dissipated in the deep-rooted prejudices and profound distrust of the French. It was only after the deceptive world of Versailles and its French system of hegemony and alliances was shattered and came to an end at Munich, as far as the Continent was concerned, that a change took place. On the French side a man had finally arisen who, like the Führer, belonged to the generation of former combatants, who courageously thrust aside the elements that were poisoning the atmosphere between the two nations, and who grasped the hand held out to him and resolutely continued on the path of "Realpolitik" adopted at Munich. The repeated offer of the Führer this time fell on fertile soil, which had been levelled by the Anschluss and the release of the Sudeten Germans and by the abandonment by France of her policy of encirclement. Adolf Hitler's repeated statement that there was no longer any territorial dispute between Germany and France and that the time had at last come to put an end to the fruitless frontier conflict which had lasted for centuries has now been confirmed in writing. The recognition of the frontiers drawn at Versailles and the German abandonment of Alsace-Lorraine were described by Hitler himself as painful. They could only be compensated for if France abandoned her former mistaken policy in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and decided to let the spirit of Richelieu finally remain at rest.

The word "peace" under which the two Foreign Ministers set their signatures was probably uttered for the first time with the same meaning by the two peoples. If the "new era of peace" of which both Foreign Ministers spoke in their statements is continued in this sense and if the thousand years of struggle and contest are brought to an honourable end, not only for the welfare of the two peoples but equally in the interest of the maintenance of European peace, these two concessions will not have been too dear.

A start was made on December 6th 1938. It is the first step that counts, and no one expects that all the distrust and lack of comprehension which has gathered in the course of generations will be removed in a day. The conviction expressed in the declaration that peaceful and good neighbourly relations constitute one of the essential elements for the consolidation of the situation in Europe and the maintenance of general peace can, however, do much to remove the psychological obstacles. It must, however, not remain a dead letter, but must be translated into fact. It is a favourable omen that a start has already been made in the economic sphere and that commercial treaty negotiations have shown good results. For economic understanding has in many cases led more rapidly to a political understanding than vice versa. This will be the case especially in those parts of Europe in which, since France has withdrawn her "strategic front", there are no longer political disputes but only mutual interests which, though they tend predominantly by their nature and in the economic order of things towards Germany, do not need to exclude a corresponding participation by France.

The declaration is not weakened but strengthened by the fact that, in addition to the recognition of the frontiers, and

consultation for the removal of differences and their causes which might lead to international difficulties, their special relations with third Powers are not affected. The cooperation between the Berlin-Rome axis and the Franco-British entente, which proved so successful in Munich is also to be used in future for the improvement of the atmosphere between the four Powers. The main condition for this is that, just as Germany or Italy in their cooperation with the two entente Powers are not thinking of trying to drive a wedge between them, the latter should also not endeavour by means of false or new interpretations of treaties of declarations between one or another party of the two groups to disturb or weaken the relations of confidence or friendship of the axis Powers. The axis and the entente are not merely temporary means of mere diplomatic tactics but a political formation reaching into the future. At the beginning the axis was of course consciously opposed to the entente. According to the statements of its two founders, the Duce and the Führer, it is not their intention that it should always remain so. But the extent to which European solidarity can be achieved will depend upon the will to a better peace, to justice and to the fulfilment of justified vital demands and their harmonious settlement on the part of the entente. For it is only by the realisation of a better peace corresponding to the natural vital demands of the nations that the axis and the entente can and will come closer to each other. This cannot be achieved in any other way. Within the meaning of the Franco-German declaration this means that on the part of France the further development must also be in some respects a settlement; it is a matter of indifference whether this takes place, not by solemn renunciations or declarations (which no one demands from France) but by living down an epoch of mistakes and faulty speculations. In that case Herr von Ribbentrop's visit to Paris will have been what the French Foreign Minister, M. Bonnet, hoped it would be: a visit of peace.

* * *

Unfortunately the recent debates in the French Chamber and the speeches by Daladier and Bonnet have not created the impression that they wish to restrict the French mission in the world solely to the direct French sphere of interest as determined by the frontiers of the mother country and the colonies, or that, instead of making further experiments with restrictive obligations unrelated to their territory, they will follow the British example and limit these obligations to points and problems of the Empire where really vital interests are at stake and that they will define the scope of such interests and allow complete freedom of decision and action in respect of all other questions. It has been observed with some surprise in Germany that France refers to her various eastern treaties and expects that they will be kept in the spirit in which they were concluded. This looks like a reversion to old illusions and as if premature hopes were placed in the foreign political consequences of, for instance, the Yugoslav and Hungarian ministerial crises, as reflected in certain remarks by politicians and journalists; it also arouses the suspicion that the idea has not yet been abandoned of finally being able to play off Eastern Europe against Germany.

The further affirmation that the friendships in Central and Eastern Europe have so often in the course of history served the interests of France and increased her importance is however disputable in the light of recent events. On the contrary it appears as if these friendships which are wrapped in a maze of theoretical principles and slogans, based on a house of cards of contradictory treaties and systems of agreements, and forming part of an extraordinarily distorted system of security in which France acts the part of a policeman, of which the last link, the League Covenant, is a doubtful remnant, will ultimately only bring disappointment to France.

This can hardly be the meaning of the much used and, unfortunately, much abused word "redressement" or, as

M. Daladier said, "the turning point in the history of France". It is true that here also the struggle is still raging between the "Munichers" and the "anti-Munichers", and the attacks made by the latter on Daladier and, in particular, on Bonnet charge them mainly with having "capitulated" at Munich. But France did not capitulate to arms, but merely bowed to an idea, to a right, namely the right of self-determination. It was not weakness and powerlessness, but conviction and comprehension that stood sponsor to the Munich peace.

"Redressement" is also finally the reconsideration of a policy which has failed when faced by the storm of conceptions based not on a policy of power but deeply rooted in the national conscience and erected on the principles of self-determination and of the vital rights of a nation and on the maintenance of its national interests.

The "Temps" of September 27th drew up an excellent questionnaire for this "redressement": "It is absurd to close one's eyes to the fact that the position of Europe has undergone profound changes. This is a state of affairs which the authors of the treaties that were incorporated in a system that culminated at Geneva could not have foreseen. To what extent are these treaties now entirely valid? To what extent should they be strengthened or dropped? What would be the results of either solution? What is at present the real ratio of forces? Can France defend the integrity of her colonial empire and at the same time run the risk of being drawn into dangerous adventures on the Continent? Where does the national interest really lie?"

The article did not itself reply to these questions, but expressed the opinion that this was a matter for the Government. Nevertheless for a certain time after Munich very sensible answers were to be found in the "Temps". But unfortunately its views regarding "redressement" seem to have recently changed, since in an article of February 18th special reference is made to the progress made by the "rearmament of the three democracies" and to the "identical direction of their interests", and it is stated that this has to some extent been rendered possible by the time gained at Munich.

It would be regrettable if this view of the Munich peace gained further ground.

For general approval will certainly be given in Germany to Bonnet's statement that he takes his stand unreservedly on the declaration of December 6th which, as he says, represents a first appeal for a good understanding between the two nations and a first stage for trustful cooperation in the future. M. Bonnet further states to the whole world that there is no Frenchman today who does not desire such a good understanding between France and Germany with his whole heart and mind. But Germany will not agree with his statement that France was conciliatory when Germany was weak and disarmed and his further remark that France unfortunately omitted to rearm when the other nations around her were strengthening their armaments. M. Bonnet's statement that there is no nation which cannot be quite sure that none of the three democracies, France, England and America, feels the slightest enmity towards her will be accepted in Germany only with reserve. For signs of enmity on the part of the American democracy and particularly of its Government have recently been observed; not only has France not failed to hear them but they have produced in many quarters an echo that is scarcely in keeping with the declaration of December 6th.

M. Bonnet and M. Daladier have of course found excellent formulae in their speeches especially in respect of the conditions of the disturbed world economic situation which endanger peace. But in this sphere and also in others in which they deal exhaustively with past events, one misses any reference to the possibilities of solving matters in the present or in the future. On the contrary, both state with special emphasis that the policy of France is not one of withdrawal or renunciation. "France will never give up", says M. Bonnet. As far as we are aware,

Germany has never demanded that she should do so. And she made no such demand at Munich.

The Franco-Italian Tension

Since the tension between Rome and Paris was discussed in our issue No. 8, there has been no improvement in the relations between France and Italy. On the contrary, the press feud has continued on both sides with undiminished violence. In spite of the fact that no definite indications have been given in official Italian quarters in regard to Italian wishes and claims and that the impatiently awaited meeting of the Grand Fascist Council on February 4th brought no enlightenment on the subject, the French Premier, M. Daladier, and the Foreign Minister, M. Bonnet, once more gave expression, in their speeches in the Chamber and the Senate on January 26th and February 7th to their earlier negative attitude. The whole of the French Chamber and the great majority of the Senate associated themselves with the rejection (formulated in the strongest terms by Bonnet first and later by Daladier himself) of any claim involving a restriction of France's territorial sovereignty in any part of the French Empire. The net result of these demonstrations is that two opposing fronts are facing one another and the only question which now remains open is whether France is under any delusion as to the significance and tangible nature of the official aims of the Italian Government, or not. Bonnet communicated to the Chamber, without comment, the assurance given by the Italian Government that demonstrations by Italian deputies were not to be regarded as equivalent to statements by the Government. On the other hand, he did not confine himself to communicating without comment the notice of termination of the Franco-Italian Treaty of January 7th, 1935, but indulged in vehement polemics in connection therewith and used the ominous word "unacceptable" of the Italian arguments. This speech failed to indicate any possibilities of a détente or solution of the conflict between Italy and France. In contrast to Bonnet's speech may be mentioned the significant remarks contained in Daladier's final speech in which he not only spoke of "sympathy for the Italian people", but had the nobility and wisdom to remove one of the chief sources of irritation in the relations between France and Italy by paying tribute to the quality and courage of the Italian soldiers.

In the meantime, a regular fusillade of propagandist colonial and imperial instruction and "enlightenment" has been let loose among the public, in connection with which one striking fact may be noted: all these problems—Tunis, Jibuti, Corsica and the Suez Canal—are approached and judged almost exclusively from a strategical point of view. It is constantly being repeated that this or that position dominates this or that sea and consequently protects the vital interests of the Empire. Again and again the triumphant remark of the former Foreign Minister, Hanotaux, and the then Minister of Marine, Pelletan: "Bizerte prend l'Italie à la gorge et la Corse perce au cœur de l'Italie" is proclaimed with different variations. It is openly declared that the presence of the Tunisian air-fleet constitutes an extremely serious danger for Italy, inasmuch as Tunis could be used as a point of departure in possible action against the flank of Italian troopships to Libya. Finally, Jibuti forms, with British Aden, the second bolt whereby the route from Bab-el-Mandeb and the approach to the Red Sea could be cut off and is at the same time the key to the lines of communication between the home country and Indo-China and New Caledonia on the one hand and Madagascar and the Reunion Islands on the other hand: in other words, Jibuti is the turn-table of the French Empire. All this and imperial ideas generally are day by day being hammered as insistently as possible into the minds of the French, who "unfortunately know little or nothing about the matter".

Naturally no mention is made of Italy being a Mediterranean Power, whose whole existence is bound up with the Mediterranean. No word is said of the fact that the Mediterranean is for France as for Great Britain, a useful but by no means indispensable sea route, while for Italy it is a matter of life and death, or that, if the Mediterranean were closed to the merchant vessels of France or England, they could, notwithstanding the delay and other unpleasant circumstances, go round by the Cape of Good Hope, whereas, if it were closed to Italian merchant vessels, this would entail a loss of over 80 % of Italy's foreign trade. Nothing is said as to France and England possessing at least the theoretical possibility of being able to ignore the Mediterranean in their endeavours to maintain connection with their possessions, while Italy would be unable to do so, owing to the fact that, as a Central Mediterranean Power, she would—economically speaking—become a prisoner, should she be shut off from trans-Mediterranean sources of raw materials as a result of the closing of the Mediterranean from Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. No word is breathed of the fact that France's economic interests in the Mediterranean are concentrated much more round the Western basin, where the three North-African possessions of Algeria, Morocco and Tunis—situated opposite to the mother country—form an economic reserve of power, whose importance far exceeds that of any of France's other overseas colonies. This propaganda thus leaves the French in complete ignorance of the fact that the Mediterranean constitutes for the great Power situated in its midst—Italy—a "vita", while for the two other great Powers interested in that sea—England and France (the latter also possessing a non-Mediterranean Atlantic coast line), it is only a "via".

M. Bonnet made great play in his speech in the Chamber referred to above with France's will to come to an agreement with Italy, as evidenced in particular by the appointment of a French Ambassador to Rome, the recognition of the Italian Empire and France's readiness to institute negotiations on the basis of the Agreement of January 7th, 1935. To this the Italians reply that François-Poncet went to the Palazzo Farnese two years too late and that his going there is therefore not to be regarded as any great honour for Rome, any more than is the recognition of the Italian Empire immediately after France had dropped the Soviet Union. The "normalisation" of the relations between the two countries on the basis of that treaty, as desired by France, is thus for Italian ears a word which has little meaning and no positive significance and is entirely lacking in any suggestion of a constructive policy. The Italians say that surprise is expressed in France that it should not be possible simply to proceed on the basis of that Treaty, as if the Abyssinian campaign and the anti-Fascist sanctions-mad Popular Front had been but a brief intermezzo; also that the French forget that this treaty falls into the category of those treaties concluded in so-called "favourable moments" in which France has so often endeavoured to take advantage of the difficulties encountered by a third party—in this case, Mussolini in order to ensure a settlement by treaty to which such third party would, in other circumstances, never have agreed. It is therefore not surprising, they say, that Italy no longer desires to have anything more to do with this treaty and is therefore unable to regard as evidence of a desire for agreement France's willingness, shortly after the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian Agreement at the end of April 1938, to resume negotiations on the safe foundation of a treaty whose terms were unfavourable and unfair to Italy. Finally it should not be forgotten that the then French Premier Laval was himself unable to observe the terms of the treaty. We will not discuss here the question in how far Laval was at the time influenced by the desire to isolate Germany by re-establishing the broken Stresa front, in order to improve relations with Italy and to negotiate with the latter on the subject of the liquidation of the Treaty of London, or in how far he was inclined to welcome the Italian campaign against Abyssinia and

considered that Italy would, if victorious, devote her attention in the main to Abyssinia and that France's position would thus be eased as a result of these colonial activities. If Italy did not win, so much the better for France, who would naturally welcome the weakening of Italy in preference to a mere switching over of Italian interests to East Africa. However that may be, Laval came to grief over that policy, as he could not bring off the feat of pleasing Italy and at the same time serving Geneva.

Thus the two fronts are at present faced by two uncompromising alternatives: total agreement or total disagreement. It is scarcely necessary to explain what these two alternatives signify for Europe. It is perfectly natural that the French should wish to keep every square yard of their possessions, but it is equally natural that Italy should wish to insist upon her just rights and obtain recognition of her equality of rights as an imperial and Mediterranean Power. France cannot refuse seriously to examine the whole position, the Italian claims and their possible solutions. It would be a mistake to cling to so-called unalterable facts, instead of realising that times have changed, as England did when she concluded the Easter Agreement of April 16th, 1938 and paid the price to Italy, as an equal Mediterranean Power, in order to keep the peace in the Mediterranean. The "Times" remarked with great justice, in connection with Chamberlain's visit to Rome and the necessary conditions for the realisation of his peace policy, that the fact must first of all be recognised that changes must be made here and there and that these changes involved sacrifices on one side or the other.

French polemics always come back to the *status quo*, as presumably laid down once and for all in the Anglo-Italian Agreement. In reply to this, it may be said that recent events in Central Europe have proved that *status quo* is not always synonymous with peace and that revision by friendly means is the most direct method of adaptation to a new situation.

Is this famous *status quo* passage in the Easter Agreement, whereby the Contracting Parties "disclaim any desire to modify, or, so far as they are concerned, to see modified, the *status quo* as regards national sovereignty of territory in the Mediterranean area" to be understood in the sense in which France interprets it—as if it contained a political most-favoured-nation clause? Adolf Hitler in his last speech appropriately reminded his hearers, when elucidating the German view on the colonial question, of the fundamental truth that "the conditions with regard to possessions in this world are the result of gradual historical development". This comment on the *status quo* is especially applicable to the Mediterranean basin, where these conditions have, from ancient times, been in a state of flux.

Nobody could seriously believe that it would be sufficient or conceivable that France should be automatically enabled to enjoy the rights specified in the Anglo-Italian Protocols and leave unsolved all the questions at present hampering her relations with Italy.

It is not however the case that England and France are to-day basing their own policy everywhere on the principle that the political development on the shores of the Mediterranean is now concluded. In the Western Mediterranean, territorial changes are not to be expected because the integrity of nationalist Spain—the first item on General Franco's programme—has been guaranteed to the new Government by Italy and Germany since their recognition of that Government. On the other hand, the position is different in the Eastern Mediterranean, where one has only to mention the names Syria and Palestine to realize how questionable the idea of the *status quo* is. Furthermore it is legally questionable whether the guarantee in respect of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean as arranged for in the Easter Agreement, should be taken to refer to all Mediterranean countries. This clause was deliberately

introduced with reference to Spain and her North-African possessions and to the British and Italian territories on the Red Sea, as it was in the interests of both Mediterranean Powers to clarify the position here.

That fundamental principle of all policy—necessity to improve every untenable condition of affairs—has thus been neither rendered slower of application nor excluded, in so far as the Mediterranean is concerned, by the Easter Agreement.

Recently, and especially before the Führer's Reichstag speech on January 30th, many prophecies have been uttered abroad as to Germany's attitude in a conflict between France and Italy. There has—now, as always—been talk of disagreements between the Axis Powers in which the wish has been father to the thought, and naturally there have been more or less ill-concealed sentimental references to the events of 1914-1915. All these speculations ignore one fact however: namely, that in the world of to-day policies are not based on sentimentalities, but can only be founded on hard realities; that Germany is on friendly terms to-day with an Italy which is very different from the former Italy and—what is more—that this friendship is based—not on the uncertain foundation of an alliance concluded from motives of interest, but on quite different effects and conformities of Fascist and National Socialist policy. A common ideology and a common faith in a new ethos in the relationships between nations forms the basis of Germano-Italian cooperation, which thus goes far beyond the limits of an ordinary alliance. This friendship which, in Mussolini's words, "goes to the end", stood the test during the September crisis. Count Ciano's great speech in the Fascist Chamber on November 30th, in which he gave an account of the Government's stewardship, bore eloquent testimony to this fact. It should have been sufficient to show all disturbers of the peace why certain speculations based on possible causes of dissension between Germany and Italy were bound to break down in the past and are equally bound to do so in the future. This speech, with its revelations with regard to the critical September days, confirmed beyond a shadow of doubt and before the whole world, the unshakable strength of the Berlin-Rome Axis. Italy did not "bluff" or "indulge in a game of poker", as was stated in some foreign newspapers. While the whole history of the events which led up to the Munich Conference shows the clearly defined, determined and in all respects adequate cooperation between the two Powers, it also clearly demonstrates the fact that the policy of the Axis has become the real expression of the conception of peace in Europe. All the endeavours of the responsible statesmen of the Western Powers could—in spite of the general longing for peace among the nations—scarcely have succeeded, in face of the strong opposition in their own countries in warding off the almost inevitable danger, if the Rome-Berlin Axis had not kept watch and, in the consciousness of the justice of its cause and its own good will and in reliance upon its military formations and institutions—so invincible especially in combination—taken steps to lift the solution of the Czechoslovak problem out of the slough of further procrastination which was threatening the general peace and settle the problem as rapidly as possible by pacific means. In particular the speech brought home once more to the minds of all the extent to which three circumstances contributed towards the sure conclusion of the crisis: firstly, the fact that Mussolini was clearly determined to stand by Germany with all the resources at his disposal in the event of a conflict of arms between her and the Western Powers; secondly, the extraordinarily far-reaching military preparations for such an event; and thirdly, the diplomatic action—thanks to the cordial relations between Hitler and Mussolini and the efficacy of the Axis, the one thing needed—which enabled the Western Powers to extricate themselves from a situation which had become untenable and obtained for Germany what she wanted and had to have—what indeed no-one could wish to deny

her, with the exception of politicians who regard nations as pawns in the game of politics and do not concern themselves with their wishes—and that without a shot being fired. That was after all Adolf Hitler's aim.

In his Reichstag speech of January 30th, Hitler clearly and unmistakably answered in fitting terms the secret desires and hopes of international speculators and others committed to certain ideologies, who are not concerned for the peace of the world, but are merely concerned to bring about the separation of the two Axis Powers with a view to their subsequent destruction or reduction to impotence. That is to say that, while friendly disposed to all third parties, Germany brings to all the legitimate and vital claims of Italy as large a measure of sympathy and support as Mussolini has brought to the vital claims of Germany. Hitler's profession of solidarity with Italy finds its culmination in the two following phrases:

"It is in the interests of peace that there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that a war waged against the present Italy from whatever motive would find Germany on the side of her friend..." and "National-Socialist Germany for its part is fully aware what fate would be reserved for her if an international power ever managed, from whatever motive, to subjugate Fascist Italy."

There are no two ways of interpreting these statements, although attempts have been made in various quarters to twist them from their plain meaning. Germany will always support Italy's rights with the same determination as that with which Mussolini accorded his unreserved support to the claims of the Reich, which were just and therefore capable of satisfaction. The existence and strength of Fascist Italy are necessary conditions of Germany's national life. That is the meaning of the sentences relating to Italy.

Germany and Italy go their way together, but this solidarity of aims and methods is not for offensive but for defensive purposes. Mussolini's opinions and aspirations will not be known until he gives expression to them, but at any rate he does not desire a war or any sort of aggression or violent measures of self-help, but merely due consideration for Italy's natural claims and for her greatness. We have not yet heard anything from his lips which would justify the remark that the French Premier, Daladier, felt called upon to make on the occasion of his reception at the Town Hall of his native town of Orange, after his tour of North Africa: that "it may have been thought that the time would come to step into France's shoes in the Mediterranean". Instead of bringing up such heavy artillery, which is scarcely calculated to promote understanding or agreement, it would surely be better to go back to Munich and in mutual discussion frankly to recognise the existence of outstanding problems, including those of the Mediterranean, and to seek a solution of them, not in a static, but a dynamic sense and on the basis of the vital interests of the peoples living in that area.

The Anglo-Italian Settlement in the Mediterranean

The coming into force of the Anglo-Italian agreement of April 16th 1938 by means of the declaration signed on November 18th 1938 by the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, and the British Ambassador, Lord Perth, was also one of the effects of the Munich policy. Among the arguments advanced by the representatives of the British Government in the two Houses of Parliament for putting the agreement into force, the attitude adopted by Mussolini on September 28th 1938 played an important part. The Munich meeting itself gave Mussolini and Chamberlain an opportunity of discussing the treaty and also a visit by Chamberlain to Rome which was to lead to fresh discussions regarding the further development of the relations between the two countries.

The history of this Easter treaty is very long. It extends from the signature of the Gentlemen's Agreement of January 2nd 1937 till October 1938. And it seemed more than once as if the "parallel direction which might lead to active cooperation in the Mediterranean" (as the "Giornale d'Italia" said of that agreement at the time) would not be followed. It may be pointed out that, shortly after it was signed, articles appeared in the Italian press to the effect that, if an agreement was reached in the Mediterranean there would be room for all, and if not this would mean war. It is true that in July 1937 efforts were made by the famous exchange of notes between Mussolini and Chamberlain to revive the friendship which had died down, and on this occasion Count Ciano stated that British and Italian interests in the Mediterranean were not opposed but complementary. But this summer impulse did not get very far. The psychological obstacle was hard to overcome, and the changes of fortune in the Spanish conflict prevented joint cooperation. January 2nd, 1938, the anniversary of the conclusion of the agreement was merely a day of remembrance. England and Italy remained at a deadlock and the tension between the two countries was increased by the broadcast war which both countries began in the other a few days later. Italy left no doubt of the fact that it regarded M. Eden, at that time Foreign Secretary, as bearing the main responsibility for this policy of procrastination.

The decisive phase in the attempts at a rapprochement was however then tackled by the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain. It is true that Mr. Eden was a party to the first feelers between Mr. Chamberlain and the Italian Ambassador Grandi on February 18th 1938. But two days later he resigned and on February 21st Mr. Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons the official commencement of the negotiations. In long and frank discussions between Lord Perth, the British Ambassador in Rome, and Count Ciano, the Foreign Minister, in March and the first half of April, the foundations of the new friendship were laid. The result was the Easter agreement of April 16th 1938, in which England and Italy agreed to reconstruct their relations on a firm and durable basis. This presupposed on the part of England the definite recognition of the Italian Empire and the recognition of equality of rights between the Empire and the Impero in the Mediterranean and Near East. Italy was also required by the agreement to cease the broadcast war and to reduce the forces in Libya and in particular to withdraw volunteers as a first step towards a general settlement of the Spanish crisis.

While Italy rapidly complied with the first two conditions, the third condition, upon which Chamberlain had made the ratification of the treaty dependent in view of the opposition in his own country, was protracted for some months. It was only when Mussolini during the conversation at Munich declared his willingness to withdraw half the Italian forces from Spain and put this declaration into effect by withdrawing 10,000 legionaries, that Chamberlain considered the condition had been fulfilled for bringing the agreement into force. This took place in Rome on November 16th 1938 simultaneously with the recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia and thereby of the transfer of Abyssinia to the legal possession of Italy.

It is not our intention here again to comment the voluminous treaty documentation of Rome with the introductory protocol and four notes. We have already done this in detail in No. 14-16 1938 of this Journal and would refer to that issue. The repercussions of the agreement in Rome were obviously great, for the two countries met on an equal footing in a friendship which bore no relation to the former so-called "traditional" friendship, which was based on the absolute inferiority of Italy. It was possible to reduce to a common formula the vital Italian and British claims in the Mediterranean, expressed in the form coined by Mussolini as the "via" of the British and the "vita" of the Italians. Two countries guaranteed each other's imperial routes.

Apart from the stabilisation of peace in the Mediterranean, the agreement forms the kernel of the arrangements regarding

the Middle East. It is a kind of non-intervention pact in respect of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, in which both States undertake to do nothing which might affect the independence and integrity of these two Arab States, not to endeavour to obtain any privileged position in that area, and to prevent any such attempts by third parties. This safeguarding of the east coast of the Red Sea has enabled Italy to recognise the British protectorate over Aden declared in 1937 and to waive political influence in the part of the Arabian Peninsula extending from the east and north-east of Aden to the Persian Gulf and to the Gulf of Oman and along the Gulf of Aden.

Lastly, the coming into force of the agreement also brought about the accession of Italy to the London Naval Agreement of 1936, which contains terms regarding the tonnage and calibre of the naval forces.

The first obligation of the two contracting Parties involved in January 1939, namely to inform each other of the proposed movements of their forces on land, at sea and in the air and of their decisions to establish new naval and air bases in the relations established by the treaty in the Mediterranean, Lybia, the Sudan, Kenya and the Tanganyika territory, has already been fulfilled by both Parties. Further negotiations must now take place between Great Britain, Italy and Egypt regarding the final frontier delimitation between the Sudan, Kenya, British Somaliland and Italian East Africa, and also on all questions affecting the interests of the parties in these territories. Similarly, the negotiations provided for in the treaty regarding trade relations between Italian East Africa and the British Empire must be started.

This exchange of views was primarily the object of the visit paid by the Prime Minister Mr. Chamberlain and the Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax to Mussolini in Rome from January 11th to 14th 1939, on which we reported fully in No. 8/1939 of this Journal. The documents which we published show that Italy and England do not wish to confine themselves merely to the strict execution of the Easter Agreement, but propose to develop it further in the interest of general peace. In addition Mussolini's determination to pursue an effective peace policy, which also found expression in the official communiqué, made a strong impression on the British. Mr. Chamberlain also expressed the idea that this peace of justice cannot be identical with a rigid maintenance of conditions that have become untenable, when, on January 11th, in this toast, he said that his policy was "directed to the just and peaceful solution of international difficulties by the method of negotiation". It may be assumed that in the conversations Mussolini described this principle as entirely compatible with his policy towards France. He could also have pointed out that no step had been taken by Italian policy against France except the Note of December 17th 1938, which might be regarded as an invitation to substitute a new agreement for the Franco-Italian agreement of 1935 which Italy had declared to be null and void. Italian views as to what this new agreement should contain did not need to be, and in fact were not, stated. For, in the nature of things, Mr. Chamberlain could not be the recipient of such a statement. It is at any rate clear that the general review of the position made by the heads of the two Governments and their Foreign Ministers did not exclude the relations between Italy and France. Those relations could naturally not be brought nearer to a solution, but this was not the object of the Rome visit from the outset.

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After the Anglo-Italian agreements came into force, Mussolini felt compelled to make an optimistic statement regarding the world situation. He spoke from the outset of the "true peace of justice for all", and said that the "blue patches in the political sky were beginning to spread". Much is unfortunately still lacking for the bright sun to shine from a cloudless sky. Nevertheless, after September 29th, a new stage was reached on November 16th 1938 towards that path to peace for which both Hitler and Mussolini, and also Chamberlain and Daladier, strove at Munich.

Roosevelt's Statements and Denials regarding American Foreign Policy

On January 24th a slight misfortune happened to the Government in Washington. Somewhere in California, an army aeroplane crashed. This was not in itself an item of news of world importance, but when the victims of the catastrophe were taken from the wreckage, it was found that there was a foreign passenger who could not at first be identified but who turned out to be a representative of the French Air Ministry.

What was a Frenchman doing in this American aeroplane? This question was asked everywhere. The American Government still strictly follows the existing rule not to permit the sale to foreigners of aeroplanes of which the prototype is not at least two years old, so that the exclusive utilisation of such inventions is reserved in the first place for American defence.

The matter caused more and more noise, so that President Roosevelt convened the Army Committee of the Senate to a secret meeting at Washington on February 1st in order to clear it up.

What happened at this secret meeting? No official communiqué was issued, but various people who attended the meeting do not seem to have entirely kept their promise of secrecy, for according to statements in the American press President Roosevelt is alleged to have made a statement somewhat to the following effect.

He gave it to be understood clearly that certain agreements had been concluded between the United States and the European democracies. The United States must be prepared to assist the French and British Governments in case of a European war, and, in case of an attack by the Rome-Berlin-Tokio block of Powers, to come to their help with the necessary supplies of arms which would naturally have to be paid for in cash. In reply to an obvious question by a Senator as to how such a promise to give military assistance would be brought into line with the neutrality of the United States, President Roosevelt is said to have stated: "We will cross the bridge when we come to it."

The New York Herald Tribune published the following details regarding this meeting.

Roosevelt, in his statement on the present international position, which according to one of the persons present was "very alarming", also considered the eventuality of war and what would happen if the democracies were conquered by the dictatorships.

In this case, South and North America would be the first objects in the programme of the dictatorships. In this connection Roosevelt had given the paraphrases of Baldwin's statement in the House of Commons: "Great Britain's frontier is on the Rhine". Roosevelt then stated that he would not like to experience a war in which American soldiers would be used for fighting on foreign soil. But the United States must do everything possible "to save Great Britain and France". He had then specially emphasised the fact that the air armaments of the United States should not be limited to their present level, but should be increased as rapidly as possible. In this connection he mentioned the conditions under which the recent sales of aircraft to France had taken place. He reminded his critics that he was fully entitled to approve or reject such sales and that he took entire responsibility for them. He therefore saw no object in the Committee continuing its investigations into the circumstances which had led to these sales of aircraft. Lastly, he had requested the most influential members of Congress to refrain from mischievous criticisms regarding his conduct of foreign affairs in the near future.

After the American press, public opinion and political circles had commented on this news for three days, some approving and others criticising and rejecting it, and after the press outside North America had taken up this sensation, which was of a kind not to be met with every day, President Roosevelt, after calmly listening for three days to this storm about his alleged utterances, found it necessary on February 3rd

to convene a press conference in Washington, with regard to which the Havas correspondent in Washington cabled the following telegrams :

Washington, February 3rd. 2.40 p.m.

At the conference Roosevelt referred to certain American newspapers and certain members of Congress whom he accused of spreading news which was contrary to the facts and thus deliberately misinterpreting his policy. He characterised as "deliberate lies" the news that he had stated the frontier of the United States was on the Rhine or in France.

Roosevelt then made a statement regarding the main lines of American foreign policy and said :

1. that it had not changed and would not change ;
2. that it rejected alliances ;
3. that it aimed at the maintenance of the foreign trade of the United States with all countries ;
4. that it encouraged all efforts to bring about a limitation or reduction of armaments ;
5. that it was in sympathy with all efforts to maintain the political, economic and social independence of all nations in the world.

Washington, February 3rd. 6.25 p.m.

In the course of the press conference, Roosevelt said, in reply to the request by a journalist for a definite statement on the foreign policy of the United States, that his messages to Congress had accurately and fully defined this policy and that he had nothing to add.

He then said that many people had intentionally given incorrect information. He was of opinion that the questions of national defence and foreign policy should not be the subject of newspaper polemics or of polemics in Congress or among the parties and that they should not be drawn into the election campaign of 1940.

Roosevelt sharply criticised the headings of the American newspapers which, without a single exception, had not given a correct impression of the position. He observed that the articles in the American press had met with approval in the very countries which rejected the principle that other countries should be allowed to enjoy their independence.

In reply to a question regarding the sales of American aeroplanes to foreign countries, Roosevelt said they were made against cash payment.

Washington, February 3rd., 8 p.m.

In official quarters it is stated that the expression "deliberate lie" used by Roosevelt in the press conference referred solely to the sentence in which he was alleged to have stated that "the frontier of the United States was in France", or, according to another version, "on the Rhine".

They emphasise the fact that Roosevelt did not say that any change whatever had taken place in the conduct of American foreign policy as expressed in his message to Congress of January 5th.

As regards the help which the democracies may obtain in the United States, especially through the purchase of aircraft, the President has clearly explained his attitude in the course of two recent press conferences.

It is generally thought that certain senators in the secret meeting of the Army Committee of the Senate, under the impression of Roosevelt's "alarming statements", tried to reproduce his ideas in a striking manner by paraphrasing Baldwin's historic words.

It is stated that Roosevelt, by his denial, wished to relieve himself of the political responsibilities towards Europe and American public opinion which Baldwin's phrase entailed for England.

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Does this mean that it was a storm in a teacup ? Not at all. For though President Roosevelt thought fit only after two days had elapsed to state that he had not said what others

affirmed he had said, this does not clear up all the questions and doubts surrounding this mysterious meeting of the Army Committee. It is difficult to imagine that any opponent of the President would have dared, even in America which is not too much troubled by scruples, to invent such definite expressions without a word being said on the subject. For there is not only the statement that France's frontier is also America's frontier, but also the statement that the President, as leader of American foreign policy, is determined (like Wilson) to cross the bridge leading from peace to war.

The "Dépêche de Toulouse" which is not over favourable to the totalitarian States, in reply to the question as to why the démenti came so late when the lie was so offensive and the ideas behind Roosevelt's words so far from his intentions, writes as follows :

"Probably because these statements are fundamentally not foreign to Roosevelt's views and because their mere denial would have been a direct and heavy blow to the democracies which he nevertheless wishes to support.

"Presumably Roosevelt did not say that the frontier of the United States was in France, for he denies it. But the new direction given to his policy nevertheless exists : viz. the material assistance given to France and England by the delivery of the latest aircraft models is continued. In his simple statement of these principles it is clear on which side of the barricade the United States will stand. But Roosevelt's actions, rather than his words, are a permanent encouragement for the democracies. For one fact remains : America continues to supply her aeroplanes.

"How could we forget that the United States have just authorised the delivery of 700 aeroplanes, after having formerly refused to deliver the helium which Germany wished to purchase. In case of war, there is therefore no doubt that American deliveries would go to France and Great Britain.

"But the important sentence is the last, in which he advocates the political, economic and social independence of all nations ; for there could be no greater condemnation of the desire for supremacy and the menaces of the totalitarian States.

"There is therefore", the article concludes, "no reason to go from extreme optimism to a pessimism which would also be exaggerated."

The same view is reached, though not in such a definite form, by the article in the "Temps" of February 5th which, like the majority of the French press, intentionally avoids speaking of a démenti. They consider that this démenti is not a démenti but a rectification (mise au point) which, as most papers point out, makes a change in the words attributed to Roosevelt but not in the spirit of the policy which he pursues.

This appreciation by the "Temps" also seems to us to be entirely just. For a long time now and particularly since the notorious 'quarantine speech' of October 1937, no opportunity has been neglected in American quarters of launching attacks against and casting suspicion upon the authoritarian States and especially Germany in some connection or other. We have here no mere press polemics or general expressions of opinion, but a deliberate systematic campaign by people whose responsible position as members of the Government, officials or public figures is beyond question. This seems to show that Washington is pursuing aims which far exceed the limits of the old policy of good relations with other Powers. Factors connected with American internal, social and economic policy may of course be involved, inasmuch as those concerned may be seeking to divert attention from any disappointments or difficulties encountered by the President in the pursuance of his many schemes—and in a sphere in which the American people can unfortunately be very easily influenced : foreign policy. In recent cases however the attacks on the authoritarian States are apparently attributable in the main to the desire to find arguments in defence of the fresh enormous demands in the matter of arma-

ments, which Roosevelt is making upon the American people and at the same time a screen behind which the deliveries of aeroplanes to the democracies, so sharply criticized in some quarters, can go forward. They are also designed to render acceptable the endeavours being made still further to loosen the neutrality laws. It was under Roosevelt that the gradual reversal of the policy of strict neutrality, which culminated provisionally in the "cash and carry" laws of May 1937, began. These laws provide that in the event of war the President shall issue a proclamation prohibiting all exports from America of arms and munitions and raw materials vital for war. The famous "cash and carry" clause provides however that all goods purchased in America must be paid for in cash, before they are exported. Exports are not however regarded as exports if the goods paid for are carried on other than American ships. This means: pay cash and fetch the stuff yourself! In this way America would not be infringing her neutrality laws. Apart from this, the President can permit a special economic relationship with Canada, which would enable Great Britain to obtain any war material—not direct from America but through the neighbouring Dominion. During the debate on the Law, Senator Johnson of California described this policy as designed to ensure war profits, while avoiding the responsibility or risk of war.

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According to a Havas report, Roosevelt stated that American foreign policy had been laid down in his various messages to Congress, including that of January 4th 1939 and it will be well to examine this message carefully. The French press describe it in head-lines as "a requisitory against the dictatorships" and that is what it is, although these dictatorships are not mentioned by name. It will be sufficient to quote a few passages:

"I have on several occasions warned Congress of the state of confusion prevailing abroad and of the necessity of putting our own house in order in view of the storm signals which have reached us from overseas.

On the occasion of the opening of the 76th Congress, it is necessary to utter a fresh warning. War, which threatened to engulf the world in flames, has been avoided, but it is becoming more and more obvious that the maintenance of peace has not been ensured. Military and economic wars are raging round us, although they have not been declared.

The race of military and economic armaments is becoming more and more disastrous. Threats of fresh military and economic onslaughts are heard around us. Storms from other countries are directly menacing the three institutions indispensable, now as always, for the Americans: religion, democracy and international good faith.

The time will come when men will have to prepare to defend not only their own hearths and homes, but also those principles of faith and humanity on which their churches, their governments and their culture are based.

But the world has grown so small and weapons of offence so rapid that no nation can be sure of peace as long as another nation refuses to settle its disputes by negotiation. If a government armed to the teeth abandons itself to a policy of violence, then weapons of defence are the only safeguard against such a policy.

We have learnt from our relations with foreign nations what we must not do and from recent wars what we have to do; namely to prepare an effective system of defence in good time. We have learned that security cannot be guaranteed if one does not arm before the conflict has begun, as methods of attack are being adapted to far greater distances and far greater speeds.

We have learned that, long before the commencement of any military hostilities, the attack opens with certain preliminaries in the form of propaganda, influence exercised with the help of money, the attraction exercised by associations of per-

sons of goodwill, the manufacture of prejudices and incitement to disunion.

We have learned that the democracies of the world, which believe in God and the sanctity of treaties and keep faith in their relations with other nations, cannot run the risk of remaining indifferent to violations of justice. They cannot, without effective protest, allow acts of aggression to be committed against their sister nations, which automatically undermine us all.

Obviously the democracies must collaborate in a practical and peaceful manner, but the simple fact that we decline for good reasons, to take military action to prevent acts of aggression does not mean that we must behave as if there were no aggression. Words may not do much good, but war is not the only method of exacting respect for humanitarian ideals. There are many other methods apart from war which are more potent and more effective than mere words, there are many ways of making aggressor States understand the collective sentiments of our peoples.

The least we can do is to avoid emboldening, supporting or strengthening an aggressor by any action or omission of ours. We learned, when we were endeavouring to formulate neutrality laws, that those laws could operate unequally and inequitably. They can actually bring help to the aggressor, while refusing it to his victim.

The instinct of self-preservation should warn us not to permit the continuance of such a state of affairs."

Senator Pittman, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, who recently summed up Roosevelt's ideas in the following pithy terms: "why shoot a man, if you can starve him?" commented as follows on these remarks of the President on the subject of neutrality:

"Roosevelt made it quite clear that it is our right and our duty to refuse to give any assistance to the dictatorships which are out for conquest, but that it is our duty to support the democracies in their struggle against the dictatorships by every means except military intervention. It is obvious that the Neutrality Law does not fulfil the purpose for which it was intended and will not do so in the future: indeed it can only yield results diametrically opposed to those which it was expected to yield. If this view is correct, measures by Congress are required. As the President stated in his speech, there are many methods to choose from and it will be for the Foreign Affairs Committee carefully to examine them."

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An extraordinary speech: more a fanfare heralding a crusade than a message of peace. Roosevelt talks as if the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans had disappeared and the distance between Europe of the Far East and America could be overcome with trifling ease. Judging from his state of mind, it would not be surprising to find that he was really possessed with the idea of planting the star-spangled Banner on the Rhine in order, as he indicates in his speech and to use the current phrase, to prevent "a second Munich". While in Europe the responsible statesmen of the four great Powers are endeavouring to rise superior to ideological differences, Roosevelt is fanning the flames once more, and need lessly, for no-one—presumably even Roosevelt—can seriously believe that Germany, Italy or Japan, or all three, would like to wage a military or ideological war on America. The whole speech is a distortion of the political position which one would not believe a European statesman to be capable of producing or a European audience of accepting. It is certainly not calculated to promote understanding and peace.

It was amazing that the British Premier, Chamberlain, should on the following day, have described this speech, in a statement to which a great deal of publicity was accorded, as the expression of devotion to the ideal of human progress.

It was to be expected that the greater part of the French press would welcome these remarks of Roosevelt's

with enthusiastic approval. This sheds a curious light on what is understood by the policy of conciliation, which was to be introduced with the signing of the Franco-German Declaration on December 6th. As the "Berliner Börsenzeitung" rightly said, if this policy of peace and conciliation towards Germany is sincere, Roosevelt's activities must be unwelcome to France and indeed dangerous from her point of view. For a neighbour in the form of a friendly and reconciled Germany, confident in France's goodwill, must furnish more valuable security for France's frontiers than boastful insinuations from a distant continent, by which the proposal for the adoption on principle of a hostile attitude to France's most important neighbour is accompanied.

It is indeed a poor answer to Adolf Hitler's statements in his Reichstag speech on Germany's relations with the United States, when he said:

"Our relations with the North-American Union are suffering from a campaign of defamation by means of which an attempt is being made, in the interests of transparent political and financial interests, to incite a whole continent against the European countries with popular Governments.

We are convinced however that these attempts are not to be identified with the will of millions of American citizens who, in spite of the gigantic Jewish-capitalist press, wireless and film propaganda, must be convinced that all these assertions contain no word of truth. Germany desires peace and friendship with all countries including America. She has no intention of interfering in American affairs and certainly refuses to tolerate any American interference in German affairs.

Germany is in any case a great and sovereign Empire and is not under the tutelage of American politicians. Moreover, it seems to me that all countries have so many problems to solve to-day that it would be a good thing for the nations if responsible

statesmen would concern themselves exclusively with their own affairs."

The Genevese paper "La Suisse" truly says that there is real cause for disquietude in the regularity with which Roosevelt attempts to stir up ideological conflicts every time Chamberlain throws his weight into the scale in favour of agreement. Similarly it may be said that the recent oratorical shots from the White House have on each occasion been fired just at the moment when Adolf Hitler has been proclaiming a message of peace to the world.

While the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich declares his belief in a long peace, the American President thinks and talks himself into a more and more dismally warlike frame of mind, from which, in spite of the present tension and armaments, Europe is happily still far removed and which is regarded by others besides his Republican opponents as beginning to assume a definitely morbid character.

The extent to which Roosevelt's fanfare has already borne fruit may be seen from a report from Washington dated February 9th to the effect that a majority of the Military Committee declared itself in agreement with Roosevelt's rearmament programme on the ground that "it may come to war in Europe very soon. If such an unfortunate and regrettable situation arises, it will be necessary for America to be prepared and in a position adequately to defend her coasts". The House of Representatives passed this motion on February 16th by 376 votes to 15.

War in Europe! That is America's comment on the possibility of a European appeasement which has, since Munich, found expression in the various agreements between the two European groups of Powers and it is at any rate worth remembering that it is and has been President Roosevelt who has by his attitude contributed in no small measure to the stiffening of the international position.

DOCUMENTS

France's Attitude to the Foreign Political Problems

Extract from the Speech by the French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bonnet, on France's Foreign Policy, in the Chamber on January 26th 1939.

"I have attentively followed the various speakers who have developed their ideas with so much talent on this platform. My first impression, after hearing all of them, is that they are all agreed as to the object to be attained, namely the greatness of the mother country, but on the other hand they are scarcely in agreement as to the means to this end.

What differences of opinion, what oppositions and what contradictions are to be found in their statement. A single fact emerges clearly from the speeches which you have applauded, namely that at no moment since the end of the war has the international situation been more serious or more complex than during the year which has just closed.

The present Government has itself had this dreadful experience. In the ten months of the existence of the Daladier Government, in which I have worked with the utmost confidence, not a single week has passed in which we have not had to face fresh obstacles in addition to those encountered by our predecessors. War in Spain, war in the Far East, the Czecho-Slovak drama, disputes in Central Europe—all these are facts the simultaneous occurrence of which might be surprising if they did not all spring from the same cause: the collapse of the system of security on which the nations had based their hope and their law since 1919.

We had based our policy on collective security. We had overturned the pre-War system of alliances, which we had

denounced as the cause of conflicts. We had endeavoured to organise the international justice of the nations. One day we found ourselves faced by a weakened League of Nations and a disorganised Europe in which certain States had developed their armaments with extraordinary intensity and in which the reign of justice had gradually given way to the reign of force.

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This was the atmosphere in which we were faced by the Czecho-Slovak drama. I would not have reverted to the policy which we followed during this crisis if I had not listened to so many open and concealed criticisms during the debate in the Chamber. According to some speakers, all our misfortunes came from the Munich agreements.

The Government has cause for surprise at this. The events which led up to the Munich conciliation are overlooked. People also overlook the evacuation of the Rhineland, the rearmament of Germany, the 7th of March, the Anschluss of Austria. All these events, in which the real interests of France were at times directly involved, were borne by France without the opposition of force. The President of the Council, in his speech to the Chamber on October 4th, did not conceal any aspect of the problem; at that time you approved the Government's policy by 550 votes.

What has happened in the meantime to explain such a change of attitude? Nothing, gentlemen, for all the documents or all the facts which have come to light since October and which had not been revealed at that time have justified French policy.

Was the Czecho-Slovak Government informed in good time of the attitude of France and Great Britain? Yes, in June and July on several occasions we warned the Government at Prague that it would be impossible for France to oppose a Plebiscite by force if it were demanded by the Sudeten German population.

Was not war threatening? No one will doubt it since Mr. Neville Chamberlain said in the House of Commons: "When I look back, I have not the slightest doubt that only my visit delayed an invasion for which all preparations were made."

Let us not forget too quickly. Only three months have passed since that evening of September 27th when, thinking of the five million men already under arms, each one as he listened to the wireless in his own country, felt the imminence of the catastrophe. Yes, gentlemen, it was war, and a war with a France that was not unanimous and a French army with the fortifications of the Siegfried line in front of it and which would have had to support practically alone at any rate for a long time the entire weight of the conflict. Czecho-Slovakia had not only Germany against her but other neighbours also.

But you all felt it. The conciliation of Munich averted from France and Europe a dreadful adventure, the first victim of which would have been the noble Czecho-Slovak nation itself.

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In the course of this Czecho-Slovak crisis we were able to appreciate to the full the value and loyalty of the Franco-British friendship. This friendship is the cornerstone of French policy. This friendship was concluded in 1904 and sealed on the battlefields of the War of 1914. Since then it has constantly become stronger. History shows few examples of such a sincere friendship as that which reigns between the British people and the French people. This friendship is in no way a jealous or closed friendship. It merely aspires to prolong itself in the international sphere. It does not rest on a precarious combination of rival egoisms and, far from diminishing, it grows when other peoples and other nations are associated with it.

Our two democracies have the same desire for peace. They demand nothing from anyone, but they intend to keep their inheritance intact.

During these eight months the entente between France and Great Britain has never been closer than at present. As regards all events which occur from day to day we take care to maintain close consultation. The repeated visits of French Ministers to London and British visits to Paris and the unforgettable visit of the British sovereigns have shown in a striking manner the close solidarity between France and Great Britain.

During our conversations in London and Paris we have considered all the aspects of Franco-British solidarity in the moral, intellectual and economic sphere. We have even had to consider one of those cases which we desire with all our heart to avert: the case of a war in which our two countries would be involved.

In that case, all the forces of Great Britain would be at our disposal, just as all the forces of France would be at the disposal of Great Britain. It is therefore natural that France desires to see the British nation raise its military power to the maximum, just as Great Britain wishes to see the military power of France raised to the maximum.

* * *

We have also endeavoured to improve our relations with Germany. I think each one approves of this. After Munich, Mr. Neville Chamberlain signed a good-neighbourly agreement with the Government of the Reich. On October 22nd, Chancellor Hitler had a conversation on this subject at Berchtesgaden with our Ambassador, M. François-Poncet. Negotiations were started immediately. They were conducted with great rapidity and, a little later, at the beginning of November, the agreement was reached without difficulty after a frank and full discussion. Under these circumstances M. von Ribbentrop

came to Paris to sign a Franco-German declaration.

What does this declaration contain? The two Governments recognise that there is no territorial question in suspense between their countries. They solemnly recognise as final the frontier as it is at present traced. Subject to their special relations with third Powers, the two Governments declare their determination to remain in contact on all questions which concern them and to consult with each other in case the subsequent evolution of these questions involves the danger of leading to international difficulties.

This is the Franco-German declaration. Is there a responsible man who would, in my place, have refused to sign it? Have we sacrificed a single French interest by doing so? Have not all the men who have followed each other in power proclaimed in their speeches that they would take the first opportunity of a rapprochement between France and Germany? And at the time when such an opportunity appeared possible, should we not have accepted it? No one would maintain that we should not. Moreover, we consider that the joint declaration must constitute a first stage and that it must open up the prospect of confident cooperation between us in the future.

Our geographical position makes us the neighbour of Germany. Even if France had a fresh war with Germany tomorrow, she would be obliged after the peace to have relations and conversations with that nation. Is it thought that these relations and conversations would be easier after another war which would have called for millions of dead, accumulated ruins and revived enmities for fresh generations? I doubt it.

I do not need to state that we have brought our negotiations to the knowledge of the principal countries concerned, who are bound to us by friendship: Poland, Belgium, England, the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America.

What did they think of this agreement? Mr. Neville Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that the British Government had learned with great satisfaction that France had been able to conclude an agreement with Germany. In America, the leading articles of the three most important papers affirmed their entire comprehension for French policy. Poland stated that her Government was glad of the happy conclusion of the Franco-German declaration. If this joint declaration were submitted to a referendum of the French people, I have no doubt that it would give its unanimous approval.

* * *

France has spared no efforts to improve her relations with Italy. I should like to give a full explanation of these relations to the Chamber and the people.

You will remember that last March the British Government entered into negotiations with the Government at Rome with regard to the Mediterranean status. The French Government at that time expressed a desire to be associated with these discussions. But the Italian Government gave it to be understood that the negotiations with France could only be started when the Anglo-Italian agreement was concluded. This agreement was signed on April 16th a few days after the present Government came into power. Under our instructions, our Chargé d'Affaires at Rome immediately saw the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Ciano, and informed him of our desire to enter into conversations.

We indicated at that time the essential points which, in our opinion, should be covered by the discussions. These included, in particular, a reaffirmation of the 1935 agreements.

Our action was welcomed by the Italian Government. Count Ciano, while thanking the French Government, observed that there was no fundamental difference between France and Italy and that an agreement could be rapidly reached on most of the points which we had mentioned. But, as you are aware, the conversations were interrupted by the Italian Government itself after Mussolini's speech at Genoa.

In the meantime the Council of the League of Nations had given back to each of its members their freedom in respect of the recognition of the Empire of Ethiopia. A few days after the Munich agreements, France, wishing to show her desire for better relations and appeasement in Europe, sent an Ambassador to Rome and thus manifested her hope that normal relations might be established between the two countries.

During the conversations which our Ambassador, M. François-Poncet, had successively with the head of the Italian Government and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, it appeared to him that, with the exception of Spanish affairs, there was no problem calculated seriously to divide the two countries.

It was therefore not without surprise that we learned of the demonstrations which occurred on November 30th in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. I immediately complained to the Italian Ambassador in Paris, while the French Ambassador at Rome asked the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs for explanations.

The latter stated that these were isolated demonstrations on the part of Italian deputies who had been immediately called to order by the President of the assembly, that the Italian Government in no way took them upon itself and that they should not be considered as the expression of its policy.

Three weeks later, after a conversation with our Ambassador, the Government at Rome informed us that it could not consider the 1935 agreements as the basis of Franco-Italian relations. It based this statement on legal and political grounds.

The legal arguments were these. The coming into force of the 1935 agreements was subject to the prior negotiation of a convention determining the status of the Italians in Tunis. As this convention had not yet been negotiated, the exchange of ratifications had not taken place and the Italian Government was therefore legally entitled to state that it was not bound by the 1935 convention.

The political argument was as follows. In 1935 Italy had indeed undertaken that she would not call for the execution of Article 13 of the London Pact of April 26th 1915. Under that article France and Great Britain had recognised in principle that Italy had the right to claim some equitable compensation for the increase in colonial territories in Africa which these two Powers might obtain at the expense of Germany. But, the note stated, the political atmosphere had changed since 1935. The agreement related to a general situation which had been profoundly transformed by events. On the one hand there had been the sanctions. On the other hand the foundation of the Empire had created new rights and new interests of fundamental importance.

In the interest of their improvement, the note concluded, Italo-French relations could not now be based on the 1935 agreements and all the questions should be reconsidered between the two Governments.

After considering this note, the French Government replied that it did not accept the Italian Government's view and, in its reply, it gave a definite refutation of the arguments put forward in Count Ciano's note.

In the first place a start had already been made with the execution of the 1935 agreements, since the French Government had ensured the effective cession to an Italian group of 2500 shares in the railway from Jibuti to Addis-Abeba. As regards sanctions, the Italian Government had itself on several occasions expressed its gratitude for the moderating action of France which had during this period constantly endeavoured to reconcile her obligations under the Covenant with Franco-Italian friendship.

Lastly and in particular, on April 22nd 1938 when, on our initiative, France resumed negotiations with Italy, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs himself made no allusion to sanctions and in no way contested the validity of the African agreements of January 7th 1935.

What political action, therefore, had France committed since April 22nd 1938 to justify any change whatever in the measures of the Italian Government? None whatever, since we have on

the contrary endeavoured on several occasions to improve our relations with Italy. That is what we replied to the Rome Government in acknowledging receipt of its communication.

When we informed our British friends of the very firm attitude of France, of its Government, of its Parliament, of its unanimous public opinion, we had the satisfaction of feeling that we were perfectly understood. The French Government, we said, was neither a plaintiff nor a defendant. It could not submit on these points to any arbitration or conciliation. The British Government informed us in a written note handed in by the British Ambassador that it shared our view. Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax, during their stay in Paris on their journey to Rome, confirmed their agreement.

At Rome the British Ministers, after strongly affirming the unshakable friendship which unites Great Britain to France, scrupulously maintained the attitude which they had assumed towards us with a loyalty which could cause us no surprise. The Franco-Italian problems were then eliminated from the discussions at Rome.

I have given you very complete and, I hope, very clear particulars on this subject. They have shown you the numerous efforts made by the French Government to improve relations between France and Italy. I do not regret these efforts for they showed the constant measures adopted by our policy with regard to Italy and they helped to gather round us the whole of French public opinion, which is aware that France is indeed without blame.

There is therefore no misunderstanding. The French Government maintains the attitude defined publicly on various occasions by the President of the Council and myself. France will not allow anyone to touch the empire erected by French blood and labour. She will maintain intact her sovereignty and her territory. The triumphal journey just made by the President of the Council has shown that the unanimity of the peoples of the empire corresponds to the unanimity of the French people.

* * *

We have also endeavoured to maintain and develop the other friendships which we have with Belgium, Holland and the countries of the Oslo group, together with those of Central and Eastern Europe. Here, as elsewhere, our diplomacy, inspired by the desire for cooperation and comprehension which is France's aim, will continue to show itself everywhere present and always active in order to safeguard our legitimate interests, to maintain our friendships and, whenever possible, to extend them.

The visits to Paris of the King of Roumania and Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, which were marked by such confident conversations, the treaty of friendship signed with Turkey, the trade negotiations being conducted with Roumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, demonstrate the desire of the French Government not to disinterest itself in the countries situated in the centre and east of Europe. We have just sent an important economic mission to that district, for in most of these countries, as you are aware, economic problems are particularly serious and involved. In order to conserve her trade, France must endeavour to conquer her due position in the commercial exchanges of those countries.

Our relations with the U.S.S.R. and Poland are marked by frequent consultations. For instance, during the September crisis I remained in constant contact both with the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, M. Litvinov, whom I saw on several occasions at Geneva and Paris, and with the U.S.S.R. Ambassador in Paris, not only, as was stated, to give information but to exchange the views of our Governments in accordance with the Pact of 1935.

France has also maintained her traditional relations of friendship with Poland. On the occasion of the Franco-German

declaration of December 6th, I informed the Polish Ambassador of our intentions, in accordance with the spirit of our agreements. In thanking me for this information, the Polish Government informed me that it was glad of an act of which it fully appreciated the object, significance and scope. Similarly, M. Beck informed me, before he left Monte Carlo, of the invitation which he had just received from Chancellor Hitler. I would also ask the Chamber not to forget, as some speakers seem to have done, that there is an agreement dated 1934 between Germany and Poland. M. Beck kept our Ambassador informed of his conversations. We have remained in constant contact with the Warsaw Government and, whenever it has been found useful, we have had conversations with it which are justified by the special relations of the two countries and the development of events. On all occasions, and again recently, the Polish Government has renewed the assurance that French friendship constitutes one of the essential bases of Polish policy.

An end must therefore be put to the legend that our policy has destroyed the commitments which we had contracted in Eastern Europe with the U.S.S.R. and Poland. These commitments still exist and they must be applied in the spirit in which they were conceived.

During the September crisis, we remained in daily contact with the Washington Government. None of us has forgotten the messages, filled with such lofty thought, which were addressed by President Roosevelt to Europe during the dramatic crisis through which it was passing. Since then the bonds which unite us with the great democracy have only been strengthened.

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In spite of our efforts to maintain peace, there are still two centres which continue to devastate the world: one in the Far East and the other in Spain.

In the Far East, the war between China and Japan has continued for nearly two years. The development of events in the Far East and the heroic struggle carried on by General Chiang Kai Shek and the Chinese armies in defence of the independence and integrity of their territory are followed by the French Government with the greatest attention.

The French Government has the firm determination to maintain the interests of France in this part of the world. We have on several occasions made representations at Tokio and quite recently the French Ambassador to Japan received instructions to hand in a note to the Japanese Government reserving the rights of France, as had been done by the British and American Governments. The three Governments continue to think that the charter on which the position of the Powers in the Far East is based is still the Washington Treaty of 1922. None of us admit that treaties freely signed may be denounced by the will of one party.

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There is another country in which we would have ardently desired to see peace re-established; it is Spain, which has been torn by the horrors of civil warfare for thirty months. At the beginning of the Spanish conflict, France, as she had done a century ago, proclaimed, in agreement with Great Britain, her desire to practise a policy of non-intervention in Spain. At that time we approved almost unanimously that policy which was courageously defended by the President of the Council, Léon Blum, and by M. Yvon Delbos. M. Léon Blum described the thesis of intervention with a precision which was in my opinion decisive and proved by the soundest arguments that it was impossible to adopt that policy.

Do the reasons which convinced us and which we approved in 1936 no longer exist? And have not events given them even more decisive force? There is not a man of good faith who could deny it. Should we publicly denounce the policy of non-intervention? I know of no country at the present time that has taken this decision: neither the U.S.S.R., nor Germany, nor Italy, nor Yugoslavia, nor Belgium, nor England.

You have read the British Prime Minister's reply to the leader of the opposition. In refusing to convene Parliament, Mr. Chamberlain wrote on January 18th that the abandonment of the policy hitherto practised by Great Britain would inevitably involve an extension of the conflict, with consequences which could not be exactly foreseen but which would be incalculable.

Thus, the present Government, like its predecessors, has practised and will continue to practise the policy of non-intervention. We consider that it is for the Spaniards, and the Spaniards alone, to settle their own affairs.

But France has on the one hand duties to fulfil and on the other hand interests to defend in Spain. The duties to be fulfilled are primarily duties of humanity.

But we have also interests to defend in Spain. We could not admit that any foreign State should threaten the integrity of Spain and thereby the security of France.

The Burgos Government has of course stated in public declarations that it would not accept any political or economic control by any foreign State. During the September crisis it took official steps in London, through its Ambassador, to inform the British and French Governments of its determination to remain neutral in the conflict which was in danger of breaking out in connection with Czecho-Slovakia.

We reminded the British Ministers, during their last visit to Paris, that one of the essential provisions of the Anglo-Italian agreement was the assurance that, if the evacuation of volunteers and war material was not concluded at the end of the Spanish conflict, all the Italian contingents and all the war material would be simultaneously withdrawn and that Italy did not pursue any territorial or political aim or seek any economic privilege either in Spain itself or in the Spanish islands or colonies. I saw Lord Halifax at Geneva and in the first place I urged him to see that fresh steps were taken immediately with a view to the withdrawal of all the foreign volunteers. I informed him of the uneasiness which the situation in Spain caused France from the point of view of her own security. Lord Halifax gave me the assurance that, during the Rome interviews, the Italian Government had stated that it would keep the undertaking contained in the Anglo-Italian agreement. He also confirmed that the British Government attached capital importance to this and could not accept that any attack should be made on the independence of Spain. We attach the greatest importance to this statement by Lord Halifax. We could in fact not tolerate that our communications with North Africa should be threatened by foreign installations on the Iberian Peninsula, or on the islands, or in Spanish Morocco.

Our interests in this respect are bound up with those of Great Britain, whose positions at Gibraltar and Malta would in that case be as much threatened as ours. As regards this necessity of maintaining the independence of Spain, I can assure the Chamber of the complete solidarity of Great Britain and France.

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We have listened with interest to the suggestion made by various speakers that we should ask for the convocation of an international conference. We are far from being hostile to such an idea. No one is more convinced that we are—and have been for a long time—of the mortal dangers by which Europe is threatened, carried away as it is by the dizziness of armaments and economic disorder. The danger is obvious and it does not date from today; but we must beware of spectacular gestures which would involve the risk of bringing further disappointments to the nations. Experience has demonstrated the danger of a Conference that is insufficiently prepared.

In any case the French Government is prepared for its part to take all steps, if it proves possible. We are quite ready—should we meet with the necessary support—to ask for the

convocation of a conference to which all the peoples possessing the same will to organise peace would be invited.

If during the year 1939 hard trials await us, France is prepared to face them. There are duties in which we shall not fail. The mobilisation of the French army in September showed that France would rise as one man, as she has done on other occasions, and that those outside who count on her decadence would be cruelly disappointed. If the supreme test were imposed on France, we should see all united to respond to the appeal of their fatherland."

Extract from the Speech by the French President of the Council, M. Daladier, in the Chamber on January 26th 1939.

"This debate is dominated by one fact; it is that from all the benches of this Chamber the speakers of all parties have rightly affirmed the desire of France for peace. A few days ago I read again this little book which I happened to pick up, the "Great Illusion", which Norman Angell wrote on the eve of 1914, and in which he showed that war and violence are never creative. "If the peoples of Europe are mad enough to come to grips, they will only succeed in accumulating ruin, suffering and misery." I wish that all responsible men in all the countries of the world would meditate on these prophetic words.

A general conference? Yes, but one in which all the great problems of contemporary life would be tackled, in which we would say to men, to all men, that whatever dreams of grandeur some may forge, those dreams would be ephemeral if they were based on violence. The nations, instead of restricting, would be better advised to utilise all the forces of production scattered about the world in order that workshops may open to all men of good will. We address this appeal to the world. We cordially subscribe to the idea of a general conference. For, at the side of so much uncertainty and uneasiness, there is a sentiment which I have felt both abroad and in France; it is the popular sentiment, so widespread in all nations, that a war is much more than folly, it is the most irreparable of absurdities.

I would also like to state that this is not a policy of withdrawal or renunciation. For I should regard such a policy as disastrous for French security. People have spoken with irony or sadness of the disappearance of the noble ideal of mutual assistance or collective security. It has disappeared, or rather it is veiled by clouds, for the misfortune of the whole world.

This is a further reason why France should be far-sighted and on her guard and that, wherever her interests are involved, France should be able to reply, if necessary, by a categorical "No!" Is there any need to state that we have no hostility against any nation, or against the political régimes which the nations have adopted or which they tolerate? Is there any need to state that France desires to live at peace with all her neighbours?

But I also think that, among all these nations with which France wishes to contract bonds of peace, she regards with still greater sympathy Great Britain which will be at our side whenever our vital interests are threatened. This Franco-British entente has been consolidated and strengthened in the days which are just past.

I would also like to express our friendship for the great American republic and pay a tribute from this platform to President Roosevelt.

Do I need to add that the Government is in no way thinking of weakening the pacts which binds France to the other nations? On the contrary, we are determined to maintain them.

I may add that I feel no need to reply with vehement words to the claims which have been addressed to France in a threatening tone by a neighbouring country. France is a great, strong and calm country which must not let itself be disturbed by insults or threats. Let anyone insult France who wishes, and as for threats, France is in a position to consider them calmly.

It is very easy for me to express my sympathy for the Italian people. I do not need to add that I am hurt and

wounded, not only by the furious articles which the wind blows towards us from over the Alps, but even more by the articles of some French newspapers which think it witty to cast doubt on the courage of the Italians. Like many of you on all benches, I have fought and I have witnessed the courage of the Italian soldiers. I cannot forget that in May 1915, in the trenches before Carenzy, when we learned that Italy was coming into the War, a song of friendship was sung to that country.

It is because I think this, because there cannot be the slightest sentiment in my mind, I will not say only of hatred, but of irony, because I believe that the links between these two nations are both many and deep, that I declare that France cannot and will not tolerate, whatever means she may have to employ, that any attack be made on her territorial integrity, on her North African possessions, on her colonial empire, or on the free maritime or other communications between the home country and the empire.

In saying this, in repeating that France will not allow her integrity to be affected by force, by means of procedure or by legal measures of any kind whatever, in repeating: "Neither an inch of soil nor a single one of our rights", I am aware that I am defending not only our soil and our inheritance—which is moreover an honourable action—but also that solidarity which has gradually become established between France of the home country and all the Frances that are scattered beyond the seas and which are united, much more than by material interests, by a common spirit, by the same love of liberty and human dignity.

Neither the Government nor France will tolerate, under any pretext whatever, that any attack should be made on this work. In saying this, you can believe that I weigh the entire importance of my words. I am not giving way to some chance impulse. Like all of you and like the French people, I appreciate the gravity of present circumstances. But there are times when, for a proud people that wishes to retain its freedom, there can be no discussion regarding the sacrifice, if sacrifice appears indispensable for the maintenance of its independence and dignity."

From the speech of the French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bonnet, in the Senate on February 7th 1939.

"The aims of French foreign policy are simple, because the will of the citizens, on which it rests, is unanimous. We are resolved in the first place to safeguard our territory and our Empire. The courage of Frenchmen will know how to defend what has been built up by the labour of Frenchmen and sealed with their blood. We have received from our forefathers a heritage which we intend to hand on intact to our descendants. On that point, there can be no doubt, ambiguity or difference of opinion among Frenchpeople.

But, in answer to the question so often put to me, I should like to say that France cannot confine her diplomatic activities to the frontiers of her territory and of her Empire; she cannot forgo her right to exercise a legitimate influence in other parts of the world nor allow the part she is to play as a great Power to be laid down for her. She realizes, it is true, that the nature of things and geographical and historical facts may indicate special zones of influence for each nation and each country, but France has in all continents her own interests and friendships to defend. In particular, she will not cease to cultivate her friendships in Central and Eastern Europe, which have so often in the course of history served her interests and contributed to her glory.

She is bound to certain countries by pacts concluded with a view to the maintenance of the peace of Europe, while to others

she is attached by habits of political, economic and spiritual cooperation contracted in the course of centuries. These links with other countries constitute a precious possession which France cannot possibly agree to relinquish.

France will not capitulate anywhere. But, while France intends to defend her own possessions, common sense requires her to maintain as courteous and mutually trustful relations as possible with neighbouring countries.

Some of these countries have systems of government very different from our own, but France, who has herself known nearly every form of government which the human mind can conceive, has always regarded the political régimes of the other nations in a spirit of the widest tolerance. In her relations with the Governments of neighbouring States, she is influenced neither by their political structure nor by their doctrinal preferences.

* * *

She has always emphasized her desire for an understanding with Germany, and gave fresh proof of this pacific spirit on the occasion of the Munich conciliation. The debate on that question is closed; the Chamber and the Senate have declared their will in sovereign independence, the French people have given spontaneous expression to their views and those acquainted with every document composing the dossier which I communicated in its entirety to the members of your Foreign Affairs Committee have no doubt but that your judgment will be ratified by history.

France was no less conciliatory towards Germany when she was weak and disarmed than she is now towards a strong and rearmed Germany. There is not a single Frenchman who does not, with his whole mind and heart, desire a good understanding between France and Germany. This is confirmed by the Franco-German Declaration which we signed on December 16th last. We regard this common declaration as constituting a milestone and as offering the promise of trustful collaboration in the future.

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As regards Italy also, we can say that we have spared no effort during the last ten months to dissipate every misunderstanding between her and us. The institution of diplomatic negotiations last April, a few days after the Government was formed, and the sending of an ambassador to Rome were acts testifying to our desire to entertain normal relations with the Italian Government.

We firmly believe that the nature of things and the will of the peoples themselves insistently call for friendship between France and Italy. We cannot well imagine Italy committing an act of aggression against France and there is certainly not a Frenchman alive who has ever dreamed that his country could launch against Italy a war from the monstrous wickedness of which the imagination recoils in horror.

These two nations are closely united by the treble bonds of language, culture and blood shed for the common cause upon the battlefield.

These very bonds of friendship however made it imperative to speak frankly as a result of the demonstrations in the Italian Chamber and press, and this the Government did not fail to do. On December 19th, I made a statement on its behalf, which left no room for any sort of doubt. "France", I said, "will never consent to cede an inch of her territory to Italy. Any attempt to give effect to such a claim could only lead to an armed conflict".

The Premier said the same thing with equal directness, on the occasion of his unforgettable visit to Tunisia and we repeated it in the Chamber a week ago. We are conscious of having, in speaking thus, expressed the thoughts of every citizen of France and the Empire.

* * *

We have also done our best to maintain with Spain, our neighbour who has been so sorely tried, the relations of mutual

confidence required by our proximity in Africa and Europe. All Frenchpeople have profoundly sympathized with Spain in the terrible ordeal to which she has been exposed for more than thirty months: the curse that is civil war.

In 1936, France stated that she would not intervene in that war, as it was her principle never to interfere in the domestic affairs of her neighbours. She has rigidly adhered to this course and the present Government has scrupulously observed this principle. Indeed it could not have been otherwise, as Parliament had approved and even applauded the policy of non-intervention at a time when the Spanish Republic was mistress of nearly the whole of Spain, so that it would have been strange indeed to have relinquished this policy when the republican Government had lost nearly three quarters of Spanish territory.

Spain is, by virtue of her geographical position, of capital strategic importance for our communications with our African Empire. We could not allow any foreign State to threaten the integrity of Spain and, through her, the security of France.

The Burgos Government which, last September, had informed us, through its representative in London, of its neutrality in the event of war, has publicly affirmed that it will jealously guard the independence of Spain and would never agree to any sort of foreign domination.

The Italian Government stated, in its agreement with England, that it would not pursue any territorial or political aim on the mainland of Spain or in the Spanish islands or colonies.

Finally, in reply to the question we put to the British Ministers on their return from Rome, Lord Halifax informed us, on behalf of his Government, that it was entirely at one with France in the desire to ensure the independence of Spain by the withdrawal of foreign troops. These undertakings were given without any reservation—I wish to emphasize that—and France has the right to demand that they be unreservedly honoured.

That is our policy towards the great countries which are France's neighbours. This policy of good neighbourliness has been resolutely pursued by us, as we know that it corresponds with both the tradition and the real interests of France. It has given rise to many attacks and often encountered many obstacles, but we have the satisfaction of knowing that it has always been perfectly well understood by the great democracies.

* * *

Far from loosening the bonds of friendship between France and Great Britain and the United States, this policy has tightened them.

The French Government's determination to maintain peace and seek an understanding with other countries has brought France still nearer to the great Anglo-Saxon nations which, like France, are passionately attached to peace. Never have the relations between France on the one hand and Great Britain and the United States on the other, been better than at present. I am justified in making this statement and I will prove it.

The relations between the French and the British Governments are characterized by mutual confidence and a desire for collaboration which have found constant expression during the numerous conversations of the last few months both in London and in Paris. British diplomacy and ours have not ceased to work together in complete agreement, for the interests of the British Empire and those of the French Empire coincide in all continents.

It has sometimes been insinuated that, during the last few weeks, we have not been in such close agreement with Great Britain as we have stated. In reply to these gloomy creatures, whose depression is often due much more to internal political considerations than to a clear vision of French interests, I will refer them to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain—that great and loyal friend of France.

Last Wednesday, he said: "Our relations with France are certainly closer and more intimate than they have ever been in the memory of man" and yesterday in the House of Commons, he expressed himself in terms which leave no room for the slightest doubt. He said: "I consider it my duty to say clearly that the solidarity of interests between France and our country is such that any threat to France's vital interests from whatever quarter it might come, would involve the immediate cooperation of our country."

On another occasion, he said: "On January 26th M. Georges Bonnet stated in the French Chamber of Deputies that, in the event of a war, in which the two countries were involved, the whole of the forces of Great Britain would be at the disposal of France, as the whole of the forces of France would be at the disposal of Great Britain. This statement is in entire agreement with the views of His Britannic Majesty's Government."

I will not add a word of personal comment here. I have no doubt that you realize the whole significance of these statements.

And the United States of America? During these last few weeks, as before, we have never ceased to maintain the closest and most confidential contact with the American Government and we have met with positive and sympathetic understanding from that Government.

Our three democracies are conscious of the tremendous material and moral resources at their disposal. They know the place they occupy in the world and in history, they are aware of their economic power and they know that no nation could impose a hegemony upon them.

But this friendship does not constitute a threat to anyone. Its sole aim is to ensure in peace and liberty the development of the three great nations. There is no nation, small or great, which is not convinced that none of the three democracies entertains the slightest hostility towards it.

Herr Hitler stated in his recent speech: "We see no advantage in exporting National-Socialism as an idea: nor have we any reason to make war on other nations, because they are democratic."

For our part, we can give the same assurance. The democracies have no intention of making propaganda—still less war—against anyone or any nation. They know that ideas cannot be imposed upon men by force and they are all equally desirous of peace.

For there is one truth which all the heads of Governments have for some weeks, in gratifying unanimity, been proclaiming to the public in their countries: namely, that war is incapable of increasing the happiness or the power of nations and that it might mean the end of European civilization and would assuredly involve a set-back to that civilization.

Does not this very agreement—this unanimous determination to face the facts—enable us to hope that the diplomats will be able to find means of ensuring to the nations that long peace which they all so ardently desire?

* * *

We thought that in 1919 when we set up the League of Nations. How passionately the ex-combatants, who had returned to their homes, hoped that this justice for the peoples would be organized. They knew that it would not be long before the very application of the treaties would give rise to innumerable difficulties and they hoped at least that it would be possible to settle them by free discussion and not by recourse to violence and fresh bloodshed.

France made every effort to establish this system of collective security and consistently proposed that the League of Nations should be given the effective power which it needed in order to be able to impose justice.

But we must face the present situation fairly and squarely. It would be futile to shut our eyes to the fact that the League of Nations is going through a serious crisis, that it has been weakened by the absence of several great countries and that France cannot base her policy on it alone.

Does that mean that we must relinquish our ideal and our hopes? No; on the contrary, we consider that France ought to work for the rapprochement of the nations. There is one sphere of activity in which the nations might usefully meet: the economic sphere. Who is there at the present time who does not realize that, in this respect, all nations have common interests?

The successive crises that have caused the nations so much distress and suffering, which in turn have led to political upheavals, is no doubt attributable to the fact that we did not devote enough attention to these economic problems after the war. We believe that peace will become a reality only in so far as Europe succeeds in discovering a better form of economic organization than that which is shown to-day to be incapable of putting an end to poverty and distress among nations.

President Roosevelt recently spoke of the need for a revival of world trade and the limitation of armaments. These are two problems which the governments will have to tackle sooner or later, unless they wish to be rapidly engulfed by bankruptcy and war and perhaps both at the same time.

In any case, France is prepared to participate in conversations of this kind. Whenever any scheme for increasing the happiness and dignity of mankind is afoot, France will always be there.

* * *

Whether France is called upon to wage war or to maintain peace, to defend her patrimony or to fulfil her lofty mission in the service of humanity, there is one essential condition: France must be strong.

She would perhaps have been able to avoid certain difficulties with which she is at present faced if, when others were arming day and night with feverish haste, the French had not, only too often, abandoned themselves, for years at a stretch, to a policy of slackness.

In the sphere of foreign relations, this is often a very costly policy, for let us make no mistake about it: diplomatic negotiations can only utilize those powers which the country produces. Our words have weight and our actions are effective only in so far as they have the might of France behind them.

The French nation must know that it must be as strong to negotiate as to refrain from negotiating, to conclude international agreements as to exorcize international dangers and that as much power is needed to maintain peace as to defend oneself in war.

Happily for us, there exists the power of the canons, aeroplanes and machine-guns of our admirable French army."

Extract from the Speech by M. Daladier, President of the Council, in the Senate on February 7th, 1939.

"I will not retain the attention of the Senate for long, but I consider it my duty to explain briefly, in full agreement with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Government's policy in the face of the difficulties which have doubtless not ceased and will not cease tomorrow.

The world is caught in a contradiction which is in danger of proving fatal. The world, not only Europe or some States in Europe, but one might almost say the entire universe, has become an immense war factory, and the production of destructive arms, as if it followed a fatal rhythm, is acquiring more and more a crushing priority over the production of consumption goods necessary for the life of mankind and the progress of civilisation.

At the same time, it is a natural result that the circulation of men and products, which formerly constituted the greatness of old Europe and which pulled humanity out of a civilisation of misery and force and led it towards the calmer paths and the milder formulae of civilisation, is on the contrary daily becoming more and more difficult and restricted.

If further outlets are not opened for the work of mankind—outlets which some prophets state no longer exist in a limited world, but of which it may be justly affirmed, in view of the technical application of science, that they do exist at any rate in the depths—if a new rhythm of exchanges between mankind is not reconstituted by a joint effort, and if, at the same time, according to the fatality which I have just described, the production of arms continues to increase—let us be frank and honest and not deceive each other on this point—there will be no other way out of this fatal contradiction than the most sanguinary, the most atrocious and, I would add, the most useless of international conflicts.

That is why I have never spoken ironically of those meetings and assemblies, whether European or worldwide, which I am well aware frequently call forth the criticisms of all the wits—and they are many—in our country. For I maintain that all the efforts to show the heads of the responsible Governments that this is the fatal issue towards which, whether they wish it or not, they are leading their people, will not be vain.

In the present situation I do not think France has any cause to be uneasy, nor do I think it can be maintained, as I sometimes read, that France is an isolated country in the world.

You have rightly applauded Mr. Chamberlain's noble and powerful words, and you have also received with applause the legitimate tribute paid by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the President of the great Republic of the United States. Let me say that if this agreement of the democracies which I consider to be one of the fundamental bases of the maintenance of world peace, is being realised from day to day, the Government, without being the author of it is certainly not foreign to it. And if at the present time we receive from beyond the oceans so many testimonies of friendship and if these friendships are translated by concrete realities, let me say that it is because

France has shown that she did not give up and that she was prepared within her own frontiers to make the effort of national recovery without which a country can only send out vain and sterile declarations to the outer world.

There can be no French influence in Europe and the world if there is not first a French order. That is what I meant in another assembly when I pointed to this fatal synchronism between our external weakness and the lack of French labour in the country, and our internal disorders. If this synchronism is to be for ever banished from our thoughts, it will only be in so far as all Frenchmen understand, as one speaker said, that the fate of the country is henceforward at stake.

Can the imperial policy of France be a policy of resignation or of the withdrawal of France? I maintain that it is a policy of French affirmation and that it is by the utilisation of her colonial empire, by the formation of a block of eighty million people which the Mediterranean must, whatever may happen in future, continue to unite much more than it divides, that France has the surest means of making her voice heard in Europe and in the world.

No, the policy of the empire is not a policy of withdrawal. It is the very opposite. I will never admit that the strength of France resides in legal constructions, however magnificent they may be; nor do I see it in more or less enthusiastic speeches; I see it in the army and in its power of radiation; I see it—as I cannot repeat too often—in the union of all Frenchmen.

These are a few very simple ideas, but I believe that these ideas and this policy will meet with the assent of the Senate of the Republic. I hope and fervently desire that the Senate may find in them a policy of reason and firmness which, apart from all formulae, is solely inspired by the well-being of the mother country."

BRITISH CONCEPTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Extract from the Speech by the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, at the Jewellers' Association in Birmingham, on January 28th 1939.

"If it were not for one consideration, I should be disposed to take a rosy view of the prospects of business during this current year. But I am bound to record that at the present time there exists a certain amount of political tension in international affairs which may or may not be well founded, but which is undoubtedly holding back enterprise.

That shows how closely politics are entwined with economics and finance apart from any other consideration. I think that fact would justify the efforts which the Government are continuously making to ease that political tension and bring about a better understanding between the nations.

Lord Dudley has said something about the events of last September which culminated in the Munich Agreement. A great deal of criticism, mostly, I think, in this country, has been directed against that agreement and against the action I took in attempting, by personal contact, to obtain a peaceful solution of a problem which very nearly involved the world in a catastrophe of the first magnitude.

The criticism has come from various quarters which are perhaps only unanimous in one respect, namely, that they take a less favourable view of the actions of his Majesty's present Ministers than you have been good enough to indicate. But there is one feature common to all the critics. None of them carries the responsibilities that I do, and none of them has that full knowledge of all the circumstances which is only open to the members of the Government. A combination of ignorance and irresponsibility may conduce to a freedom of mind which may be cheerful or gloomy according to the temperament, but I rather

doubt whether it constitutes a satisfactory foundation on which to build a sound judgment. For myself, looking back, I see nothing to regret nor any reason to suppose that another course would have been preferable.

War to-day is so terrible in its effects on those who take part in it, no matter what the ultimate outcome may be; it brings so much loss and suffering even to the bystanders that it ought never to be allowed to begin unless every practicable and honourable step has been taken to prevent it. That has been the view of this Government from the beginning, and the Munich Agreement, though it is the most important illustration of its practical working, was only an incident in a consistent unwavering policy of peace.

I go further and say that peace could not have been preserved if it had not been for the events which had preceded it, by the exchange of letters between myself and Signor Mussolini in the summer of 1937, and by the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian Agreement in February of last year, because without the improvement in the relations between this country and Italy I could never have obtained Signor Mussolini's cooperation in September, and without his co-operation I do not believe peace could have been saved.

* * *

Quite recently, as you know, the Foreign Secretary and I paid a visit to Rome and for that, too, we have been criticized by those who seemed determined to obstruct and resist every attempt to improve international relations. There are some who are so blinded by prejudice and partisanship that they do not scruple to attempt to besmirch and belittle the representatives of this country.

They declared before the visit that we were going to Rome to surrender British interests, that we were going to grant belligerent rights to General Franco, that we were going to betray our friends and allies in France; and when we came back without having done any of these things they changed their complaint and they said it was not worth while to have made the visit at all because nothing had come of it. Evidently if it is necessary to please them we have got our work cut out over it.

It is not true that nothing came out of it. We did not go to Rome to make bargains, but to get to know Italian statesmen better, to ascertain by personal discussion what was their point of view, and to make sure that they understood ourselves. We accomplished all that, and, although there was complete frankness of speech on both sides, although we did not convert or attempt to convert one another to our own point of view on any subject on which we might differ, yet I can say that we came away better friends than we were when we went there.

And something more than that came out of it. From the moment we entered upon Italian soil till the moment we left it, we were the objects of the most remarkable, spontaneous, universal demonstration of welcome that I have ever witnessed.

It was a demonstration which, it seemed to me signified two things. In the first place, it brought out the genuine friendliness of the Italian people for the people of this country. Nobody could make any mistake about that. In the second place, it demonstrated as clearly as possible the intense, the passionate desire of the Italian people for peace—a desire which is matched by an equal feeling in this country.

That feeling is not confined to the peoples of Great Britain and Italy. You find exactly the same thing in France. You find it again in Germany, and you find it, I believe, in every country in the world. I do not exclude the possibility that these feelings of the peoples may not always be shared by their Governments, and I recognize that it is with Governments and not peoples that we have to deal.

Nevertheless, let us cultivate the friendship of the peoples, and that can be done by individuals and by traders as well as by more official representatives. Let us make it clear to them that we do not regard them as potential foes, but rather as human beings like ourselves with whom we are always prepared to talk on terms of equality, with an open mind, to hear their point of view and to satisfy as far we can any reasonable aspirations that they cherish and which do not conflict with the general rights of others to liberty and justice.

In that way alone we shall remove these eternal suspicions that poison the international atmosphere and get back our security of mind and that confidence which is the life-blood of successful enterprise.

We like to have our grumbles, but sometimes it is a good rule to "count your blessings". Anyone who does so in this country—whether employer, worker, man or woman—will find that there is very much to be grateful for in the conditions here as compared with the conditions in most other countries.

We should like to see their conditions improved; we should be ready to talk with their representatives to see how best to bring about such a result. But, of course, it is in times of peace alone that attention can be directed to improving the standard of living of the people, war must have the opposite effect, and I am confident therefore that all thoughtful people in all countries will join with me in working for the avoidance of war, so that we and they may equally share in the higher wages, shorter hours, better food, and better clothes which the development of science and industry has rendered possible.

I wish I could stop there and turn at once to other fields in which you and we could work together for the benefit of the nations. But there is another side to international relations on which I must say a few words.

* * *

We cannot forget that though it takes at least two to make a peace, one can make a war. And until we have come to clear understandings in which all political tension is swept away we must put ourselves in a position to defend ourselves against attack whether upon our land, our people, or the principles of freedom with which our existence as a democracy is bound up and which to us seem to enshrine the highest attributes of human life and spirit. It is for this purpose, for the purpose of defence and not of attack, that we are pursuing the task of rearmament with unrelenting vigour and with the full approval of the country.

It has taken us a long time, so low had our defences fallen in the vain hope that others would follow our example, to get going the machinery that had run down. But progress is now being made more rapidly every day in all directions.

It is now nearly three years since we started on a very large programme for rebuilding and modernising the Fleet. To give you some idea of the extent of this programme I may tell you that during the 12 months ending on the 31st of next March some 60 new ships with a tonnage of about 130,000 tons will have been added to the Navy. And for the ensuing 12 months the addition will be even larger—namely, about 75 ships of 150,000 tons.

The Royal Air Force is also going ahead at an equally remarkable rate. Large factory extensions have been made and huge new factories have been or are being erected in different parts of the country.

On the recruiting side also good progress is being made, and whereas in 1937, between April and the end of the year, we obtained 9,000 new entrants into the R.A.F., this year the corresponding number is 25,000.

In regard to the Army, I propose only to say a word about the part of our programme which is most frequently referred to by critics—I mean our anti-aircraft defences. Everyone knows that last September certain deficiencies were disclosed in these defences. We were well aware that those deficiencies existed for we were engaged on a programme which was only planned for completion at a considerably later date. But the programme has now been accelerated and the deficiencies which were apparent last September have largely been removed.

It would not be in the public interest to give actual figures, but I may tell you that a few days ago I was examining the position as it is to-day and as it will be in the course of the next few months, and you may take it that it is very greatly improved not only as regards the increase in guns and accessories but also in the organization for directing and manning them.

A few nights ago I broadcast a message to the nation to initiate the recruiting campaign for National Voluntary Service, and I want to say a few more words on the same subject this evening. It would be superfluous for me to impress on this audience the need for building up what I may call the fourth arm of our National Defence. If we should ever be involved in war we may well find that if we are not all in the firing line we may all be in the line of fire. And in meeting that danger there is a new opportunity of service for the civil population in the various branches of civil defence.

We are not seeking to build up a vast civil defence force to be embodied like a professional army in war time, relieving the citizens in general of their responsibilities for their own defence. Our task is to find people for certain definite jobs, not to find jobs for the whole of the people. What we are looking for is men and women who will volunteer now to give their service for certain definite purposes, as air raid wardens, or fire fighters, for first aid and rescue parties, or for those services of a more domestic kind which any scheme of evacuation must demand. And we want them to be ready to undergo training now so that they may be able to give that service efficiently if ever the need for it arises.

I am not afraid of the result of an appeal for volunteers. The spirit of service has always been strong in our people, and it never was stronger than it is to-day. Our motto is not defiance, and, mark my words, it is not, either, deference. It is defence, and we confidently count on the response of the nation to make that defence invincible.

Of course the enrolment of volunteers would be useless without the provision of the civil defence organization which they are to man, and this part of our task is now well in hand. We have considerably extended the facilities for the training of instructors in civil defence in the Government schools. Steps have been taken to accelerate the production of equipment and supplies, and the local authorities are being pressed to overhaul and expand their own local arrangements or the training of volunteers.

Protection against the effects of air raids is another matter which has engaged our urgent attention. No doubt you have read of the steel air raid shelters which are to be provided to give protection to those who live in vulnerable areas and cannot be expected to provide them for themselves. These steel shelters will give adequate protection against splinters, blast and falling debris. A first order for 100,000 tons of steel for these shelters has already been placed, and in the course of the next few weeks we expect to begin the distribution of shelters in some of the most vulnerable areas.

Further progress has also been made in working out the plans for evacuation from our large, congested cities. If evacuation is to be carried out effectively it must be done in an orderly manner, and I think it will be generally agreed that we must consider the children first. Accordingly, the Minister of Health has asked the local authorities concerned to make a comprehensive survey of the accommodation available for the reception of children and, where necessary, their mothers, and to ascertain which householders are able and willing to receive them. This work is now proceeding rapidly and meanwhile we are examining the possibility of making use of camps to supplement the other accommodation available.

In all these plans we shall take fully into our confidence the authorities on whose cooperation we are relying, and, except where matters cannot be made public without prejudice to the national safety, we shall disclose fully our revised plans for civil defence to all who would be affected by them.

* * *

I have devoted the greater part of my remarks to-night to foreign affairs and defence because these are the subjects which, as it seems to me, are uppermost in the public mind. But I cannot help once more registering my regret that it should be necessary to devote so much time and so vast a proportion of the revenue of the country to warlike preparations instead of to those more domestic questions which brought me into politics, the health and housing of the people, the improvement of their material conditions, the provision of recreation for their leisure, and the prosperity of industry and agriculture. None of these subjects is indeed being neglected, but their development is necessarily hampered and slowed up by the demands of national security.

Thinking over these things, I recall the fate of one of the greatest of my predecessors, the younger Pitt. His interests lay at home in the repair of the financial system and in domestic reforms. But events abroad cut short his ambitions and, reluctantly, after long resisting his fate, he found himself involved in what was up to then the greatest war in our history. Worn out by the struggle, he died before success had crowned our efforts, to which his own steadfast courage had contributed so much.

I trust that my lot may be happier than his, and that we may yet secure our aim of international peace. We have so often defined our attitude that there can be no misunderstanding about it, and I feel that it is time now that others should make their contribution to a result which would overflow with benefits to all.

To-day the air is full of rumours and suspicious which ought not to be allowed to persist. For peace could only be endangered by such a challenge as was envisaged by the President of the United States in his New Year message—namely, a demand to dominate the world by force. That would be a demand which, as the President indicated, and I myself have already declared, the democracies must inevitably resist. But I cannot believe that any such challenge is intended, for the consequences of war for the peoples on either side would be so grave that no Government which has their interests at heart would lightly embark upon them.

Moreover, I remain convinced that there are no differences, however serious, that cannot be solved without recourse to war, by consultation and negotiation, as was laid down in the declaration signed by Herr Hitler and myself at Munich.

Let us then continue to pursue the path of peace and conciliation, but until we can agree on a general limitation of arms let us continue to make this country strong. Then, conscious of our strength, avoiding needless alarms equally with careless indifference, let us go forward to meet the future with the calm courage which enabled our ancestors to win through their troubles a century and a quarter ago."

Extract from the speech by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on January 31st, 1939

At the beginning of the meeting Mr. A. Henderson (Labour Party) asked the Prime Minister whether any response to the appeal for peaceful cooperation made by him on December 19 had been made by Herr Hitler; and whether any further negotiations were contemplated between his Majesty's Government and the German Government.

Mr. Chamberlain: "I welcome the passages in Herr Hitler's speech yesterday regarding his desire for mutual confidence and cooperation between our two peoples, and I should like to take this opportunity to repeat that these sentiments are fully shared by his Majesty's Government and by the people of this country. No negotiations are at present contemplated with the German Government, but his Majesty's Government have been glad to observe the discussions on various industrial matters that have recently taken place between representatives of industry in both countries."

Mr. Chamberlain then continued:

"The House will expect to hear from me some account of the visit which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and I recently paid to Rome. I need only say that I welcomed the opportunity afforded by Signor Mussolini's invitation to renew the personal contact established with him at Munich. On our way through Paris we saw the French Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary at the Quai d'Orsay, where a discussion of matters of mutual interest fully confirmed the general identity of views already established between our two Governments.

The programme arranged for our visit is known to you all.

The Foreign Secretary and I had two long conversations with Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano on January 11 and 12th at the Palazzo Venezia. These conversations were conducted in an atmosphere of complete frankness. It was not expected that either side would accept all the arguments and points of view put forward by the other, but, though we are not able to report that we were in agreement on all points, we did achieve our purpose, since when the conversations were over each side had a clearer insight than before regarding the other's standpoint.

In no sense whatsoever was there anything in the nature of a formal conference or negotiation. This, indeed, as hon. members are aware, was not our object in accepting Signor Mussolini's invitation. Our discussions were exploratory and informal, and it would therefore be a discourtesy to the Italian Government to divulge in detail what passed. I have no hesitation, however, in giving the House the following general impressions which resulted from our conversations, and I may add that in doing

so I have the consent of Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano.

Signor Mussolini first and foremost made it clear that the policy of Italy was one of peace and that he would gladly use his influence in favour of it if at any time the necessity arose. Italy desired peace from every point of view, and not least for the general stability of Europe. I would remind the House that Signor Mussolini gave proof last September both of his willingness and of his ability to intervene in favour of peace. It was therefore very welcome to hear his assurances that his services could again be relied upon in case of need.

Our hosts also made it clear that the Berlin-Rome Axis was an essential point of Italian foreign policy, but that this did not imply that it was impossible for Italy to have the most friendly relations with Great Britain and with other Powers when circumstances were favourable or that good relations were not possible between Germany and France. We on our part made it equally plain that close cooperation between Great Britain and France was the basis of British policy.

As regards the Mediterranean, Signor Mussolini expressed satisfaction with the terms of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and repeated emphatically that it was Italy's intention to stand loyally by her obligations under the Agreement.

We were able to take note that, on the eve of our visit to Rome, an important step had been taken for the carrying out of this Agreement, in the exchange of military information which had been effected in accordance with its provisions. We agreed to proceed forthwith to the mutual discussion of the adjustment of boundaries between Italian East Africa on the one hand and the Sudan and British adjacent territories on the other, as provided for in the protocol to the Anglo-Italian Agreement. So far as the Sudan is concerned, the Egyptian Government will naturally participate in the forthcoming negotiations.

We made no concealment of our regret that Italy's relations with France should recently have deteriorated. It was clear to us from subsequent discussion that the great barrier between France and Italy was the Spanish question and that until the civil war was over no negotiations between the two countries were likely to be productive. At the same time Signor Mussolini emphasized that when the Spanish conflict was over Italy would have nothing to ask from Spain and in further discussion with the Foreign Secretary on this point Count Ciano spontaneously reaffirmed the assurance already given to his Majesty's Government that Italy had no territorial ambitions as regards any portion of Spanish territory. Signor Mussolini did not hesitate to express the view that belligerent rights should immediately be granted to General Franco, but he reiterated his willingness to stand by the British plan which had been adopted by the Non-Intervention Committee.

* * *

As regards the guarantee to Czecho-Slovakia Signor Mussolini indicated that in principle he was prepared to accept the idea of a guarantee of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia against unprovoked aggression. But he thought that there were three questions that had to be settled first—the internal constitution of Czecho-Slovakia itself, the establishment of her neutrality, and the delimitation of the frontiers on the ground.

We had a useful discussion on the subject of disarmament from which it emerged that Signor Mussolini favoured an approach to the question by way of qualitative limitation in the first instance when conditions were more

favourable for its discussion. We agreed to keep in touch with each other regarding the future development of this question.

With regard to the Jewish problem, it was clear that Signor Mussolini felt that the matter was an international one which could not be solved by any one State alone and which must be treated on broad lines.

* * *

The Leader of the Opposition appears to accuse me of some sort of inconsistency, because some time ago I said that I no longer considered the situation in Spain to be a menace to Europe and that I now say it would be a menace to Europe if intervention took place. I fail myself altogether to see where the inconsistency lies. I do not consider that the situation in Spain is at this moment a menace to the peace of Europe, but most emphatically I do consider that if we abandoned the policy of non-intervention and if intervention on any considerable scale took place in favour of the Spanish Government that would mean that the Spanish situation would be a menace to Europe.

The right hon. gentleman has not brought forward any evidence to show that intervention is going on on a great scale, unless he means, as, of course, we all know, that Italian troops are fighting and that Italian material is being used in the course of the conflict. But intervention took place before the Non-Intervention Committee was set up, as I have already said, and it would be a mistake to think that nothing is going through to the other side. The right hon. gentleman's complaint is once more that there is more going through on one side than on the other. I repeat that in my view a reversal of the policy of non-intervention must inevitably lead to the extension of the conflict in Europe, and that is against the policy which has been followed and will be followed by his Majesty's Government, which has been the effort all through this conflict to maintain an attitude of impartiality.

Let us touch for a moment on this question of belligerent rights. There was a firm conviction on the part of hon. members opposite when we announced that we were going to pay a visit to Rome that we were going to do so for the purpose of granting belligerent rights to General Franco. They protested in the most violent terms against any such idea, and I can only conclude from that fact that they thought that if we did give belligerent rights to General Franco that would be very much to his advantage.

We did not; so after all it is clear that while hon. and right hon. gentlemen opposite think that our partiality has been shown to General Franco, the supporters of General Franco are highly indignant because of our partiality to the Spanish Government in refusing General Franco belligerent rights. Signor Mussolini, in the course of conversations in Rome, expressed the view that it was absurd to call a man who was in possession of three-quarters of the Spanish territory a rebel, but of course the reason why we have refused to grant belligerent rights to General Franco was not on that ground at all. It was on the ground that this was not a civil war merely, but that the matter was complicated by the intervention of foreign Powers on one side or the other, and it was on that account that we declined to grant belligerent rights.

When the war is over I think it will be generally recognized that though at one moment we may have seemed to favour one side and at another moment we may have seemed to favour the other side, yet throughout we have endeavoured to maintain an attitude of strict impartiality, and that at any rate we can claim consistency in this: that our actions have backed up our desire so frequently expressed, that this Spanish question should be settled by the Spaniards themselves. The right hon. gentleman opposite has drawn a terrifying picture of the threat to British and French interests if General Franco should win a victory. That is based upon the assumption that after that victory Italy or Germany, or both, would be found in possession of Spanish territory.

That is a very much more vague position than we have had on previous occasions. We have constantly been told that ports would be occupied, that forts were to be built, that attacks on the Balearic Islands would take place from Italy, and that there would be aerodromes in her possession, and it was thought that it would be such a menace to British and French interests. I am very glad to hear that they are coming down now to something less specific and perhaps less formidable."

In reply to Mr. Attlee's argument as to whether Spain would not be subject to economic or ideological domination by Hitler or Mussolini, which would endanger England's strategical position without any occupation of territory, Mr. Chamberlain said:

"I take note of what I will call the modified argument of the right hon. gentleman, but I confess that it is a more difficult one to answer. Every Government of every country in the world may choose to take sides on one or other of the different ideological notions, and we cannot prevent them, but what really the right hon. gentleman's statement amounts to is this: He says, "I do not believe these assurances that have been given to you by Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler." That is accepted by hon. members opposite. I think the worst way in which to ensure that a man who has given his word keeps it would be to tell him, "I do not believe for a moment one word you say, and I am going to make all my assumptions and take all my actions on the assumption that you are not going to keep it." I do not think that would be a wise way, apart from anything else, of carrying on diplomacy, but I am certain that the right hon. gentleman is mistaken.

Let me remind him that only the other day when we were in Rome—and I have said this afternoon in the account which I read to the House—we received again fresh repeated assurances from Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano confirming what they had already told us, that they had nothing to ask of Spain after the war was over; and, of course, I had similar assurances from Herr Hitler. I ask myself, Why is it the habit of hon. and right hon. gentlemen opposite always to take the worst possible view of the motives and intentions of other people?

If they go on frightening themselves by filling their imaginations with improbable hypotheses they make themselves ridiculous. They throw a gloomy aspect on affairs still more by constantly depreciating our own efforts to rearm ourselves. They leave out of account all suggestions that we have vast resources, although everybody knows it, that probably if we were ever engaged in a life and death struggle they would ensure us the victory in the end. They have taken no account either of the alliances and the friendship that we have with other countries.

This loading of the dice against ourselves is a habit of mind and of speech which leads, it seems to me, to a great amount of unnecessary distress in the minds of people at home and may well lead to very dangerous misunderstandings abroad. It is not true that the great efforts we have made in rearmament have been offset by other considerations. It is true, of course, that the amount of preparation that we had to do before we could really make substantial and visible progress in rearmament was enormous. It is like what happens when a building is erected. A hoarding is put up and you cannot see anything behind the hoarding while month after month the foundation is being laid. When that part of the work is finished the steel structure goes up measurably day by day higher and higher.

We are beginning now to see the result of the long preparations and on all sides the public is realizing that our efforts have resulted in an enormous and ever more rapidly increasing addition to our defensive strength. As to our prestige abroad it has never stood higher than it does to-day and there never was a time when our friendship was more greatly desired by other countries. It is untrue, as Mr. Attlee says in an article in a newspaper which I read to-day, that the policy of appeasement has failed. On the contrary, I

maintain that it is steadily succeeding. Mr. Attlee complains now that nothing effective was done at Rome. Only a little while ago he was complaining that something effective would be done that he would not like. Our visit to Rome has, I hope, strengthened the feeling of friendship between this country and Italy.

* * *

At the same time it has not weakened our relations with France. Our relations with France are perhaps closer and more intimate than they have ever been in our recollection and, more than that, they are solidly based on a mutual confidence which multiplies many times over. Each of us can look not merely calmly but with favour at the friendships which the other makes. We saw with great satisfaction the other day the statement about the agreement between France and Germany.

We had another example of the ineffectual and highly exaggerated fears in the sort of prophecies that were published in some parts of the Press and voiced by some people about what Herr Hitler was going to say in the speech which he made last night. It was a long speech and touched on a great many topics and covered a wide field. I do not pretend that I have had time yet to examine with care every phrase in it, but I can say this, that I very definitely got the impression that it was not the speech of a man who was preparing to throw Europe into another crisis. It seemed to me that there were many passages in the speech which indicated the necessity of peace for Germany as well as for other countries.

We all of us have our domestic problems, our economic and financial problems and our problems of employment, and none of us would be unsympathetic to the idea that the statesmen of the various countries should devote themselves for a time to the improvement of the conditions of their own people. I ventured to say in the speech the other night that in my view there were no questions arising between nations, however serious, that could not be settled by conversations and discussions round the table. I repeat that now. I would only add this qualification, that it is no use to embark upon discussions with a view to the general settlement of differences, the satisfaction of aspirations, and the removal of grievances unless the atmosphere is favourable.

When I say that I mean unless those who come to the table are all convinced that all those who sit round it want a peaceable settlement and have no sinister ideas in their minds. After this long period of uncertainty and anxiety in Europe confidence is not easily or quickly established. I say, therefore, that what we want to see are not only words which indicate a desire for peace, but, before we can enter upon that final settlement, we shall want to see some concrete evidence in a willingness, let us say, to enter into arrangements for, if not disarmament, at any rate limitation of armaments. If that time comes, if we can find a spirit corresponding to our own elsewhere, then I know that this country will not be unsympathetic and we shall be ready to make our contribution to the general appeasement of Europe."

Extract from the speech by Lord Halifax, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, at Hull on February 3rd, 1939

"The clash of philosophies in the world to-day, in addition to all the legacy of feeling and disturbance left by the Great War, was responsible for the present atmosphere, in which intolerance was often regarded as a sign of strength, and tolerance as a sign of weakness. It was in this atmosphere that we in this country, Government and people, were called upon to try to build real peace. He could understand the temptation sometimes to throw up the sponge and abandon efforts that seem to bring no reward. It would have been very easy for Mr. Chamberlain to have

stopped trying to restore confidence in Europe—many would. He had been violently assailed for his perseverance. But no man that he knew was less tempted than Mr. Chamberlain to cherish unreal illusions, and neither the Prime Minister nor any member of the Government was the least likely to underestimate the difficulties or the dangers of the present international situation. It had been the great merit of the Prime Minister that he had not yielded under criticism in this country—you see very little of it abroad—to the temptation to give up his efforts for real peace. Even if all their efforts were to fail, and this country found itself obliged to face war, he (Lord Halifax) would have no sort of doubt that we had been 100 per cent. right to make the efforts we had made and were making to show Europe the more excellent way. For in such event the whole British people, irrespective of party and everything else, would be united as one man: their honest desire for peace would have been shown beyond any possibility of doubt; they themselves would have an invincible spiritual conviction of right: and the effect on the moral opinion of the world, with all that that would mean, would be incalculable.

He was not one of those who regarded war as inevitable, but it was no good merely wanting peace—they had got to take active steps to secure it. It was in that spirit that the Prime Minister was glad the other day to accept Signor Mussolini's invitation to Rome. In spite of our recent sharp differences with Italy, the impressions uppermost in his (Lord Halifax's) mind after the visit were the cordiality with which they were received by Signor Mussolini and the Italian Government, the absolutely spontaneous character of the enthusiasm with which the Prime Minister was greeted by the people wherever he went; and the very definite assurance which they received from Signor Mussolini that the policy of Italy was one of peace. Speaking of the Mediterranean in particular, Signor Mussolini assured them that he was well satisfied with the Anglo-Italian Agreement, by which both parties undertook to respect the existing *status quo* in the Mediterranean. He also emphatically declared that, once the Spanish conflict was over, all Italian military support would be withdrawn and he would have nothing to ask from Spain by way of territorial concessions. The conflict in Spain had excited anxieties both here and in France as to possible threats to vital interests of both countries, and for that reason they attached the greatest importance to Signor Mussolini's assurances.

While we welcomed the improvement in our own relations with Italy, those between Italy and France had become more difficult. So long as those relations were what they were it was bound to cause concern to ourselves, for whom close contact and cooperation with France, based upon identity of interest, were fundamental to our foreign policy, and who wished also to have relations of cordial confidence with Italy. Therefore, while that state of things continued, it was not possible for international tension to be reduced, as they would wish, in an area where British interests were directly and vitally concerned.

The British Government had been sharply blamed for adhering strictly to the policy of non-intervention—and the criticism was not only from one side—but he had no doubt at all that if the policy of non-intervention were generally abandoned it would immediately and dangerously increase the risks of the Spanish struggle becoming a general European war. Standing for strict and impartial non-intervention, the Government had deplored all breaches of it—from whatever side. They neither sympathized with nor defended such action, and had made repeated efforts to end it. But whatever we might feel about these breaches, we all had to ask ourselves whether things were going to be better for European peace by deliberately extending the area of intervention, and how long was it going to be, if that were done, before the sup-

porters of the two sides engaged in this bloody struggle were themselves fighting one another? Our only wish was that Spain should settle her own troubles by herself in her own way. The Government's policy would continue to be what it had always been—so far as they might to mitigate the horrors and limit the scope of that fratricidal conflict: to do everything they could to succour its innocent victims; and, if they ever saw the opportunity, to do anything in their power to bring it to an end."

After referring to the conflict in China as a stumbling-block to any real improvement of international relations there, Lord Halifax said: "We were living in days when the usual machinery of international contacts was largely out of gear, and when in consequence the air had become so thick with rumours that it had almost seemed as if there must be some central factory working overtime for their output and dissemination. But, much as he deplored unnecessary alarms, the only effect which he had observed was to increase the national solidarity and the calm determination of all our people. At bottom they were all solidly only pro-British, and were prepared for whatever was necessary to secure interests they adjudged vital.

* * *

He was certain that the peoples of all nations recognized that peace—a peace based upon justice, right, and upon equality—was their great and abiding interest. But peace had also its responsibilities. Peoples must live. Herr Hitler declared the other day that the German nation must export or die. No doubt this was true of Germany; it was certainly true of the United Kingdom. But what was quite untrue was his statement that the War was waged to exclude Germany from world trade. Germany was England's best foreign customer before the War. Her trade had flourished when ours had flourished; it had declined when ours declined. No two countries were more closely bound together by commercial and financial partnership. Why should we then, or now, wish to exclude Germany from world trade? We had never believed in England that competition was exclusive. We believed that in days of development and prosperity and peace it promoted trade all round. What destroyed trade was partly the waste of effort on unproductive purposes such as armaments; and, above all, lack of confidence and the fear of war.

Herr Hitler had predicted a long period of peace. No one hoped more devoutly than he (Lord Halifax) that this prediction would be fulfilled. Give the world real assurance of peace, and trade would revive and an economic development would be possible by which all would benefit and which would leave the achievements of the last century far behind. So long as the world remained an armed camp the present difficulties would in greater or less degree persist for all. Peace, assured and maintained, was the only basis for national recovery and improved standards of life. Those basic economic standards could not be improved unless all nations worked together for the common good. This we were at all times prepared to do, if others would join hands with us in genuine determination to win this advance for all our peoples. The last thing we desired was to obstruct the natural expansion of trade, from which others would reap direct benefit, for we knew well enough that such trade development was for the good of all. We had just reached a very satisfactory agreement with Germany, freely negotiated between the German and British coal industries, to regulate competition and prevent undercutting in third markets. He welcomed that agreement as a very practical contribution to cooperation between the two countries and a hopeful sign for the future; for he believed that collaboration between the two countries was not only desirable but necessary.

There were shortly to take place in Germany a series of negotiations between other British and German industries with the same object—to limit competition and to avoid price-cutting in third markets. It was the earnest wish of the Govern-

ment that those negotiations should succeed and that they would facilitate a fair and friendly understanding as to competition in the world markets which they wanted to see. The needs of the world gave sufficient scope for the industries of both countries, and the prospects for each lay not in attempting to cut the other out but in working to enlarge the volume of trade in which both shared.

Herr Hitler had spoken in more specific terms of particular questions affecting German relations with ourselves and other Powers. The Prime Minister had already said that there were no questions arising between nations, however serious, that could not be settled by conversations and discussions round the table. That was an opinion which the British Government had consistently held, and which he himself had more than once expressed. But, as the Prime Minister had said, it was no use to embark

upon discussions with a view to the general settlement of differences, the satisfaction of aspirations, and the removal of grievances, unless the atmosphere was favourable, in the sense that all those taking part in such discussions must be convinced of their own desire to pursue a common end and to reach a peaceable settlement of the points at issue. No useful result could be secured by such methods unless there were to prevail in Europe a far greater measure of confidence and collaboration in both political and economic spheres than existed to-day. It was the object of all our policy to bring about that confidence and collaboration, and we were ready now and always to work with any who, with good will, would join with us in the formulation of concrete and practical measures to that end.»

THE SOLIDARITY OF ANGLO-FRENCH INTERESTS

A Statement by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on February 6th 1939.

Mr. A. Henderson asked the Prime Minister whether the recent statement of the French Foreign Minister that in the case of war the forces of Great Britain would be at the disposal of France, just as all the forces of France would be at the disposal of Great Britain, was in accord with the views of this Majesty's Government.

Mr. Chamberlain: "According to my information M. Bonnet stated in the Chamber of Deputies on January 26 that in the case of a war in which the two countries were involved all the forces of Great Britain would be at the disposal of France just as all the forces of France would be at the disposal of Great Britain. This is in complete accordance with the views of his Majesty's Government. It is impossible to examine in detail all the hypothetical cases which may arise, but I feel bound to make plain that the solidarity of interest by which France and this country are united is such that any threat to the vital interests of France from whatever quarter it came must evoke the immediate cooperation of this country."

A Statement by the "Informazione Diplomatica" in Rome

With regard to the above statement, the "Informazione Diplomatica" in Rome published the following comment on February 8th:

"In responsible Roman circles the speech delivered by Mr.

Neville Chamberlain regarding the close political-military solidarity existing between France and Britain has caused no surprise whatever. An equally explicit statement was made by Mr. Chamberlain in Rome during his recent visit and on other preceding occasions on the House of Commons.

The anti-Fascist circles in France who—in their perhaps exaggerated jubilation—speak of Italian "consternation" at Mr. Chamberlain's declarations have made another mistake and a big one. Fascist Italy feels so little consternation that, not only of late but for a long time past she has recognised the existence of an authentic Anglo-French military alliance as axiomatic.

The character of this authentic and duly signed Anglo-French military alliance is, naturally, defensive, but one must not allow oneself to be too far misled by the meaning of this word. That the authentic Anglo-French military alliance may contemplate a preventive or aggressive war against the authoritarian States is to be ruled out, for the moment: otherwise it would be impossible to explain the Anglo-Italian Agreement of April 16th and the French-German Agreement of December 6th. At the same time it would be rash to bank on the future. In responsible Roman circles it is considered that, while continuing to follow a policy of peace, Italy can draw only one conclusion from the foregoing—that a further effort is now necessary to accelerate and perfect the military preparation of the nation. This effort will be undertaken."

ITALY'S ATTITUDE TO THE FOREIGN POLITICAL POSITION

From the official communiqué of February 6th 1939 on the meeting of the Grand Fascist Council of February 4th 1939.

The Grand Fascist Council held its second meeting of the (Fascist) year XVII on February 4th, under the chairmanship of the Duce.

The Duce reported on the general international position. The Grand Fascist Council applauded the report at frequent intervals and signified its enthusiastic agreement with its conclusions.

After the Duce had spoken, the Foreign Minister commented upon a few special details of Italy's foreign policy. The main points dealt with in the Foreign Minister's report were expounded by the Duce.

The Grand Fascist Council adopted by show of hands the following orders of the day:

"The Grand Fascist Council expresses its deep satisfaction at the speech delivered by the Führer on the 6th anniversary

of his coming into power, in which he confirmed the political, spiritual and military bonds uniting the two revolutions—Fascist and National-Socialist—and the future of the two nations."

"The Grand Fascist Council, which has met on the day on which all Catalonia has, with the occupation of Gerona, been finally freed from the barbarous Bolshevik oppression, sends its warmest greeting to the heroic Spanish fighters and legionaries, who have together achieved victory, and informs all whom it may concern that Fascism will not relinquish the struggle until it is terminated as it must be terminated: with the victory of Franco."

Without indulging in far-fetched conjectures, it is safe to say that the discussions during the meeting, which lasted three hours, were not confined to these two points. There is no doubt that Mussolini gave this highest assembly of the Fascist Government information in regard to the British visit to Rome and

Franco-Italian relations and that Count Ciano acquainted the Council with what transpired during his recent visits to Warsaw.

The Sunday edition of the "*Giornale d'Italia*" published on February 5th an extract from Mussolini's statements, which contained the following information:

"Mussolini had dealt with the confused and disturbed State of Europe and of the world. The policy of peace entrusted to the nations of good will was appearing to be more and more seriously threatened by ideological tendencies and the spirit of faction and intrigue displayed by members of Governments and parties. A typical example was the so-called London-Paris-Washington axis, which, as a result of President Roosevelt's remarks, was now occupying the minds of the French, and was exclusively concerned with keeping polemics alive and fanning the flames of fresh disputes, doubtful alliances being maintained in all parts of the world—even with nigger tribes—instead of the problems affecting Europe being examined and dealt with from a European angle.

In view of the disorder prevailing in the world, the totalitarian States were faced with the duty of closing their ranks still further. Italy was prepared to defend herself with her whole forces and those of friendly Germany. Hitler's speech in the Reichstag, every word of which was now being weighed, had confirmed the complete solidarity—not only spiritual and political but also military—existing between the two great nations which met on the Brenner.

That solidarity constituted a threat to nobody, but was designed to protect the vital interests of European civilization. On the other hand, that solidarity would persist in spite of all conspiracies and transparent encirclement tactics.

The war in Spain was going on towards the expected and inevitable victory of Franco's troops. Difficulties were however being placed in the way of united and independent nationalist Spain. Diplomatic intervention and fresh pressure were being directed against its unhindered development. For that reason, Italy and Germany could not yet withdraw their assistance to nationalist Spain. After the Republican troops had been chased out of Catalonia to the Pyrenean frontier, it remained to extend the liberation of Spain to Madrid and Valencia. The preparations for such liberation could not be made for a few weeks. The military victory would then have to be followed by a full political victory. As long as the red armies in Spain had not been entirely disposed of, Franco's victory could not be regarded as completely ensured. Consequently the Italian legionaries would not leave Spanish territory until the red armies had been totally extirpated and the endeavours of their friends to support them rendered nugatory."

In view of the Franco-British excitement at hearing that the Italian legionaries would only leave Spain after the complete military and political victory of Franco, the "*Giornale d'Italia*" of February 8th explained in detail, under four heads, what was to be understood by the complete victory of Franco and consequently regarded as the condition precedent upon the withdrawal of the legionaries, as follows:

"1. A large proportion of the Red forces in flight, together

with their international formations—between 140,000 and 200,000 men—had gone to France. It was asserted that the Red forces had been disarmed, but that did not solve the problem of their presence. As long as they remained on French territory (where they were once organized for operations against nationalist Spain), as long as they continued to be surrounded by piles of arms, as long as these hordes were not completely demobilized and dispersed, Franco would be justified in suspecting that they would at the first opportunity be used against his newly established régime. So long as that had not been done, the victory would not be complete.

2. The "Ministers" and ringleaders of Red Spain, who could not be said to have resigned, had also gone to France with the Red forces; their presence together in France was a curious and suspicious factor. Those people were still carrying on their policy. The activities of those Red ringleaders taken in conjunction with the presence of the international militia obviously gave rise to justified suspicions and, as long as they had not been reduced to silence and dispersed, Franco's victory could not be regarded as definitive.

3. The above-mentioned proceedings coincided with a revival of the political and diplomatic agitation of the friends of Red Spain. Once more the 'backstairs' rumours of plans for a truce, Franco-British mediation and a peace to be bargained for, were beginning to be heard, which things were designed to detract from the political consummation of Franco's military victory, whereas nothing could be clearer than that the complete capitulation of the Reds inside and outside the frontiers of Spain could alone be deemed an adequate expression of Franco's complete victory. It was obvious that the continuance of these intrigues in conjunction with the presence of a Red army in France jeopardized Franco's final victory.

4. Gold, jewels and other costly articles were still streaming into France from Spain. That was war treasure and as long as it was not returned to the Franco Government together with the gold of the Red bank of Spain, that wealth would remain in the service of the Red menace.

General Franco had undertaken the war in order to free Spain from the Red menace and from foreign influence and to restore to the Spaniards a renovated Spain established on new political and social principles and consequently the final aim of his military action could only be political victory. Italy and Germany had openly and officially proclaimed that political victory as determining their attitude to the Spanish problem, as was proved by the fact that they recognised the Franco Government that was to say, his political movement—as early as the spring of 1937. Consequently France and England had no cause for astonishment in the avowed solidarity of Italy and Germany in respect of that political victory. Rather was it a matter for surprise that official circles in Paris and London, whilst already adopting a conciliatory attitude towards the Franco Government, were endeavouring to make a distinction between the victory by arms and that of the policy, which was the occasion of that sanguinary conflict.

These explanations reflect Italy's unshakable determination on no account to allow the victory of the national revolution, her own participation in which cost her many lives, to be subsequently whittled down by means of political meddling.

WAR AIMS

WAR AIMS

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FOR WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING ?

Democracies Debate War Aims

WORLD ORDER AND CIVILISATION

Future Of India, Colonies And Minorities

The British Commonwealth of Nations and the French Republic are at war with Germany.

What are their aims ?

Hitler assured the British Ambassador in Berlin on August 25, 1939, that he was prepared "not only to guarantee the existence of the British Empire in all circumstances as far as Germany is concerned, but also, if necessary, would assure to the British Empire, German assistance, regardless of where such assistance should be necessary."*

Why fight then ?

Hitler's offer was conditional on his being allowed to do what he liked in Poland without British interference. Britain refused to go back on her plighted word to Poland. Thus was Britain's first war aim implicitly defined :—

Respect for guarantees given and peaceful settlement of differences by negotiation and arbitration are the rock bottom foundation without which civilisation—not in Europe alone but the world over—must collapse and the law of the jungle return. Progress—spiritual, material and economic—becomes impossible if Hitlerism is not fought and beaten.

This is the immediate aim; but what are the wider aims of France and the British Commonwealth ?

Nazi Church Minister Kerrl on May 24, 1937 said : "The Fuehrer is the Jesus Christ as well as the Holy Ghost of the Fatherland."

Nazi leader Rudolf Hess at Nuremburg on September 7, 1938, said :—"Whatever Hitler does is right ; whatever he does is necessary and whatever he does is successful, as in Austria. . . . Thus manifestly the Fuehrer has the Divine Blessing."

This attitude of mind simplifies a dictator's problems of government ; he does what his Divinity suggests and no-body answers back, or if they do, they do so once and for all.

But government by democracy means taking counsel to try to ascertain the best solutions of current difficulties ; democracy is government by counting heads, not breaking them.

Hence today the statesmen, publicists, religious and other leaders of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of France are taking counsel together over the Peace that will follow this war. Their sometimes differing views doubtless provoke Hitler's sarcasm but then the use of the critical faculties has always been beyond his grasp.

The foregoing remarks serve but as an explanatory introduction to the following extracts of pronouncements on Allied war aims ; these extracts make no claim to be exhaustive ; they are a random selection of many.

They are published unofficially for reference and the inclusion or exclusion of particular pronouncements has no official sanction.

* See INDIAN INFORMATION, Page 122, September, 15, 1939.

"CHALLENGE WHICH CANNOT BE REFUSED"**King George VI On "The Ultimate Issue"**

Broadcasting to the Empire a few hours after war was declared on September 3, 1939, His Majesty King George VI said :

"We have been forced into a conflict, for we are called with our allies to meet a challenge of a principle which, if it were to prevail, would be fatal to any civilised order in the world. It is a principle which permits a State in selfish pursuit of power to disregard its treaties and solemn pledges, which sanctions the use of force or threat of force against the sovereignty and independence of other States.

"Such a principle stripped of all disguise, is surely a mere primitive doctrine that might is right and, if this principle is established throughout the world the freedom of our own country and the whole British Commonwealth of Nations would be in danger.

"But far more than this, the peoples of the world would be kept in bondage of fear and all hopes of settled peace and of security, of justice and liberty among nations, would be ended. This is the ultimate issue confronting us.

"For the sake of all that we ourselves hold dear and of the world's order and peace, it is unthinkable that we should refuse to meet the challenge. It is to this high purpose that I now call my people at home and my peoples across the seas who will make our cause their own. I ask them to stand calm, firm and united in this time of trial."

"Larger Purposes Of War"

In the second week of November 1939, in his reply to the peace appeal of King Leopold of Belgium and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, King George wrote :

"The essential conditions on which we are determined that an honourable peace must be secured have already been plainly stated. The immediate occasion leading to our decision to enter the war was German aggression in Poland, but this aggression was only a fresh instance of German policy towards her neighbours.

"The larger purposes for which my peoples are now fighting are to secure that Europe is redeemed, in the words of the Prime Minister, from the perpetually recurring fear of German aggression, to enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and liberties and

to prevent resort to force instead of pacific means for the settlement of international disputes".

PRESIDENT LEBRUN

M. Albert Lebrun, President of the French Republic, in his reply to the peace appeal of November 7 of the Dutch and Belgian monarchs wrote :

"France has taken up arms to end definitely the violent and forceful undertakings which for two years have enslaved and destroyed three nations and today threaten the security of all nations. Lasting peace can only be established by the reparation of injustices imposed by force on Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland. It is only possible if effective political and economic guarantees assure in the future respect for the liberty of all nations.

"Any solution, which would consecrate the triumph of injustice, would result in a precarious truce for Europe unlinked to a stable and legitimate peace, whose advent is foreshadowed in the sovereigns' message. It is for Germany and no longer for France to pronounce herself for or against that peace, to which all threatened countries aspire."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN**"Not Fighting For A Faraway City"**

On August 24, 1939, before all hope of peace had been given up, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons :

"If despite all our efforts to find the way to peace—and God knows I have tried my best (cheers)—if in spite of all that we find ourselves forced to embark upon a struggle which is bound to be fraught with suffering and misery for all mankind, and the end of which no man can foresee—if that must happen we shall not be fighting for the political future of a faraway city in a foreign land; we shall be fighting for the preservation of those principles* of which I have spoken, and the destruction of which would involve the destruction of all possibilities of peace and security for the peoples of the world."

But all efforts "to find the way to peace" failed. On September 3 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that Britain was at war with Germany;

* Observance of international undertakings and renunciation of force in the settlement of differences,

"I cannot tell what part I may be allowed to play, but I trust I will live to see the day when Hitlerism is destroyed and a restored and liberated Europe has been re-established."

Message To German People

The same evening the British Prime Minister addressed the people of Germany over the air. Speaking in German, he concluded :

"In this war we are not fighting against you German people, against whom we have no bitter feeling, but against a tyrannous and foresworn regime which has betrayed not only its own people but the whole of civilisation and all that you and we hold dear."

WAR AND PEACE AIMS

On November 26, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in a broadcast to the Empire, reiterated the war and peace aims of the British Government. The Prime Minister was careful to draw a distinction between these two aims.

"Our war aim can be stated very shortly : It is to defeat our enemy and by that I do not merely mean the defeat of the enemy's military forces ; I mean the defeat of that aggressive, bullying mentality which seeks continually to dominate other peoples by force, which finds a brutal satisfaction in the persecution and torture of inoffensive citizens, and in the name of the interests of the State justifies the repudiation of its own pledged word whenever it finds it convenient...."

Turning to the peace aims, the Prime Minister stated that the Government were dealing with something to be achieved in conditions which at present could not be foreseen. A definition of them therefore could only be in the most general terms.

He then outlined the broad principles on which the peace aims of His Majesty's Government were founded.

"Our desire then," said the Prime Minister, "would be to establish a new Europe ; not new in the sense of tearing up all the old frontier posts and redrawing the map according to the ideas of the victors, but a Europe with a new spirit, in which the nations which inhabit it will approach their difficulties with good-will and mutual tolerance. In such a Europe, fear of aggression would have ceased to exist and such adjustments of boundaries as would be necessary would be thrashed out between neighbours sitting on equal terms round a table with the help of disinterested third parties if it were so desired."

"In such a Europe, it would be recognised that there can be no lasting peace unless there is a full and constant flow of trade between the nations concerned, for only by increased interchange of goods and services can the standard of living be improved. In such a Europe, each country would have the unfettered right to choose its own form of internal government so long as that government did not pursue an external policy injurious to its neighbours. Lastly, in such a Europe, armaments would gradually be dropped as a useless expense except in so far as they were needed for the preservation of internal law and order."

Germany To Help

"It is obvious that the establishment of this Utopian Europe which I have briefly sketched out could not be the work of a few weeks or even months. It would be a continuous process

stretching over many years. Indeed, it would be impossible to set a time-limit upon it, for conditions never cease to change and corresponding adjustments would be required if friction is to be avoided. Consequently, you would need some machinery capable of conducting and guiding the development of the new Europe in the right direction."

"I do not think it necessary, nor, indeed, is it possible, to specify at this stage the kind of machinery which should be established for this purpose. I merely express the opinion that something of the sort would have to be provided, and I would add my hope that a Germany, animated by a new spirit, might be among the nations which would take part in its operations."

AN IMPERIALIST WAR ?

On November 28, in a debate in the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain said :

"We have not entered this war with any vindictive purpose and we do not, therefore, intend to impose a vindictive peace."

He then answered the demand that imperialism should be abandoned by Britain.

If imperialism means the assertion of racial superiority, if it means the suppression of the political and economic freedom of other peoples, if it means exploitation of the resources of other countries for the benefit of an imperialist country, then I say that those are not the characteristics of this country (cheers), but they are the characteristics of the present administration in Germany.

"In this country—whatever may have been the case in the past—we have no thought of treating the British Empire on the lines which I have described. For years now it has been a generally accepted dogma, not confined to any party of this House, that the administration of the Colonial Empire is a trust to be conducted primarily in the interests of the peoples of the countries concerned."

"We have, by international arrangements, already undertaken to give free access to the markets and to the materials of many of our most important Colonies."

INDIA'S EFFORT

On December 14, Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that India's help in the war was greatly appreciated.

"In India, political differences with which members are familiar have in no way diminished the universal abhorrence of Hitlerism and all it stands for. I need only say that nowhere in India is there any disposition to let these differences hamper the common effort to win the war."

"Money continues to flow into the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. There is no lack of men ready to answer any call. Production of essential war materials is steadily growing."

"We greatly appreciate India's contribution to the war effort and we confidently look forward to its continuance in an increasing measure."

"We also recognise with gratitude the readiness of the Government and the people of Burma to take their part in the common task."

FRENCH PREMIER'S RESOLVE

M. Edouard Daladier, the French Premier, read a Government declaration to the Chamber

of Deputies which stated that France would negotiate only when the wrongs caused to weaker nations could be repaired and when a lasting security had been established.

LORD HALIFAX

Negotiation—Not Force

On August 24, when war was imminent Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary and a former Viceroy of India, said in a broadcast :

"The life of nations depends, in the last resort, upon mutual respect for one another's rights, and reasonable confidence that they can each live their life in their own way, provided they do not interfere with their neighbours' right to do the same.

"Throughout their history, the British people have always felt bound to oppose attempts by one Power to dominate Europe at the expense of others. After the events, therefore, of the earlier part of this year, which had shaken all confidence, we tried to make it clear by word and deed, that we are prepared to assist those countries which felt their independence immediately threatened, and were ready to defend their freedom.

Force Must Be Abandoned

"May I state quite simply what I believe to be the British point of view ?

"Some little time ago, it was my duty to state the twin foundations of purpose on which British policy rests.

"First, is the determination to resist force, because we learned how destructive it is to any sense of security ;

"Secondly, is the desire which is felt the world over to get on with the constructive work of building peace, but you cannot do this until the gospel of force has been abandoned ;

"Thirdly, is the adjustment of differences by negotiation and not by force ; and

"Fourthly, is respect for the pledged word.

"These are the principles which seem to us vital for the peaceful and orderly life of nations. And these are the things and nothing less, which, if trouble comes, we are concerned, to defend.

"We never had and have not to-day the remotest intention of attacking Germany. If the German policy could only be directed at restoring European confidence by willingness to settle differences by negotiation, and was not based, to the extent that it seems to be, upon a plan of trying to settle differences by force, we should ask nothing better, as we have said more than once, than to work with Germany, and to help resolve her difficulties and our own and all problems in the world that need solution.

"But, if the misunderstanding between Germany and Great Britain is to be removed, I repeat that there must be some certainty about the future of Europe, and that is why we feel obliged to resist attempts to alter the map of Europe by constant appeals to force.

"There are some who say that the fate of the European nations is no concern of ours, and that we should not look far beyond our own frontiers. But they forget that in failing to uphold the liberties of others, we run a great risk of betraying the principle of liberty itself, and with it, our own freedom and independence. We have built up a society with values accepted not only in this

country, but in many other parts of the world. If we stand idly by and see these values set at naught, the security of all those things on which life itself depends is undermined."

"DEFENDING RIGHTS OF ALL NATIONS"

On November 7, Lord Halifax said :

"We are fighting in defence of freedom ; we are fighting for peace : we are meeting a challenge to our own security and that of others ; we are defending the rights of all nations to live their own lives.

"We are fighting against the substitution of brute force for law as an arbiter between nations ; against violation of the sanctity of treaties and disregard for the pledged word. We have learned that there can be no opportunity for Europe to cultivate the arts of peace until Germany is brought to realise that recurrent acts of aggression will not be tolerated.

"It must, accordingly, be our resolve not only to protect the future from a repetition of the same injuries that German aggression has inflicted on Europe in the last few years, but also, so far as we can, to repair the damage successively wrought by Germany upon her weaker neighbours.

"And that purpose must be the stronger as it is reinforced by the knowledge of the cruel persecution of causes and persons at the hands of the ruthless men of Germany.

"We are therefore fighting to maintain the rule of law and the quality of mercy in dealings between man and man and in the great society of civilised states.

"But we are determined, so far as it is humanly possible, to see to it that Europe shall not again be subjected to a repetition of this tragedy. With this purpose in view, we shall use all our influence, when the time comes, in the building of a new world in which nations will not permit insane armed rivalry to deny their hopes of a fuller life by the grim foreboding of disaster.

"The new world that we seek will enlist the co-operation of all peoples on the basis of human equality, self-respect and mutual tolerance. We, not less than others, have ourselves to learn from past failures and disappointments. When the war is over, we shall have to see to it that wisdom and goodwill combine for the immediate task that awaits us."

MR. CHURCHILL

The Recurring German Menace

Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty said on November 12, 1939 :

"We have tried again and again to prevent this war and for the sake of peace we have put up with a lot of things happening which ought not to have happened.

"But now we are at war and we are going to make war and persevere as far as we can to the best of our ability, which is not small and which is always growing.

"You may take it absolutely for certain that either all that Britain and France stand for in the modern world will go down or Hitler and the Nazi regime and the recurring German or Prussian menace will be broken and destroyed. That is the way the matter lies and everybody had better make up his mind to that solid sombre fact."

MR. A. GREENWOOD**"Labour Heart And Soul In The Fight"**

On September 20, Mr. Arthur Greenwood emphasised the solidarity of British Labour behind the Allied war efforts :

"I hate war," he said, "so do you. But there are things for which, if need be, we must fight. There is one big thing for which we must fight and that is freedom. You know that is true. I am sure you would not deny it.

"The blow has fallen and we are at war. It is not of our making and it is not of our seeking. It has been brought about because Herr Hitler decided on it.

"We are fighting for a simple principle—that of liberty. We cannot and will not tolerate for a moment the claim of individuals or States to dominate our lives through threat or use of force.

"I speak to you as a representative of the British labour movement. We know we are now engaged in a titanic struggle, the result of which will determine the future of the world.

"Labour's heart and soul are in the fight to crush for ever the spirit of tyranny with all its barbarities. Labour stands four-square. It hates war, but also hates oppression. Its mind is not clouded by evil thoughts against the German people. It hopes to rescue them from persecution. Its heart goes out to those who are victims of Herr Hitler's persecution.

"Labour's purpose, having itself suffered in the past from oppression and persecution, is to end the system of terrorism which has destroyed the bodies and spirits of multitudes of the sons of men and which seeks to enthrall all mankind. I say this to show we adhere to Britain's declared policy."

LABOUR PARTY'S PEACE PLANS**Mr. Attlee Formulates Proposals**

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Labour Opposition, on November 8, 1939, stated that the detailed terms of the peace settlement must be the result of the acceptance of certain fundamental principles.

It would be most unwise, from Mr. Attlee's point of view, to attempt to include in peace proposals definite demands for the re-arrangement of the boundaries of certain European States. The terms of a peace settlement would depend on the application of principles and the acceptance of the general lines of the new Europe which must emerge after the war. These principles he summarised as follows :

(1) There should be no dictated peace. Restitution should be made to the victims of aggression, but all ideas of revenge and punishment must be excluded.

(2) The recognition of the right of all nations to live and to develop their own characteristic civilisation.

(3) There must be a complete abandonment of aggression and of the use of armed force as an instrument of policy. Where disputes could not be settled by negotiation the decision of disinterested arbitrators must be accepted.

(4) The rights of national, racial and religious minorities must be recognised.

Mr. Attlee pointed out that while, as far as possible every state should be left free to manage its internal affairs there was a common interest in the prevention of oppression and in the recognition of the rights of individuals.

(5) International anarchy is incompatible with peace and, in the common interest, there must be recognition of an international authority superior to the individual States and endowed, not only with rights over them, but also with power to make them effective, operating not only in the political but also in the economic sphere.

(6) The final principle is that of the abandonment of imperialism and the recognition of equal access for all nations to markets and raw materials.

The acceptance of these principles involved the creation of international machinery. There must be some force by which the aggressor could be compelled to desist. If there was to be a rule of law, there must be an international force of such overwhelming strength that no would-be aggressor would dare to challenge it.

An international air force was the most appropriate instrument. Every state must accept the obligation of bringing against any disturber of the peace the power of economic sanctions. All national forces must be drastically reduced to the amount necessary for the preservation of internal order.

Such armed forces as remained in the hands of individual states must be subjected to international inspection. Private manufacture of and trade in armaments must be abolished. The existence of an international force necessarily implied an international authority to control it.....

Bold economic planning on a world scale would be an imperative necessity to meet the post-war situation and to avoid recurrent economic crises. International institutions for this purpose must be created. The scope and authority of the International Labour Office must be enlarged.

"FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF MAN"**Mr. Herbert Morrison's Ideal**

Mr. Herbert Morrison, M. P., head of the London County Council, said on November 27 :

"Our aims should be these : While we must be ready to surrender a measure of national sovereignty, we must maintain the cultural freedom of nations and a proper measure of independence in their political life. We must cling to an ideal of government which existed to serve peoples and not to dominate them. The nations must come together and tackle international economic problems.

"We must organise the industry, trade and commerce of the world with the idea of achieving a higher standard of life for all. We must insist upon achieving international control of arms manufacture and armed forces and the nations—victors, vanquished and neutrals alike—must agree that each would submit its grievances and its quarrels to impartial judgment, and would abide by the outcome. Even these political principles are less important at this moment than a clear restatement of the fundamental rights of man, to vindicate and realise which is our true and final war aim."

SIR JOHN SIMON**"We Have But One War Aim"**

In a broadcast to the French people on December 4, 1939, Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer said:

"Together we shall win the war and together we shall succeed in creating at least a breathable atmosphere for those countries who only want peace, work and liberty.

"We have but one war aim,—to vanquish the German army and to vanquish that aggressive and insolent spirit which always sought to dominate people by force. By uniting our resources and our efforts, we shall at last succeed in re-creating a breathable atmosphere for all those countries, who seek only peace, work and liberty."

"Liberty"

On January 13, 1940, Sir John said that further steps would have to be taken to restrict consumption and provide funds for the conduct of the war.

"The medicine may seem drastic and unpleasant, but the disease for the prevention of which it is designed is more unpleasant still. The outcome of this war is going to show whether self-discipline and a free democracy like ours are not a more potent instrument than the mechanical drilling of a totalitarian State. We have the greatest cause in the world liberty. The whole nation is prepared to sustain that cause by all the necessary sacrifices."

MR. ANTHONY EDEN**"No Peace Until Nazism Is Broken"**

On September 11, Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for the Dominions stated that the Dominions had made the Allied cause their own. India also had given her answer. The colonies had offered aid.

"Once more Britain stands armed and resolved with her sister nations by her side. We have no quarrel with the German people, but there can be no lasting peace until Nazism and all it stands for in oppression and cruelty is broken and bad faith is banished from the earth.

"This issue admits of no compromise. Our determination to see the war through to the end is unshaken. We have decided to fight to show that aggression does not pay and that the German people must realise that this country means to go on fighting until that goal is reached.

"It is already evident that the Nazi Government seeks to delude its people into thinking that a quick victory in Poland will be followed by indifference or capitulation by the Western Democracies. That is not the truth. The people in this country are ready to fight a very long war to the bitter end, if it must be, to rid the world of Hitlerism and all it implies."

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD**The Empire's Support**

In a broadcast talk soon after the outbreak of war the Right Honourable Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that the British conception of proper international relations was based upon respect for the freedom of individual peoples, whether they be great nations or small.

And while the Dominions, India, Burma and the British colonies had swiftly offered their support for the Allied cause, the provinces and protectorates which had come under German domination had been far from anxious to help the Reich in the struggle.

He said: "We recognize that the German people should be free to pursue a vigorous and full national life in Europe; but we would accord the same right to the Czechs and the Poles and other peoples. The right of a people to live in their own community, developing their natural capacities to the full and governed according to their own national genius, should not vary in proportion to their physical power; it should be equal for all. But the present-day German rulers do not believe in that right for smaller and weaker peoples.

British And German Conceptions

"The difference between British and German conceptions has been vividly illustrated by the messages of support which, during the last few days, have come to London from every corner of the Empire. It is not only great self governing Dominions, and India and Burma, who have swiftly declared their association with Great Britain in her struggle. From the colonies and protectorates in Africa, from all our territories in the Far East, from the West Indies, and Ceylon and Malta, and other colonies scattered over the seven seas, and from mandated territories like Palestine there have come, unsolicited, countless loyal messages of support for Britain in this war.

"Why this spontaneous outburst? It is because the people of every one of these territories know that the British respect their individuality, and desire their existence as distinct peoples to be preserved, and are determined to develop and maintain their freedom.

"Have there been similar demonstrations from the provinces and protectorates which come under German rule? None have been reported. None exist. The Austrians have sent no enthusiastic assurances of loyalty; the Slovaks have maintained a sullen silence; the Czechs have not felt moved to express their firm support of Germany's cause. These peoples lie for the moment under the heel of a tyrant. And instead of messages from them we have the contemptuous words of Field-Marshal Goering describing Poland as a little State that has been inflated in the last few years as one blows up ridiculous 'little rubber figures'."

"Germany's present rulers have no respect for small nations. If they had been left to pursue their career unchecked there would have been no more security for other small Powers in Europe than there has been for the Czechs and the Poles. And in time the threat would have spread against all of us, and beyond Europe to peoples across the seas.

Battle Of Small Nations

"The British and the French are fighting to preserve civilized methods in international relations, and in defence of the freedom of national peoples, great and small. In the forefront of those whose battle we are fighting are the small nations of Europe. Most of them are neutral in the present conflict; it is natural and inevitable that they should be so. But let me say what an immeasurable encouragement it has been to the Government here that the peoples of the colonial territories, who, I know, have followed closely and anxiously the course of events in recent years, should have recognized so fully the causes for which we are fighting, and offered so wholeheartedly their help.

ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOP'S VIEWS

Federal Union Of Europe After War

The spirit and aim of Britain in the war was the subject of an address by the Archbishop of York, Dr. William Temple, on October 2, 1939. Dr. Temple outlined the terms of peace which should be drawn up when the time comes. He insisted on the necessity for Germany taking her place among the rest of the nations, but added that the rights of the Czechs and the Poles must have the first claim to consideration.

Dr. Temple envisages a Congress of Europe before which all outstanding grievances and problems containing the seeds of future war, would be discussed; problems of colonies, tariffs, and so on.

The Archbishop concluded:

"We must ourselves be ready for sacrifices, provided the interests of minorities and subject peoples are safeguarded. Such a Congress of Europe may take years to do its work, but some of the matters calling for adjustment are of long standing and have not yet led to grave trouble. Many of us hope that the Congress will pave the way for that Federal Union of Europe in which we see the only hope of a permanent settlement, but that is a large question and certainly Europe cannot be federated until it is satisfied."

CARDINAL HINSLEY

"There Can Be No Compromise"

On December 10 1939, Cardinal Hinsley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, head of the Catholic Church in England, said:

"So violent a de-Christianisation of vast regions has been attempted and threatened that we, each of us, can support this fight wholeheartedly on behalf of justice, charity and the salvation of souls..... We English are noted for our readiness to compromise, but there can be no compromise on the first principles of right and wrong, no compromise, in my view, between Christianity and atheistic Communism."

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

"Moral Ideals Imperilled"

The pastoral letter sent by the moderator in the name and by the authority of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on November 15, 1939, contains the following passage:

"Why are we at war? That is a searching question for Church and people who hate war and repudiate it as an un-Christian means for the settlement of international disputes. We are at war because our country has pledged its word to defend a brave people whose liberties were menaced; and yet it was not for this alone that we took up arms.

"We are fighting for the very foundations of civilisation—for Truth and Freedom, Justice and Humanity, for the maintenance of Law and for the keeping of covenants among the nations. Acquiescence in aggression and in broken faith is a course no self respecting nation can follow. Today the fundamental moral ideals that make life worth living are imperilled in Europe, and we are fighting in defence of them."

INDIA AND THE WAR

British Pledges Stand

Speaking for the British Government in the House of Commons on October 26, during the debate on India, Sir Samuel Hoare paid a tribute to the successful working of the provincial governments ("the eleven great democratic Governments") under the new India Act, and said:

"It was with this background on the Indian achievement that on September 3 of this year India and the British Commonwealth of Nations were faced with war. The crisis found India united. It found India united in its determination to resist brute force and in the realisation that the danger was a common danger threatening every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"It was in face of this unity that the Viceroy who, during the whole course of his career in India and during many years that he was occupied in the Joint Select Committee in this country, showed his wholehearted and sincere desire for Indian goodwill and co-operation; it was at this moment that he took the steps with the object of availing himself to the full of this united feeling in India and this common purpose that should bind India and the rest of the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"The Viceroy first had a series of interviews with the leaders of Indian opinion and as a result of those interviews he made two definite proposals.

"The first was rather in the nature of a pledge. It was a clear and definite statement that at the end of the war there would be a reconsideration of the constitutional problem in the light of the experience of recent years.

"Secondly, with a view to availing himself of Indian advice and with the intention of bringing Indian leaders within his confidence, he suggested that a consultative committee should be formed to discuss with him many problems arising out of the war and to bring him into the closest and most constant contact with the trends of Indian opinion."

Sir Samuel Hoare pointed out that India would play a great part in the new world that would come into being when the war was over:

"Whatever may be the issue of the present struggle, and in whatever way it may be brought to a conclusion, the world will not be the same world that we have known before.

"Looking to the future we can see deep changes will inevitably leave their mark on every field of men's thought and actions and, if humanity is to guide aright the new forces that will be in operation, all nations will have their part to play.

"In this new world India has a great part to play, perhaps in area the greatest of any Asiatic country, a great part also in the British Commonwealth of Nations, for it will be an outward and visible sign that with us there is no racial discrimination.

"With this great hope before us, let us once and for all abandon the barren paths of non-co-operation and help each other to win the war and to win peace and in this double victory to take a great step towards the fruition of India's hopes."

SIR HUGH O'NEILL

India's Future

Later during the debate Sir Hugh O'Neill, Under Secretary of State for India, said :

"You cannot rush into a great constitutional change such as is envisaged in India. You cannot disregard the minorities. Further, you cannot disregard the views of the Indian States, if what you are aiming at is an All-India Federation. That, I think, is the goal which all of us in this House would like to see reached eventually. I would like to say further that in any constitutional advance of this kind, you cannot proceed in accordance with the wishes of one party alone, however, strong and well-organised, in a country such as India with all its conflicting races, creeds and interests.

"You cannot be neglectful of the defences of India. What would happen if by some ghastly possibility the British Empire were to suffer a defeat in this war? What would then be the prospect for India? The Indian people know well enough that any chance they may have of constitutional advancement and development depends above all upon the association being with this country and not with any other country which holds entirely different views of democratic progress from ours.

"The British Government and the Government of India do not desire a conflict, and if anyone thinks that in India or here, he is demonstrably wrong. What the British Government desire is not conflict but, above all, co-operation from the Indian people. Advance is certain and sure. It would be nothing short of a colossal disaster if we were to throw away the work of the last two years in India, which has shown such promise for a future which will inevitably materialise.

"Looking at the manifesto of the Congress Party, one cannot help being struck by one outstanding fact—namely, its detestation of the principles and practices of Nazi Germany with which we are at war. I believe the same views are held by all other sections of opinion in the continent of India. This unity of purpose has been apparent in many directions, not least by the numerous offers of help both in men and money received from the rulers of Indian States, for which the Empire is profoundly grateful.

"The effort of India in the Great War was immense and almost decisive. I was myself in Palestine in 1918 and I had the opportunity of seeing at first hand the achievements of the great Indian army there, whose march forward into Syria heralded the collapse of the Germanic Powers.

"It is beyond question that India's efforts in this war will be as great. Is it too much to hope that all sections of Indian opinion may even now be able to give unstinted collaboration towards the

prosecution of the war in the knowledge that Britain's pledges stand, and in a cause which is as much theirs as ours?"

LORD SAMUEL

Hitlerism Antithesis Of Hinduism

India's detestation of Hitlerism was stressed by Lord Samuel in the debate on India in the House of Lords on November 2, 1939 :

"Hitlerism is the very antithesis of Hinduism, with its creed of non-violence. The only resemblance is that Hitler is a vegetarian.

"But politically Hitler is highly carnivorous, and Indian opinion recognises that and it is unanimous in its detestation of the underlying ideas of the Nazi creed. On the merits of the great issue before the world, India is as wholeheartedly with this country as Australia and New Zealand and as Canada has been so strikingly shown to be by the elections in Quebec."

LORD WILLINGDON SPEAKS TO INDIA

"Peace In The World"

In a message to India last October Lord Willingdon said :

"We are fighting for all that makes life worth living to those of us that care for freedom and democratic rule. We are fighting to destroy the ruthless brutality of Hitlerism. Above all, we are fighting for peace in the world, for civilization, for honour and justice among nations. But of victory I have no doubt, for never have I been so confident that right was on our side, and that the right will assuredly prevail."

LORD ZETLAND

India Opposed To Nazi Principles

In the House of Lords on September 26, Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, stressed India's opposition to Nazi principles :

"The resort to force following upon a succession of breaches of faith by the German Government, unparalleled surely in the history of mankind, which compelled us to take up arms, has been unequivocally condemned by all political parties in India, whose leaders have expressed their unqualified sympathy with the victims of aggression. It is indeed abundantly clear that the triumph of the principles for which the Nazi Government stands would be regarded as a calamity of the utmost magnitude by all sections of the Indian people."

MAHATMA GANDHI

Humanitarian Viewpoint

"I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint," declared Mahatma Gandhi in a statement on his interview with the Viceroy on September 5, 1939. Mahatma Gandhi said :

"At Delhi as I was entraining for Kalka, a big crowd sang in perfect good humour to the worn-out refrain of 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai,' 'we do not want any understanding.' I had then my weekly silence. Therefore I merely smiled, and those who were standing on the footboard returned the smile with their smile, whilst they were admonishing me not to have any understanding with the

Viceroy. I had also a letter from a Congress committee giving me a similar warning. Neither of these counsellors knew me.

"I did not need the warning to know my limitations. Apart from the Delhi demonstrations and a Congress committee's warning, it is my duty to tell the public what happened at the interview with His Excellency the Viceroy.

"I knew that I had no authority to speak for any person except myself. I had no instructions whatsoever from the Working Committee in the matter. I had answered a telegraphic invitation and taken the first train I could catch. And what is more, with my irrepressible and out and out non-violence, I knew that I could not represent the national mind, and I should cut a sorry figure if I tried to do so. I told His Excellency as much. Therefore, there could be no question of any understanding or negotiation with me. Nor, I saw, had he sent for me to negotiate.

"I have returned from Viceregal Lodge empty-handed and without any understanding, open or secret. If there is to be any, it would be between the Congress and the Government.

"Having therefore made my position vis-a-vis the Congress quite clear, I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint. I told him that I could not contemplate without being stirred to the very depth the destruction of London which had hitherto been regarded as impregnable. And as I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down.

"I have become disconsolate. In the secret of my heart I am in perpetual quarrel with God, that He should allow such things to go on. My non-violence seems almost impotent. But the answer comes at the end of the daily quarrel that neither God nor non-violence is impotent. Impotence is in men. I must try on without losing faith, even though I may break in the attempt.

"And so, as though in anticipation of the agony that was awaiting me, I sent on July 23, from Abbottabad the following letter to Herr Hitler :

'Friends have been urging me to write to you for the sake of humanity. But I have resisted their request because of the feeling that any letter from me would be an impertinence. Something tells me that I must not calculate, and that I must make appeal for whatever it may be worth.

'It is quite clear that you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state. Must you pay that price for an object however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success?

'Anyway I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you.'

"How I wish that even now he would listen to reason and the appeal from almost the whole of thinking mankind, not excluding the German people themselves. I must refuse to believe that

Germans contemplate with equanimity the evacuation of big cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by man's inhuman ingenuity. They cannot contemplate with equanimity such destruction of themselves and their own monuments.

"I am not therefore just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?

"Yet it almost seems as if Herr Hitler knows no God but brute force, and as Mr. Chamberlain says he will listen to nothing else. It is in the midst of this catastrophe without parallel that Congressmen and all other responsible Indians individually and collectively, have to decide what part India is to play in this terrible drama."

MR. JINNAH ON MUSLIM ATTITUDE TO WAR

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press on September 7, 1939, said :—

"As already announced, I had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy on September 4, when His Excellency explained to me the situation as much as he was able to do. Naturally, I cannot disclose the contents of this conversation between him and myself. In the midst of these dark clouds let us hope for the silver lining. His Excellency is going to address both the Houses of the Central Legislature on the 11th and the public will then be in a better position to understand the situation.

"One cannot help deploring and condemning the resort to arms and brute force. It does not redound to the credit of the statesmanship and civilisation of Europe that an honourable solution could not be found. It is quite obvious that we are facing now a grave situation which is bound to result in horrible destruction of life and property and will mean the greatest disaster all the world over. This is not the time for me to disapprove or approve of the policy of His Majesty's Government. The crisis has come and we have to face and bear it as best as we can.

"Naturally my sympathies are with the peoples of Poland, France and Britain, as we are at present a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If, however, Britain wants to prosecute this war successfully it must take Muslim India into its confidence through their accredited organisation—the All-India Muslim League—and so shape its policy as to apply the principles enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his recent broadcasts soon after the declaration of war on Sunday last. Mussalmans want justice and fair play.

"I will place the views of His Excellency the Viceroy before the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which is going to meet in Delhi on September 7 and in the meantime I appeal to the Mussalmans to stand solidly and unitedly under the flag of the All-India Muslim League. Let us pray that in this grave hour we shall be guided by Providence to arrive at the right decision in the best interest of the Muslim India."

MR. K. M. MUNSHI**No Racial Exploitation**

Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Minister of the Congress Government of Bombay said on September 11 :—"Hitler's war is a war against small and helpless nationalities. It is a war of racial arrogance against humanity. It is a war of ruthless destruction carried on against civilised notions of international relations. It is violence carried to perfection seeking to destroy peace. Above all it is a war against the dignity of human personality. It is a war against non-violence which we hold so sacred. It is an irreligious attempt to uproot the sanctity of the moral law.

"What attitude we will adopt with regard to this war is a matter for Mr. Gandhi to decide, but one thing I feel certain. This war will lead to the liberation of mankind as never before a war did. Somehow I feel that in this war India is going to play a great part. During the last war the British Empire died and the British Commonwealth of white nations was born.

"I somehow feel that out of this war a commonwealth of free nations will emerge irrespective of race or colour, guided and controlled by a Government which knows no exploitation of man by man or of race by race. For this end let us humbly pray."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION**A New International Order**

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland recently issued a statement setting forth the principles on which, in its view, a new international order must be based.

These are the Union's points :

(1) Our immediate object in going to war was to stop aggression, and the restoration of the real political independence of the Polish and Czechoslovak peoples; and any modification of boundaries should be discussed only after this object has been accomplished.

(2) Next, we desire a lasting peace based on justice and international good faith.

(3) The principle of equality of rights for all states must be accepted.

(4) The national sovereignty of each state must be so limited as to secure the safety and well-being of the community of nations. We cannot acquiesce in a recrudescence of world anarchy with its periodic wars, disastrous both to belligerents and neutrals.

(5) Some form of international organisation is therefore essential that involves a limitation of national sovereignty.

(6) The minimum limitation of national sovereignty to be of any use as a safeguard for peace must embody the following propositions :

(a) The supremacy of law founded on justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations. A peaceful world order cannot be established if force is held to be the only thing which counts in international affairs and if any nation powerful enough to do so may set at defiance every principle of justice and even its own international engagements.

(b) All international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation must be submitted to some kind of third-party judgment, which may be either by way of judicial decision, arbitration or authoritative mediation.

(c) National armaments must be the subject of reduction and limitation by international agreement.

(d) The use of force must be restricted to action approved by the international authority...

(e) Each of the States which are members of the international community must be ready to accept its full share of responsibility for preventing and stopping aggression.

(7) The reduction and limitation of national armaments also require that an international authority shall have power

(a) to supervise such reduction and limitation, and

(b) to protect the state which has limited its armaments against a state which has not done so.

League Machinery As Basis

(8) For this and other reasons, an international authority is essential for any scheme of world order In practice, the international machinery of the League has not been inadequate where its members have used it. In our judgment, it should be taken as the basis of the new order, amended and strengthened where necessary.

(9) Means must be provided for dealing pacifically with any international grievance, whether it is of a justifiable character or not.

(10) The principle that colonies inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves should be administered as a trust for the well-being and development of such peoples and should be open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations, should be applied to all such colonies, whether their sovereignty was or was not affected by the world war of 1914.

(11) Economic prosperity and social justice are not less important to world peace than political security..... The international service in this direction rendered by the League and the International Labour Organisation should be extended.

(12) The protection accorded by the minority treaties to religious, racial and linguistic minorities in certain countries should be extended to all countries and made more effective.

POPE'S FIVE PEACE POINTS**Independence Of All Nations**

Pope Pius XII, in his Christmas message to the College of Cardinals on December 24, deplored the atrocities and unlawful use of the means of destruction against non-combatants and evacuees, women, old people and children—acts which revealed how much "juridical sense has been distorted by totalitarian consideration".

His Holiness continued :

"Those responsible for the destiny of peoples should be able to define at an opportune moment the fundamental points of a just and honourable peace, and not refuse to negotiate if the occasion arises."

The Pope gave five points as foundations for a just international peace :

First, an assurance of the independence of all nations ;

Secondly, end of the armaments race ;

Thirdly, juridical institutions must guarantee that loyal and lawful application of an agreement is of supreme importance to the honourable acceptance of a peace treaty, and that arbitrary and unilateral interpretations of the conditions of a treaty must be avoided ;

Fourthly, the needs and just demands of the nations and peoples, and also ethnic minorities, must particularly be considered, if necessary by means of just, wise and acceptable revisions of treaties ;

Fifthly, those who govern peoples must be imbued with a sense of responsibility.

At the close of his address the Pope thanked President Roosevelt for his noble and generous effort to restore peace, and said that other high personalities also, whose names he did not wish to mention, had approached him with efforts to restore peace.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**"Keep Ablaze The Flames Of Democracy"**

President Roosevelt in an address to Congress on January 3, 1940, declared that there was a vast difference between keeping from the war and pretending that the war was none of their business. He then pointed out what contribution the U. S. A. could make to the cause of world peace :—

"We do not have to go to war, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage a kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world and thereby help our own nation as well. We must look ahead and see the possibilities for our children if the rest of the world comes to be dominated by concentrated force alone and also the effect on our own future

"If all small nations have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to powerful military systems, or if a large part of the world is compelled to worship a god imposed by a military ruler or forbidden the worship of God at all and deprived of the truth which makes men free. We must consider the effect on our future if world trade is controlled by a nation or group which establishes that control through military force.

"I hope that we shall have few American ostriches within our midst. The peoples of other nations have a right to choose their own form of government, but such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms which we think essential everywhere. The United States must use her influence to open up the world trade channels so that no nation may feel compelled to seek forcibly what can be gained by a peaceful conference.

"I emphasise the leadership which this nation can take when the time comes for a renewal of world peace. In the meantime, America must be prepared to take care of herself if the world cannot attain peace.

"We must as a united people keep ablaze the flames of human liberty, reason, democracy and fair play; and may the year 1940 be pointed to by posterity as another period when democracy has justified its existence as the best instrument of government yet devised by mankind."

SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR ON LIBERAL POLICY

Sir Archibald Sinclair, M. P., spoke on February 26, 1940, on conditions which leaders of the Liberal Opposition consider essential for an armistice and peace.

Sir Archibald Sinclair said that a few—a very few—voices were raised in this country asking the Government to negotiate peace now. They might as well ask the lamb to negotiate with the wolf, or the lark with the merlin.

Any armistice terms must involve the utter destruction of the Nazi Government because it was an organized conspiracy against the rights and liberties of man. Armistice terms must ensure that Germany was deprived of the military means to threaten the peace and security of her neighbours. They must provide, too, for the restitution to the Poles and the Czechs and for the evacuation of Austria by the German forces so that the Austrians could unhurriedly, under international guarantees, decide their own destiny.

We in this country could not alone decide what was to be in a peace treaty. Our Allies and the British Dominions would be entitled to a voice fully equal to our own. In addition, he hoped that the German people would not, as at Versailles, be excluded from the conference table. Neutrals should be consulted—indeed, he hoped that all who were willing fully to share in the responsibility for maintaining order and checking violence in the world would be admitted to a share in building up the structure of peace.

We should aim at the widest obtainable measure of active consent from the nations of the world as the foundation-stone of the new international order; the equality of status of Germany should be recognized from the very moment that the treaty was signed and we must substitute for the anarchy of power politics the rule of law and the greatest attainable measure of the pooling of national sovereignty.

Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier had made it clear that Franco-British association was not exclusive. It was open to all nations. At the end of the war the civilized nations of the world ought most solemnly to assert the rights of the individual man and woman.

After the last War the nations allowed barriers to grow up between them—barriers of trade and intercourse, barriers of competitive armaments, barriers of the mind and spirit. After this war we must break those barriers down.

GERMANY'S WAR AIMS**"WORLD DOMINATION"**

—Dr. Goebbels On January 19, 1940

The Prime Minister spoke on the war aims of the Allies and the growth of the Empire's war preparedness at a meeting in the Birmingham Town Hall on February 26, 1940.

Mr. Chamberlain said :—

This afternoon my mind goes back to the last time when I spoke in this hall. It was nearly a year ago, and it was just after Herr Hitler, in despite of his own solemn pledges, had proclaimed the annexation to the Reich of Bohemia and Moravia. That was a black moment for me, who had striven so hard to preserve peace, and who had hoped against hope that, if the German Chancellor had broken the promises that had been given by his predecessors, he would at any rate keep his own. But by that one act in March last year Herr Hitler shattered any faith that was left in his pledged word, and he disclosed his ambition to dominate the world. Even then I could hardly believe that he would be so mad as to plunge his country and the world into the course he was pursuing.

Challenge Accepted

These are the words I used on that occasion :—

"With the lessons of history for all to read, it seems incredible that we should see such a challenge."

But I went on to give a warning so explicit that there could be no misunderstanding. "I feel bound to repeat," I said, "that . . . no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that because it believes war to be a senseless and cruel thing this nation has so lost its vigour that it will not take part to the utmost of its power in resisting such a challenge if it ever were made."

Well, the challenge was made. Czecho-Slovakia was followed by Poland in spite of warnings up to the last, and with that wicked and cruel attack on Poland the die was cast, the challenge was accepted, and the acceptance of the challenge was approved by the whole British Empire. (Cheers.)

Alas, a bad example soon spreads, and these conquests seemed so easy that an apprentice thought he could safely make a similar attack on Finland.

But the Russian apprentice, though he has little to learn from his German master in brutality, has not yet mastered his craft or acquired his force, and the whole world is rejoicing over the heroic stand of little Finland against her gigantic adversary.

Recent events have shown that the Nazis are not content with the conquest of a small State by the force of their arms and equipment. Terrible stories are reaching us of the treatment of the Poles and the Czechs, and it is evident that the Nazis' aim is not merely conquest, but the extermination of the peoples who resist their aggression, and in their efforts to destroy the soul of a nation it is those who are distinguished for their culture and high character who are picked out to be the first victims. Can you wonder that those small nations who are near enough to Germany to be within reach of her claws and who have not the numbers or the weapons to resist her are living in a perpetual nightmare of fear? And can you not be surprised that there should be any in this land who doubt what would be our fate if we were not able to hold our liberties and our lives by our strong right arm? (Cheers.)

Issue Ever Clearer

As the days pass, as, one by one, Germany abandons every international rule to which she has subscribed, as, one by one, she abandons every pretence to respect the commonest considerations of humanity in her treatment of the helpless citizens of States with which she is not even at war, the issue of this conflict becomes ever clearer to the world. That whole system which has been gradually built up by the efforts of civilized States and which, with all its faults, represents a genuine and earnest endeavour to free ourselves from the barbarities of the Middle Ages and to establish an order more in keeping with the fundamental principles of Christianity—that whole system is at stake, and only by the victory of the Allies can it be preserved.

That is a truth which by now must be apparent to the countries which live in constant fear lest even by maintaining their neutrality they should give some pretext to the European bully to mete out to them the same treatment that has befallen the earlier victims. So little do the Nazis reck

of neutral interests that neutral ships are no longer free from their attacks even when they are sailing only from one neutral point to another. Merchant vessels may be sunk, cargoes may be destroyed, the crews may be turned adrift to drown or perish of exposure, and the neutral country must not complain. But if we, the British, in order to save from the concentration camp 300 men illegally made prisoners, commit a mere technical breach of neutrality which takes no neutral life and touches no neutral property—why then the Nazis exhaust themselves in exclamations of hysterical indignation.

BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Two Governments Acting As One

But, whatever outrages our enemy may commit, one thing is certain. We have no reason to fear the result of this conflict however long it may last. (Cheers.) We do not stand alone. During these six months of war our alliance with France has deepened into a friendship and an understanding so close that, as M. Daladier remarked at a recent meeting of the Supreme War Council, the two Governments to-day think and act as one.

As with the Governments, so with the peoples. On a recent visit to France I had the opportunity of seeing something of that great and growing Army of ours which is side by side with the magnificent soldiers of France, keeping watch and ward over the Western Front. I was proud to see that hard-bitten force, fortified and strengthened by months of hard work and intensive training, cheerfully enduring a particularly severe and tedious winter, but ready to meet the foe at any moment when he might venture to advance. But I was no less proud of the friendly and cordial relations which I found everywhere existing between British and French troops, working together in the Maginot Line, and between individual British soldiers and the inhabitants of the villages in which they were billeted. Every Frenchman with whom I talked laid stress on this friendship with pride and pleasure. There could be no more hopeful assurance for our common victory, and no more fruitful basis of a lasting peace because this intimate understanding which has grown up between us must not be allowed to come to an end when the war is over. It must remain to help us to work out the problems of the new Europe which must come after the war in an association in which we shall gladly welcome others who share our ideals. Already France and we have established close relations with Turkey, and only recently we broadened that pact of mutual assistance between us which was signed in October by the conclusion of commercial and economic agreements.

Growing Empire Effort

There is another source of growing strength to the Allied cause on which we can look with particular satisfaction and pride. Before the war it was a common belief in Germany that if ever this country was again engaged in hostilities with her we should not be able to count on that support from the Dominions which we got in 1914. Well, Germany has again been gloriously disappointed; for from all parts of the Empire is coming not merely enthusiastic approval of our cause, but a steady stream of men, munitions, and material which is daily adding to our strength. . . . (Cheers.)

I said just now that, besides men, we were receiving munitions and materials from the Empire. I should like to give you an idea of the scale on which we are working. For instance, in the first 12 months of the war we shall be spending over £100,000,000 sterling in Canada alone.

From Australia and New Zealand we have contracted to take the whole of their exportable surplus of wool clippings for the duration of the war and a year afterwards.

From South Africa, too, we have made supplementary purchases of wool, so that altogether we have now arranged for the purchase of half the normal wool exports of the whole world.

NAVY'S COMMAND OF THE SEA

Doggedness And Daring

From Canada and Australia we have already bought nearly 4,000,000 tons of wheat, and I might add that we have purchased 437,000 standards of softwood from Canada and 350,000 fathoms of pitwood from Canada and Newfoundland. I could go on giving you further examples to an endless extent, but I have perhaps said enough to show you the formidable resources which are open to us but which are denied to our enemy. And that brings me to this reflection, that these tremendous advantages are ours by reason of one thing, and that is the command of the sea by the Royal Navy. (Cheers.)

That command of the sea has now been established and maintained over nearly half a year. It has driven the German merchant fleet of the oceans and forced them to take refuge in neutral ports. Of those which have broken out, some have been captured, more have ignominiously scuttled themselves, and only a few have succeeded in reaching home by sneaking through the territorial waters of Norway. By our continuous system of contraband control the seaborne trade of Germany in neutral ships has been strangled. But on the other hand, in spite of every form of attack from submarine, from aircraft, and from mine, British ships have continued to pass in and out of this country carrying their precious cargoes. You may be surprised to hear that since the beginning of the war no less than 50,000,000 tons of shipping has been cleared from our ports, and the convoy system which we started in the first month of the war has proved so successful that out of 9,000 British and neutral ships which have sailed in convoy only two-tenths of one per cent. have been lost. That result is due not only to the ceaseless vigilance of our warships, but to the constant toil and labour of our mine-sweeping flotillas, who keep the channels free for the ships of all nations which approach our shores. Let us pay our tribute to the dauntless courage and tenacity of the Reservists and volunteers from the fishing fleet who man these minesweepers, who have carried out their task in winter storms and in face of ruthless and unscrupulous foe.

Many are the duties of the Royal Navy, and they have to be carried on at one and the same time over the widest spaces of the earth. But whatever they are doing, whether they are patrolling the high seas, or protecting the convoys, or taking part in such a heart-stirring battle as that of the River Plate, whose heroes were honoured in London yesterday, or in that brilliant cutting-out and rescue expedition that rang round a delighted world last week—wherever they are, the British tars show such skill and seamanship, such doggedness and daring, that they can bear comparison with the greatest sailors of the past. (Cheers.)

Partnership With R. A. F.

One of the most remarkable developments in the war has been the partnership between the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force. The Air Force has its own work to do, and members of the Air Force have penetrated right into the heart of Germany and have demonstrated over and over again that they can go where they please, regardless of enemy fighters or anti-aircraft gunfire.

But when they are operating over the sea they plan and work with the Royal Navy.

In all weathers they patrol the North Sea and discover the haunts of the enemy. They repel the German bombers who dive out of the clouds to bomb and machine-gun defenceless fishermen and lightships, whose crews are only doing their humane work for the benefit of all nations alike. They search out and guide the Navy to the lurking submarine, and join its efforts in sending those murderous craft to the bottom. The strength of the

Air Force in machines and men is steadily increasing, and by our plans for the training of expert pilots and crews at home and in Canada we are going presently to provide ourselves with tens of thousands of airmen who will in turn rival the splendid deeds of daring already standing to the credit of the R. A. F. (Cheers.)

We may well be proud of our fighting men in all our Services, but while we sing their praises, while we pay our tribute of admiration to their exploits, let us not forget the price that has to be paid in the loss of many brave lives given for their country, nor the heartache that has come to many wives and mothers whose happiness has been wrecked by the blind strokes of war.

I sometimes think we do not think sufficiently of our women, or recognize the spirit in which they are dedicating themselves to the winning of the war. Their sacrifices take many forms, but, whether they are hiding their anxiety about their menfolk, or giving up their leisure and their recreation for voluntary work, or looking after strange children, or securing economy and preventing waste, or just keeping the home going without losing their patience under all the tiresome restrictions of war and the black-out, they are all helping to keep the country in good heart and courage and all making their contributions to victory. In recent weeks many families have had to suffer from a shortage of fuel. Certainly we have been singularly unlucky, for just at the moment when everybody wanted more coal the severity of the weather conditions was such that the working of our railways was completely dislocated. I have felt a great deal of sympathy with those who have had this unexpected trial added to them. But I have been going into the matter myself with the Secretary for Mines and all the other Ministers concerned, and I think I can tell you with confidence that the worst is over, and that the situation will soon be materially improved.

CRUSADE OF UNITED NATION

Contrast In War Aims

When I consider this picture that I have been drawing for you of all that our people are doing I feel that the nation is united to-day as it has never been before in its whole history in its determination to grapple with the forces of evil and to overcome them.

What is it that has inspired this unity? I do not think that there can be doubt in the mind of any reasonable man or woman as to the purpose of our crusade, for it is a crusade.

If I pause one moment to consider what are the aims of our enemy, you can then see more clearly the contrast between their views and ours.

The Nazi aims have been made manifest to the world. In his preface to the German White Paper Herr von Ribbentrop stated the German aims. Germany, he said, will not lay down her arms until she has reached her goal—namely, the military destruction of her opponents. Dr. Goebbels, on January 19, stated that in Germany there was only one opinion about the English—destroy them. There never was a time, he continued, when Germany had such splendid prospects of achieving a dominating position in the world. There, then, in two phrases, you have the Nazi aims—destruction of this nation and domination of the world.

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

On the other hand, we are fighting against German domination of the world. That is the challenge that we have taken up. But we do not desire the destruction of any people. We are fighting to secure that the small nations of Europe shall henceforth live in security, freed from the constant threat of aggression against their independence and the extermination of their people, but we do not want domination for ourselves, nor do we covet the territory of anybody else. We are fighting to right the wrongs that

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WHAT ARE HITLER'S WAR AIMS ?

**“ Not Justice For Germany
But Conquest And Domination ”
WHAT NAZI VICTORY WOULD MEAN**

**By—
The Marquess Of Lothian
British Ambassador
To U. S. A.**

**Dictation Of Policies Of World Politics
ADDRESS TO CHICAGO FOREIGN RELATIONS COUNCIL**

“ The basic issue in this war is democracy against totalitarianism ”, declared the Marquess of Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States of America, in an address to the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations on January 4.

What Hitler really seeks is not justice for Germany but conquest and domination. Especially since the Soviet invasion of Finland has it become clear, Lord Lothian maintained, that the world is confronted with a tremendous struggle between freedom and tyranny.

Communism stands for economic tyranny.

Nazism stands for political tyranny.

Both are now shown in their true colours as war-making aggressors.

Both Communism and Nazism create “ a race of moral morons used as instruments of conquest, domination and war,” said Lord Lothian.

Referring to the Victorian era as a period of “ the greatest expansion of freedom and prosperity of which the world has record,” Lord Lothian attributed it to four foundations, the international gold standard, free trade and low tariffs, free immigration in the United States, and the fact that “ there was a rudimentary police power in the world—the control of the sea by Great Britain and the United States ”.

He said these foundations would have to be restored “ in some form, ” but not in the old forms, and “ Britain neither can nor ought to play by herself the dominant role she played in the last century ”.

If Germany wins she will be “ on top of the world, ” he added, most of the other nations will “ hasten to get on her band wagon, ” and she will be able to “ dictate the policies upon which world politics shall be conducted ”.

No serious student of current politics can afford to overlook Lord Lothian's address.

I conceive that it is part of the duty of a British Ambassador to explain to the American public, so far as he judiciously can, what his own countrymen think about matters of common interest just as your excellent Ambassador in London, Mr. Kennedy, is continually explaining to the British people what you think. That, I believe, is essential to healthy relations between any two democratically controlled peoples.

The genius of Democracy depends upon freedom of speech. That means that every true democracy wants to hear all sides of every great question, whether it is domestic or whether it is international. It must do so if it is to arrive at sound judgments. I don't believe that you want me merely to utter a few meaningless diplomatic commonplaces tonight. I believe that you would prefer to hear an honest account of what we in Britain think, hope and fear about the most serious problem in the world today—the European war. So I am going to take my courage in my hands and talk to you about the war.

To do this is not, I think, propaganda. The free peoples, I believe, are entitled to speak to one another: provided they tell the truth, as I shall endeavour to do. I do not see how we can arrive at any sane program for peace unless we do talk frankly to one another.

Propaganda, as I see it, is quite a different thing. Propaganda is the deliberate attempt to influence your own countrymen, or other nations, to a particular course of action, by lies or half truths or tendentious innuendoes. The truth is never propaganda; it is the very staff of public life. The mark of a good citizen in a democracy is his or her capacity to distinguish between truth and error. The subjects of a dictatorship are never given any training in this vital function. The government, and the party which controls it, does their thinking for them.

That is why democracies turn out citizens of independence and character, and why they are so difficult to propagandize for long. And that is why the subjects of the dictatorship who are taught only to obey authority, fall such ready victims to propaganda.

Hitler Rejected Negotiations

I do not propose to spend much time in discussing the origins of this war. We must now leave that task to the historians. I would hope that when the time comes for making peace, those who have to make the peace will have studied the history of the last twenty years and so avoid some of the mistakes which were made last time.

But first, in our opinion, we have to win the war.

We in Britain have no doubt, whatever we may think about the far past, that the immediate responsibility for letting war loose this Autumn rests on the shoulders of Herr Hitler. There was no reason whatever for forcing war on unfortunate Poland last August. The security and prosperity of Germany were not threatened in any way by Polish policy or by the Polish frontiers. Poland, France and Great Britain had repeatedly said that they were prepared for discussion, either between Poland and Germany alone or at a round-table conference.

Yet, as Count Ciano made clear in his recent speech in Rome, Hitler would neither wait nor negotiate. He insisted on settling the Polish question in his own way at once, loosing on the Polish people unlimited total war, and then partitioning Poland with Russia.

It is sometimes said that Great Britain and France, should have gone more vigorously to the rescue of Poland last September. But everybody knew, the Polish Government itself knew, once the German-Russian pact was signed, that it would be futile to try to save Poland by diverting plane or troops to Poland to the East from the West, or to waste our still undeveloped resources by flinging them against the Siegfried Line. That would simply have been to play the German game. From the date of the pact every thinking person knew that the freedom and future of Poland really depended on the ultimate victory of the Allies in the war against Hitlerism.

Predicts Poland's Restoration

Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Rumania were all overrun in the last war, as Poland has been overrun in this war, because the Allies could not effectively help them. But they were all released, with their independence restored in 1918. And so it will be with Poland.

But there is a second reason for not discussing responsibility for the origins of the war at length tonight and that is because once war has been launched the issues rapidly change as its area extends. The World War of 1914 began with the invasion of Serbia by Austria-Hungary. The issue then was whether the sovereign independence of Serbia could be saved. Yet within a few days almost the whole of Europe was dragged into war by that terrible military timetable, which always appears when nations are living in anarchy and have to form alliances for national safety.

The issue then became whether the independence not only of Serbia but of Belgium, and later of Greece and Rumania, could be restored. And by the time the United States entered the war the issue was whether the world was going to give allegiance to the liberal ideals for which the Western nations stood or be dominated by the ideals and militarist methods which lay behind Ludendorff and the Kaiser.

So today we think that the central issue is no longer whether the peoples of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia are to be freed from the Gestapo, though that is certainly one of our war aims. It is the larger one of which of two conflicting ways of life, which

may be loosely described as the democratic and the totalitarian, are going to be dominant in Europe and possibly the world.

HITLER'S ONLY AIM—CONQUEST

When Hitler started his career his claim was that Germany should be freed from such discriminations as the demilitarization of the Rhineland and that the frontiers of the Reich should correspond with the boundaries of the German people. These aims he won and without war. What he is fighting for today is quite different.

Whatever the defects of the Versailles Treaty, its great merit was that it gave every nation in Europe the right to self-government, it gave to racial minorities in Europe statutory safeguards and it gave the protection of the mandatory system to backward peoples elsewhere. The frontiers may not have been perfect, though they were certainly the justest frontiers Europe had ever known.

But it is now clear that Hitler has never been concerned with the justice of frontiers. His remedy for imperfections in frontiers has been to destroy the independence of nations altogether. Thus by brutal violence he has annihilated Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland and condemned their inhabitants to serfdom, without even the protection against oppression secured by the native inhabitants of the ex-German colonies by the mandatory system.

It now seems quite clear to us that what Hitler really seeks is not justice for Germany, but conquest and domination. There is no other explanation for the fact that Hitler had subordinated every other consideration to the creation of the most tremendous totalitarian military and aerial organization the world has ever seen, that he has used it with utter ruthlessness to gain his ends both in diplomacy and in war, and that promises and treaties have been to him merely the means of lulling his neighbours into a false sense of security before he attacks them.

Purpose of "Mein Kampf"

His true purpose was quite frankly stated by Hitler himself in "Mein Kampf"—"The idea of pacifism," he wrote, "may be quite good after the supreme race has conquered and subdued the world in such a measure as to make it its exclusive master...Therefore, first fight and then perhaps pacifism." And only a few days ago, to prove that this is still the National Socialist plan, Dr. Ley, one of the leaders of the party, attempted to justify the conquest of Poland on the ground that it was a necessary step toward the establishment of the dominion of the supreme German ruling race.

FREEDOM V. TYRANNY

That is why we in Britain and France and in the young democracies across the seas have gradually been driven to the conclusion, especially since the Russian invasion of Finland, that we

are confronted with one more of those tremendous struggles between freedom and tyranny which have been the central theme of history ever since the Greeks turned back the power of Persia at Thermopylae and Salamis.

The democracies of today are the heirs, the fortunate heirs, of the struggles of their ancestors to establish freedom firmly upon earth. For them freedom has meant two things. First it has meant freedom for religion, freedom from arrest, except for violation of law, freedom of opinion and the public expression of opinion on the platform and in the press. Second, it has meant the responsibility of the individual citizen for law and government expressed in such phrases as "government must rest on the consent of the governed" and in the constitutional systems of modern democracy.

Liberty Of The Individual

This process of freedom began far back in history with the Israelites and the Greeks. It was carried on by the Republic of Rome. It was developed still further in England, and also in some of the small European States, in the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights and the parliamentary system. It received a vast new impetus from the French and the American Revolutions and especially from the system of government established by the American Constitution.

The broad purpose of the whole movement was to allow the individual to lead his life in his own way, subject to the restraint of law which he helped to frame, to curb the ambitions and privileges of race or class or caste, to dethrone militarism and conquest, and to make the State and those who directed it the servants and not the masters of the people. Nowhere has that ideal been more fully realized than in the United States.

By the beginning of this century, it had become clear that to complete the development of freedom, two new problems would be tackled. One was to overcome the excessive inequality in wealth and the unemployment to which the later development of the capitalist system had led—that is to establish economic freedom. The other was to give security to national as well as individual freedom and to overcome war, which today as always has been the greatest destroyer of both.

We, in the British Commonwealth, think that by the end of the last war, the Democracies had begun to formulate successfully the basic solution for both these problems. The solution for the economic problem was what is perhaps best called social reform. Social reform includes graduated taxation, insurance against unemployment and sickness, old age pensions, good relations between employers and trades unions, and other methods of social security which still maintain intact the right to private property and to individual economic initiative.

SOLUTION OF WAR PROBLEM

The solution of the war problem was to be found toward the following truisms. Mankind is a community, not an anarchy of many races and nations. War is fratricide. Nations as well as individuals have the right to life, liberty and happiness. Backward peoples have the right to security against exploitation and to be guided toward self-government. The status of all nations, great and small, should be equal

before the law. The strong and powerful nations have no greater rights than the small and the weak. The remedy for war is a form of international organization which will prevent resort to violence, provide pacific methods for the just settlement of international disputes, and establish a true reign of law among the nations.

Of course the realization of this dual program will be a tremendous task—one of the greatest ever presented to mankind. It is quite clear that the task was badly bungled after the last war.

I think there is in this country a widespread misunderstanding of what was done at Versailles. It was not a good treaty, but it was nothing like as bad as, under Dr. Goebbels's inspiration, is generally supposed. What happened after Versailles did far more harm than the treaty itself.

I often wish that three American, three French and three British historians would publish a joint statement of the true facts during the post-war era. I think it would astonish a lot of people. But there is not the slightest doubt that having won the greatest victory for freedom and democracy in 1918, of which history has record, the Allied Powers threw away their chance, both by faults of omission and commission.

For that tragedy no nation and no statesman can establish a full alibi. None the less, we in Britain and the democracies across the seas are convinced that the basic ideas for the future set forth during the war were sound and that there is in fact no other way forward if our freedom and our happiness are to be preserved and enlarged. Our task is not to abandon hope, but in the spirit of Kipling's "If," stoop to begin our task anew.

Unfortunately, the dislocation caused by the war itself and the many mistakes made after the war led not to the extension of liberty and democracy on a stable basis, but to the revival of the old enemy tyranny in a more formidable form than has ever yet been known.

COMMUNISM

The economic form of tyranny has been communism, which preached that if only all property were communalized economic freedom and equality would result. Unfortunately, experience has shown that the Communist system only means that the citizens become the regimented and often starving slaves of the party bureaucracy which controls the State. By a final irony for the Marxists, the capitalist democracies have not initiated war since 1920, while Communist Russia has now joined the ranks of the war making aggressors.

The political form of tyranny has been National Socialism, whose program is to give peace to mankind by creating the universal despotism of a supreme ruling race. The essential characteristics of both totalitarian systems are the same. The State becomes the master and not the servant of the people and exacts from its subjects blind obedience to the dogmas and the party which control it. They are hostile to free religion, to independence of character, intellectual integrity and moral courage in the individual.

They establish the dominance not of law but of the irresponsible secret police and substitute cruelty and propaganda for free discussion as the basis of public policies. Both systems end in the same way; they create a race of moral morons who are used as the instrument of conquest, domination and war.

The overwhelming majority of people in Britain and the British Commonwealth are now convinced that our primary task is to resist and defeat the totalitarian aggression against the values of our democratic world. In the light of recent experience, we do not think that we can impose democracy on nations who do not want it and who are not ready for it. But we do think it is necessary to prevent the dictatorships from extending their empire over the mind and spirit of man by force. That is why we are fighting to restore liberty to Poland and Czechoslovakia and why we are giving all the help we can spare to Finland.

And my people are equally convinced that once that primary task is achieved, the truest safeguard of freedom and the free way of life in the future will be to so organize our own countries that the general standard of living will be so stable, the volume of unemployment so small, the freedom of the individual so secure, and the guarantees against war so strong, that the totalitarian systems, if they survive, will begin to disintegrate gradually by the impact not of our armies but of our example.

Sea Power

Let me tell you now something about the way the war itself is going.

The central struggle is between Germany, supported by Russia on the one side, and Great Britain and the dominions, allied with France, on the other. The real prize for which they are contending is not territory, but sea power. For that is the real key to victory.

If Germany can defeat England either by direct attack upon her naval and her sea communication, or on France through Belgium, or the Maginot Line and compel us to surrender our fleet, or a large part of it, and the naval bases, whereby fleets may travel all over the face of the globe, Germany will then be on top of the world. The opposition to her in Europe will disappear. Most of the other nations will hasten to get upon her band-wagon and she will be able to dictate the basis upon which world politics shall be conducted.

If the German thrust for sea power fails, it is only a question of time before the relentless pressure of the blockade upon her capacity to carry on the war effectively will end in the defeat of her purpose and the democracies will then have the chance of determining the kind of world in which we are to live.

So far the struggle has been indecisive, though occasionally an encounter like the sea battle off Montevideo suddenly reveals the grim intensity of the struggle which is going on day and night,

week after week, month after month, on and below and above the sea.

Our view is that everything to day points to the probability that Germany will attempt early this Spring to gain a decision against England and France by a terrific attack by land, air and sea in which she will use every weapon in her armoury. The reason we think this is not only the news we get but because by her own tradition it is the right thing for her to do.

The object of war is to reach a decision, and Germany cannot afford to wait. Moreover, from the point of view of the National Socialist party and the militarists who support it, not only is there a chance of a rapid decision today, but it is a decision which may give them the supreme prize, world empire. That chance may never come again.

Nazi Germany is in a better position to win it today than she was in the last war. Then she had to fight a war on two fronts. Today she can concentrate almost every force she has in the West.

A month ago, despite the Russo-German pact, she cast a suspicious eye toward her rear. Today the resistance of the heroic Finns has shown up the weakness of the Russian Army.

Again, in the last war she had no effective long distance air power. Today she has the most terrific air force in the world and is daily adding to it.

Bid For World Power

Even in the last war the German General Staff made three desperate bids for world power. The first was the thrust against France and through Belgium in 1914. The second was in 1917. Ludendorff had been warned by Bethman-Hollweg and by Bernstorff—the German Ambassador in Washington—that to introduce unlimited submarine warfare against all merchant vessels travelling to Great Britain and France would certainly bring in the United States against Germany.

Ludendorff replied that he did not care, because if the submarine campaign was quickly successful nothing that the United States could do would save England from defeat or Germany from taking her position. Not soon shall I forget the anxiety of the following months when 800,000 tons of shipping were being sunk a month.

If Germany had been able to continue sinking at this rate for a year the Allies would have lost the war. As it was, the submarine was mastered by the Autumn of 1917 by the convoy system, by the depth charge, and by the destroyer patrols, in which your young sailors, under Admiral Sims, played so notable and effective a part.

So far, in this war, Great Britain has only lost an average of slightly more than 102,000 tons per month, and neutrals have lost an average of about 75,000 tons per month. During the same period British tonnage has received an increment, by new construction and otherwise, of more than 100,000 tons.

Even in 1917, Ludendorff only just failed. Yet he tried again in 1918. The moderate element in the German High Command wanted

to stand on the defensive in the West, to reinforce it with the seasoned German troops which had just annihilated the Russian Army, and then set to work to organize economically Eastern Europe and Southern Russia, while leaving the Allies to hurl themselves fruitlessly against the reinforced Hindenburg Line.

They calculated that when the Allies were tired of losing life in this way, Germany would be able to secure a peace which would make her dominant in Europe east of the Rhine by making them pay a handsome price for the evacuation of Belgium and Northern France.

But Ludendorff, faithful to the Prussian military tradition would have none of it. It was, for him, world power or downfall. So he staked everything on victory through the gigantic offensive of March, 1918, hoping to drive the British into the sea and the French South of Paris before American aid on land could be effective.

He failed, though he again only just failed, and caught on the recoil by the masterly generalship of General Foch, using the seasoned veterans of France, Britain and the Dominions, and the indispensable aid of your own intrepid divisions. Germany went not to world power but to downfall.

Today we hear exactly the same story. Dr. Goebbels said only a fortnight ago that the issue before Germany was world empire or downfall.

That is why the Allies think that National Socialist Germany and not Communist Russia is the centre of the struggle. And that is why we believe that, unless something unexpected occurs, there will be a terrific attack on France and on the bases of British naval and aerial power as soon as the weather improves.

We have, all of us, perhaps, been a little misled by the relative calm of the war in the West so far. But while we have been overtaking our own shortage of munitions and building up our naval patrols, our air squadrons and our mechanized divisions, Germany has been expanding her armaments also with all the frenzied energy of a Nazi totalitarian drive.

Germany now has over 80,000,000 of her own citizens, 30,000,000 helots, and the factories of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, as well as her own factories, to put to work, and for the present only the Western Front to worry about.

So long as she thinks there is a chance of wresting sea power from Britain, either by direct attack or through France, she will not think of peace—except the kind of peace which will only make it easy for her to renew the attack under more favourable conditions in a short while.

We think she will try for victory first. And it is certain that if and when the attack comes it will be with all the ferocity and ruthlessness the Nazis have taught us to expect.

We are in no way dismayed by the prospect. We in the British Commonwealth are prepared for it as France is, morally and physically. The European neutrals are standing on the sidelines, most of them I believe gambling on the hope of an

Allied victory. We believe that we shall successfully repel the German attack, and if it is repelled as it was in 1918 it will not be long before Hitlerism itself goes down in defeat.

But we have no illusion as to the terrible nature of the clash if and when it comes, or of the prodigious consequences for mankind which hang upon the result.

PEACE AIMS

Now a word about peace. Of course all our ideas are based on the assumption that Hitler loses the war. If Hitler wins, all the many societies in Europe which are trying to think out how the present catastrophe can be prevented from recurring and the world healed when the fighting is over, can shut up shop at once. The pattern of the post war world will be determined by him and not by us, and we have as yet no clear indication of what that pattern will be like, except that it certainly will not correspond with our ideas of freedom.

Even assuming victory, it is not easy to talk about peace with this tremendous threat hanging over us, but the general British view is clear. The kind of world of which the democracies dreamed twenty years ago was not a false dream. We think it was a right dream and that in some form it must be realized because in substance it is the only way forward for those who believe in liberty and the freedom of the human spirit.

But it is now clear that in 1919 none of us understood what it was necessary to do if our hopes were to be fulfilled. The ideals which lay behind the League of Nations can only succeed if all its members are democracies. The covenant of the League was too rigid. It had no effective machinery for making changes peacefully. The principle of universal national self-determination was incompatible with the unity recently given to the world by mechanical invention and economic progress and made both peace and prosperity impossible.

Federal System Proposed

Yet, if any form of world organization is to work, Europe must be equipped to manage its own internal affairs by some system of federalism. The greatest of our mistakes were economic. What did more to wreck civilization than anything else was the belief that a war-stricken world could recover by a system which combined immense international indebtedness with unrestrained tariff protectionism. That was probably the major cause of the world depression of 1929.

We profoundly hope that the nations will think out far more thoroughly than they did last time how the world can be economically reconstructed when the present war is over. Trade and production will then be in dislocation. The needs of the war will have canalized the trade not only of the belligerents but of the neutrals. Those canals will serve war and not peace purposes.

Yet to go back immediately to an economic free-for-all fight will simply mean that the end of this war will produce worse results than the last. In my personal view it will be imperative for a time to maintain these controls, but to reverse their purpose, so that they are used to restore the standard of living without which the end of this war will only be the signal for fiercer revolution and fiercer wars than the last. Once the standard of living is restored with all that means in

markets for the producing nations, we should be able safely to return to a freer economy. It is in this field that we most want your assistance and advice.

Victorian Virtues

But there is one central point to which we in Britain attach supreme importance, and which I feel I ought frankly to put before you tonight. For it vitally affects the peace and is the answer to the common talk that the present is only a war between rival imperialisms. We feel that the only foundation for a stable and liberal world will be the control of the seas on agreed principles by the democracies. This view we base upon experience, for that was the foundation of the remarkable Victorian Age.

The greatest expansion both of freedom and prosperity of which the world has record took place in the century between 1815 and 1914. The standard of living of the Western World was raised fourfold by the industrial revolution. The immense adjustments following the enormous movement of capital and population all over the world which the industrial revolution caused were made without world war. There were many local wars but no world war—and it is world wars, not local wars, which wreck civilization.

You on this side of the Atlantic were left free to develop your own culture, prosperity and institutions without any serious international complication for a whole century. Partly because of the long peace and partly because of the example of the success of your democratic experiment, Great Britain itself became steadily more democratic and the British Empire became a Commonwealth of Nations, in which Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and at long last Ireland became independent self-governing nations, entirely free from British control.

Self Government

Self-Government is in process of development everywhere else within it—according to the education and advancement of the peoples. Egypt and Iraq are independent States. Even India with its immense population of 360,000,000 people, its dozen languages, its Hindu-Moslem tension and its feudal princes who control one-fourth of the country, has made immense strides in the last twenty years. Already the eleven provinces, possessed of about the same sphere of powers as your States, are self-governed, with Ministries responsible to the electorate.

The real difficulty today is to find the basis upon which these diverse elements will agree to federate so that India can govern and defend itself. The solution of this vast problem cannot be accomplished in a day. Patience, prudence, good-will and common sense are the only road.

The rest of the world profited also during the nineteenth century. Italy won its unity and introduced parliamentary institutions. Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria won their freedom. Germany was united by Bismarck. Europe as a whole began to become prosperous.

PROSPERITY'S FOUR FOUNDATIONS

What were the foundations of this wonderful century? There were four. First, all the main currencies were based on gold and, therefore were

interchangeable on a stable basis. Second, the British Empire and a good deal of the rest of the world was free trade or low tariff so that capital and goods could flow freely everywhere. Third, the New World, and especially the United States, was still an open field for immigration so that the population pressures of the Old World, then at their worst because of the high birth rate, could find relief. Fourth, and most important of all, there was a rudimentary police power in the world, the control of the sea by Great Britain and the United States, which made world war—though not local war—impossible until some other nation was strong enough to challenge their power on the seas.

That police system originated in the idea that no further political expansion of Europe into North and South America should be permitted. The policy was formulated by Lord Canning and President Monroe.

Originally proposed by Canning as a joint Anglo-American doctrine, it was eventually carried out in two parts by you and us separately. You threw your protection around South and Central America; we created the outer defense for that doctrine by controlling the entrance from Europe into the Atlantic, through the North Sea and the English Channel, past Gibraltar and round the Cape of Good Hope.

So long as we have a navy which could hold these positions no European power, except for a few casual raiders and submarines, could get into the Atlantic at all and so leave to you the sole responsibility for defending the Monroe system.

Those were the four foundations of the Victorian Age. Personally, I believe that in some new form they will have to be restored, if the rest of this century is to be without another world war. They were challenged by Imperial Germany at the beginning of this century. They are being challenged by Hitler again today.

But the nineteenth-century system cannot now be restored in its old form. In the first place, economically the world has advanced beyond laissez-faire, whether in trade or migration. In the second place, by itself Britain neither can nor ought to play by herself the dominant role she played in the last century.

“Mere War Of Imperialisms”?

The rights of new naval nations and the rise of air power makes that impossible. And sea power should be in the hands of the democracies, and not of one power. Even at this moment, if we face honestly the facts, our present safety today rests upon the fact that we control the Atlantic and you control the Pacific. Neither we nor you, nor the overseas republics and dominions, would be so secure if either of us was left to act alone.

The nineteenth-century system, of course, was by no means perfect. But can any fair-minded person doubt that, on the whole, it promoted freedom, prosperity and peace better than any system which preceded it in modern times?

And can any fair-minded person doubt that if Herr Hitler and his friends were to win the war and seize its sea power and sea bases from Britain that the world would get any equivalent prosperity or

freedom ? It might get peace, but it would be a peace with the light of liberty gone out. That is the real answer to the charge that this is a mere war between imperialisms.

I have practically finished. I have endeavoured to put in front of you frankly and honestly what we in Britain think about the present struggle. I believe that to do this is to act in accord with true democratic principle. You will probably by no means agree with all I have said. But I believe it is important that you should know what we think.

My countrymen would like to have an equally frank and honest opinion from you. And neither would be propaganda. But having spoken my piece, it is now for you, and for you alone, to decide whether or how far you agree with my analysis and what, if anything, you are going to do. That is your inalienable right and nobody in Britain wants to diminish it in the slightest degree. Respect both for individual and national responsibility is the foundation upon which the democratic way of life depends.

And may I add this. The British Government is not trying to drag you into this war. It knows that no democracy will accept the hideous consequences of war unless it is convinced that its own vital interests, which include its ideals, are at stake. It knows, too, that there is nothing on which the American people are more determined than to avoid entanglement in Europe, and to pursue their own independent international policy, free from alliances and commitments to other nations. If ever you are driven to action it will not be because of propaganda but because of the relentless march of events.

In this war we believe we are fighting for principle ; to prevent the ideas and institutions which alone can lead mankind forward to greater liberty, prosperity and peace from being overwhelmed by brute force.

We do not think that we have a monopoly of virtue, or that we have not made many and grievous mistakes in the past. But we are sure we are in the right now. This faith is held not in England alone but not less strongly in France, in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, in New Zealand and among the other peoples who have joined our side in this war.

We are not fighting for empire or for domination or to deprive Germany of any legitimate right. I have long been a deep admirer of President Lincoln. I believe we are fighting in the spirit he so nobly described in his second inaugural. "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right."

At the moment we stand necessarily in the darkness. Matthew Arnold once wrote, "But aims in hours of insight willed, must be through years of gloom fulfilled."

Only the other day a distinguished friend of mine going to the front said that he had little sympathy with those who complained of the trouble and dangers by which we

are faced today. With the possibility of an unutterable disaster on the one side, and on the other of the birth of a far better world for everybody if the nations will put selfishness aside and combine for the common good, he thanked God for the opportunity to live and strive in such tremendous times.

FOR WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING ?

(Continued From Page 237)

Germany has inflicted on people who once were free: we believe we can achieve that aim, we know it can be secured without putting other peoples in bondage.

We are fighting for the freedom of individual conscience and for the freedom of religion; we are fighting against persecution wherever it may be found. Lastly, we are fighting to abolish the spirit of militarism and the accumulation of armaments which is pauperizing Europe, and not least Germany herself. Only by the abolition of that spirit and those armaments can Europe be saved from bankruptcy and ruin.

How in concrete terms are these aims to be secured? First of all, the independence of the Poles and the Czechs must be restored. Secondly, we must have tangible evidence to satisfy us that pledges or assurances when they are given will be fulfilled. Under the present Government of Germany there can be no security for the future. The elements in Germany who are ready to co-operate in building the new Europe are ruthlessly proscribed, the nation is isolated from contact even with neutral opinion, and its rulers have repeatedly shown that they cannot be trusted to keep their word to foreign Governments or even to their own people.

Therefore it is for Germany to take the next step and to show us conclusively that she has abandoned the thesis that might is right. But let me say this. We and France are determined to do what we can for security by the continuance of that complete identity of purpose and policy which now unites us and [which will serve after the war for the firm foundation on which the international relations between our two countries are built. Only so can we establish the authority and stability which are necessary for the security of Europe during the period of reconstruction and fresh endeavour to which we look forward after the war.



